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VOLUME 7/1



THE SECRET HISTORY
OF THE MONGOLS

*A Mongolian Epic Chronicle
of the Thirteenth Century*

TRANSLATED WITH A HISTORICAL
AND PHILOLOGICAL COMMENTARY

BY

IGOR DE RACHEWILTZ

VOLUME ONE



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PREFACE

Thirty-five years ago I began working on a translation of the *Secret History of the Mongols* which was published in eleven instalments in the journal *Papers on Far Eastern History* at the Australian National University between 1971 and 1985.

As I stated in the Introduction to the first issue, my reason for undertaking the translation was to provide students and non-specialist readers with an up-to-date English rendering of the *Secret History* pending the publication of Professor F.W. Cleaves' *magnum opus*. The latter had been completed in 1956 and typeset in 1957, but Cleaves deferred its release. The reasons for the delay were such that publication might be postponed indefinitely. Furthermore, I knew from Cleaves' other publications that his translation was a literal one in somewhat archaic, biblical English, modelled on that of the Authorized Version of 1611. Professor N. Poppe, then at the University of Washington, Seattle, had earlier encouraged me to prepare a complete word-index to the *Secret History*, which appeared in the Indiana University *Uralic and Altaic Series* in 1972. Fearing that Cleaves' work would never be published, he now urged me to prepare a badly-needed translation into current English together with a basic commentary. Fr. Henry Serruys, with whom I was corresponding, also encouraged me to undertake the task.

When Cleaves' translation was eventually published in 1982, mine was well advanced and the commentary was assuming fairly large proportions. Since Cleaves' announced commentary (which was to form Volume II of his edition) did not eventuate, I persevered and completed my translation in 1985, following it with a list of Additions and Corrections in 1986. I was by then aware that 1) my translation and **commentary**, especially of the first six chapters, needed a thorough revision, and 2) Cleaves had virtually given up the idea of producing the commentary volume.

For these reasons, I decided in 1987 to prepare a new, updated edition of my translation, enlarging the commentary so as

to take into account the contributions to the study of the *Secret History* that were by then appearing in increasing numbers in Asia, Europe and the United States.

This revision was completed in 2002, and the publication of the new edition has been made possible by a grant from the Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation for International Scholarly Exchange. I wish to thank the Foundation most sincerely for its generous support.

It is my pleasure to acknowledge the assistance I received from friends, colleagues and learned institutions without whose help this work could not have been carried out.

First and foremost, I owe a great debt of gratitude to my late friend and mentor Nicholas Poppe who followed my progress with keen interest, making countless and invaluable suggestions in his correspondence with me, and generously 'tutoring' me for several weeks at his home in Seattle in 1979. He was pleased to know that I would dedicate my book to him.

After Poppe, the person who helped me most with textual difficulties was Henry Serruys, who also contributed materially by sending me from Arlington, Virginia, numerous relevant publications, some of them quite rare. I shall always remember him as an outstanding and modest scholar, and as a great friend in need.

Among the friends and colleagues in and outside Australia who have given me much of their time and the benefit of their experience in reading and improving the manuscript, in supplying indispensable material and in carrying out research on my behalf, I wish to express my profound gratitude to Andrew Fraser, Ken Gardiner, Mary Hutchinson, Peter W. Geier, May and Sydney Wang, John R. Krueger, Henry G. Schwarz, Okada Hidehiro, Sh. Choimaa, Elisabetta Chiodo, Klaus Sagaster, and Borjigijin Ulaan.

For encouragement and assistance of various kinds at all stages of my work, enlightening suggestions and unfailing kindness, my warm thanks are due to Françoise Aubin, John C. Street, Ch'i-ch'ing Hsiao, Hok-lam Chan, Ozawa Shigeo, Herbert Franke, Liu Tsun-yan, Ruth I. Meserve, Tanya D. Skrynnikova, Huang Shijian, Sh. Bira, Denis Sinor, Alice Sárközi, Mariya N.

Orlovskaya, Th. T. Allsen, Ruth W. Dunnell, Hung Chin-fu, Svetlana Dyer, Natalia S. Yakhontova, Kuribayashi Hitoshi, Noel Barnard, Leonid Petrov, James Greenbaum, Lee Seong-Gyu and Anton Schönbaum.

Some of the friends who had occasion to assist me through correspondence, personal contact and exchange of material are no longer with us, but their memory is very much alive. Among them I should mention Murakami Masatsugu, John A. Boyle, James R. Hamilton, Lajos Bese, Sh. Gaadamba, Nikolai Ts. Munkuyev, Militsa M. Colan, and Ludmilla Panskaya.

Learned institutions and their libraries have played an indispensable role in my quest. I wish to thank in particular the National Library of Australia and the Menzies and Chifley Libraries at the Australian National University in Canberra and their staff for their unfailing professional help; the C.I.C.M. (Scheut) Archives in Rome and the Rev. Raymond Renson; the Chinese Memorial Library at Kessel-Lo (Leuven) and Ms Els Bossier and Ms Sara Lievens; the Bibliothèque du Musée Guimet, Paris, and M. F. Macouin; the Centre de Recherches sur l'Asie Centrale et la Haute-Asie, Instituts d'Asie, Collège de France, Paris, and Mme M. Maillard; the Tōyō Bunko, Tokyo, and Mr Shimo Hirotohi; the National Library of China, Peking; The National Palace Museum, Taipei; the St. Petersburg Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences and Prof. E. I. Kychanov; the Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg, and the late Prof. K.V. Malakhovskii of Moscow. My thanks are also due to Dr Terry Lee of Canberra for allowing me to reproduce the gold dinar of Genghis Khan from his collection; to Prof. B. Sum'yaabaatar of Ulan Bator for permission to reproduce the aerial photograph of the Khentei Range; and to Mrs Cynthia Moloney of Canberra for permission to reproduce her photograph of Khentei Khan. I am also grateful to Prof. Manfred Taube of Leipzig for providing the model of the genealogical table.

I owe a special debt to my former Department of Far Eastern History and the present Division of Pacific and Asian History of the Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies at the

Australian National University and their staff, especially Ms Dorothy McIntosh and Ms Marion Weeks, for their support during many pleasant and fruitful years of association.

For the word-processing of the manuscript I am as ever grateful to Ms H. Oanh Collins and Mr Samson Rivers. Their skill and forbearance have been truly outstanding. Special thanks are also due to my copy-editor in Canberra, Ms Elisabeth Kat, and to Ms Patricia Radder, Assistant Editor Ancient Near East & Asian Studies, at Koninklijke Brill N.V., Leiden, for going over a difficult text with such care and attention to details; to Mr Barry Howarth for his assistance in preparing and editing the indices; to Mr Ian Heyward and the Cartography Unit in the Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, ANU, for drawing the maps; and to Mr Darren Boyd for the photographic work. All errors and other shortcomings are of course my responsibility.

For advice, support, and more than I can say, my heartfelt thanks go to my wife Ines who has had to share her life for decades not only with me, but also with Genghis Khan and his restless mob, something she had not really bargained for.

Igor de Rachewiltz

Canberra, 1 October 2003

NOTES ON THE ILLUSTRATIONS

- Plate 1 Two leaves (four pages) from the *Secret History of the Mongols* (Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih [Y²] 4, 45a-b, and 48a-b) corresponding to the beginning and the end of § 146. The leaf reproduced here are two of the 41 surviving leaves of the original Ming printed edition. The second leaf contains also most of the Chinese sectional summary following the end of the Mongol text in transcription. See Section Four of the Introduction.
- Plate 2 Leaf (two pages) from the unique Ulan Bator ms. copy of Lubsangdanjin's chronicle *Altan tobči* (AT¹, 43a-b) containing part of § 145 and the beginning of § 146 of the *Secret History of the Mongols* (43b, line 12). Late 17th or early 18th century. See Section Five of the Introduction.
- Plate 3 Idealized portrait of Činggis Qan (Yüan T'ai-tsu, r. 1206-27) from the Collection of the National Palace Museum, Taipei. Colour on silk. Artist and date unknown (? 14th c.). Reproduced by permission.
- Plate 4 Imaginative portrait of Ögödei Qa'an (Yüan T'ai-tsung, r. 1229-41) from the same Collection. Colour on silk. Artist and date unknown (? 14th c.). Reproduced by permission.
- Plate 5 Mount Burqan Qaldun, present-day Khentei Khan (Xentiï Xan) in the Great Khentei Range, northern Mongolia, viewed from the Bogd River valley south of the mountain. Photographed by Mrs Cynthia Moloney of Canberra.
- Plate 6 View from the top of Mount Burqan Qaldun/Khentei Khan overlooking the (presumed) imperial burial ground further down the slope, and the Bogd River valley and Kerulen

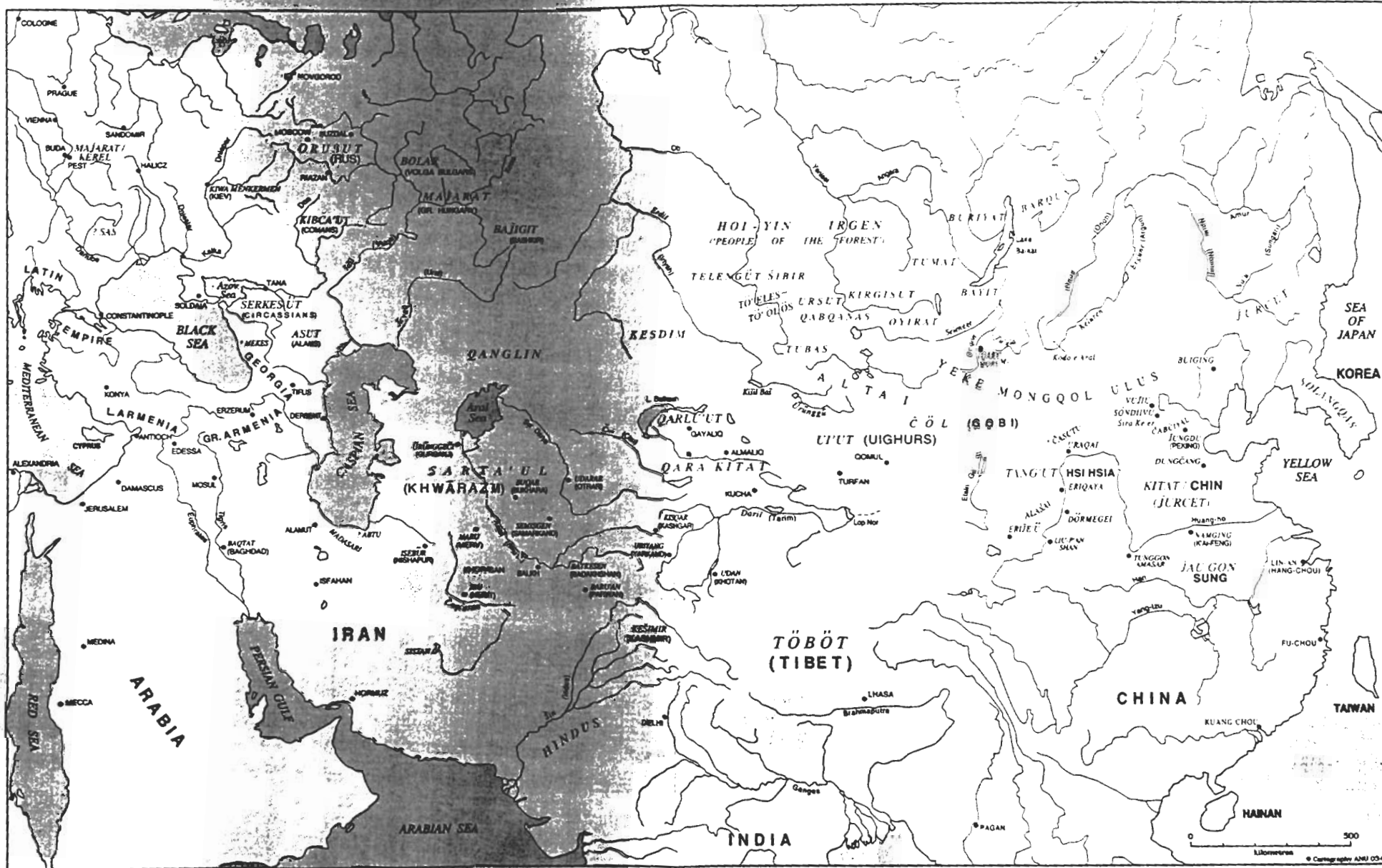
(*Xerlén*) River further south. Photographed by the Author.
See the Commentary to § 268.

- Plate 7 The Onon River in northern Mongolia on the western bank of which Činggis Qan was born. See the Commentary to § 59. Photographed by the Author.
- Plate 8 Partial view of Dolo'an Bolda'ut ('Seven Solitary Hills') near the place where the *Secret History* was written. See the Commentary to § 282. Photographed by the Author.
- Plate 9 A rare gold coin (*dīnār*) of Činggis Qan struck at Ghazna in AH618 (= AD1221/1222) from a hoard of ca. 150 coins discovered in or about 1996. Činggis' name appears in the last line of the reverse field in the form 'Čingiz Xān'. For a transcription and translation of the legend, cf. M.A. Whaley in *AOH* 54:2001, 20, n. 60. Courtesy of Dr Terry Lee of Canberra.
- Plate 10 Aerial view of the Khentei Range of northern Mongolia showing the sources of the Onon and Kerulen rivers, and the exact situation of Burqan Qaldun/Khentei Khan. Courtesy of Prof. B. Sum'yaabaatar of Ulan Bator.
- Plate 11 *Above.* Mongol archer from the 14th century Chinese encyclopedia *Shih-lin kuang-chi* (SLKC [enl. ed. of 1330-32], *hou-chi* 13, 3a).
Below. Mongol horseman shooting backwards, from the same encyclopedia (*ibid.*, 3b).
- Plate 12 Granite stele in honour of Činggis Qan's nephew Yisüngge (ca.1190 - ca.1270) celebrating his victory at an archery contest held in Central Asia in 1224/1225 after the successful Mongol campaign against Khwārazm. Commonly known as the 'Stone of Chingis.' The text reads:

'When Činggis Qan, having subjugated the Sartaγui people set up camp (and) the noblemen of the entire Mongol nation gathered at Buqa (S)očiyai (? = Buqa [S]učiyay), at the long-distance shooting (contest) Yisüngge shot an arrow 335 *aldas* (= 536 m.).' Hermitage Museum. Reproduced by permission.



Map 1. Mongolia ca. 1200.



Map 2. Eurasia ca. AD 1210.

dat.	=	dative
dat.-loc.	=	dative-locative
den.	=	denominal
dev.	=	deverbal
dial.	=	dialect(s)
dim.	=	diminutive
emph.	=	emphatic
encl.	=	enclitic
endear.	=	endearment (form)
eng.	=	English
excl.	=	exclusive
f.	=	form
fact.	=	factitive (form, verb)
fem.	=	feminine
fo.	=	folio
fr.	=	French
ger.	=	German
go.	=	Gorlos
goth.	=	Gothic
gr.	=	Greek
hon.	=	honorific
[H.S.]	=	unpublished note by Henry Serruys
hung.	=	Hungarian
id.	=	<i>idem</i> , the same
indoeur.	=	Indo-European
instr.	=	instrumental
inter.	=	interrogative
ital.	=	Italian
IVAN SSSR	=	Institut Vostokovedeniya, Akademiya Nauk SSSR
IV RAN	=	Institut Vostokovedeniya, Rossiiskaya Akademiya Nauk
jap.	=	Japanese
ju.	=	Jürčen, after SJV a.o.s.
kalm.	=	Kalmuck, after KW a.o.s.
kaz.	=	Kazakh

kh.	=	Khalkha, after Cév.* a.o.s.
kirg.	=	Kirghiz, after KiRS*
kit.	=	Kitan
lat.	=	Latin
let.	=	letter
loc.	=	locative, local
ma.	=	Manchu, after HM and CMEL
med.	=	medieval
mmand.	=	Middle Mandarin, after the Chinese transcriptions of the 13th-14th c.
mmo.	=	Middle Mongolian
m.M.U.s.	=	modern Mongolian in Uighur script
mo.	=	Written or Script Mongolian
mod.	=	modern
mog.	=	Mogol
mng.	=	Monguor, after DMF u.o.s.
Mong.	=	Mongolian, Mongol
mpers.	=	Middle Persian
n.	=	note
n.d.	=	no date of publication
neg.	=	negative
N.F.	=	Neue Folge
nom.	=	nominal
nom. imp.	=	nomen imperfecti
n.p.	=	no place of publication
N.P.	=	N. Poppe
N.S.	=	New Series
obs.	=	obsolete
off.	=	official
oir.	=	Oirat (lit.), after OECD u.o.s.
omand.	=	Old Mandarin, after PCH, MKTY, CYYY
ord.	=	Ordos, after DO u.o.s.
osm.	=	Osmanli (Osman Turkish)
otu.	=	Old Turkic (Orkhon and Yenisei inscriptions)
öl.	=	Ölöt
p.c.	=	personal communication

parag.	=	paragogic
part.	=	particle
pass.	=	passive
pers.	=	Persian
'ph.	=	'Phags-pa
pl.	=	plural; plate(s)
pmo.	=	Preclassical Mongolian
Pmo.	=	Proto-Mongolian
poet.	=	poetic(al)
poss.	=	possessive
[P.P.-C.R.A.C.]	=	unpublished note by Paul Pelliot in the Louis Hambis archives of the C.R.A.C. library
[P.P.-M.G.]	=	do. in the Pelliot archives of the library of the Musée Guimet, Paris
praet. imp.	=	praeteritum imperfecti
pref.	=	prefix
pron.	=	pronoun
prop.	=	properly
proth.	=	prothetic
r.	=	reigned
rec.	=	reciprocal (form)
red.	=	reduplicative
rus.	=	Russian
s.	=	someone, somebody
sing.	=	singular
skr.	=	Sanskrit
sogd.	=	Sogdian
stg.	=	something
subs.	=	substantive
suff.	=	suffix
syn.	=	synonym(ous)
syr.	=	Syriac
tang.	=	Tangut
tat.	=	Tatar
tib.	=	Tibetan
tr.	=	translator, translated

trscr.	=	transcription
ts.	=	Mongolian dialect of Tsinghai (Qinghai), after TH
tu.	=	Turkic
tung.	=	Tungus
turkm.	=	Turkmen
uig.	=	Uighur
u.n.	=	unpublished note(s)
u.o.s.	=	unless otherwise specified
[u.w.]	=	unseen work cited from other source
v.	=	verb(al)
w.f.	=	written form(s), i.e. the same word(s) or suffix(es) retranscribed according to mo. orthography
yak.	=	Yakut, after SYY* a.o.s.

CONVENTIONAL SIGNS

*	reconstructed form
<	derives from, developed from
<<	ultimately derives from
>	results into, developed into
→	and, by extension (<i>or</i> metaphorically); and from there to
=	corresponds to, is the same as
x	as opposed to
~	alternates with
	parallel forms; double parallelism
/	occurs in both forms according to general rules (gram.); synonym or variant form of the same word, e.g. <i>mangγus/mayus</i>
+	with the addition of (the suffix)
?	doubtful form
()	for explanatory matter in the text
[]	for lacunae in the text
< >	for dittographies and redundancies in the text

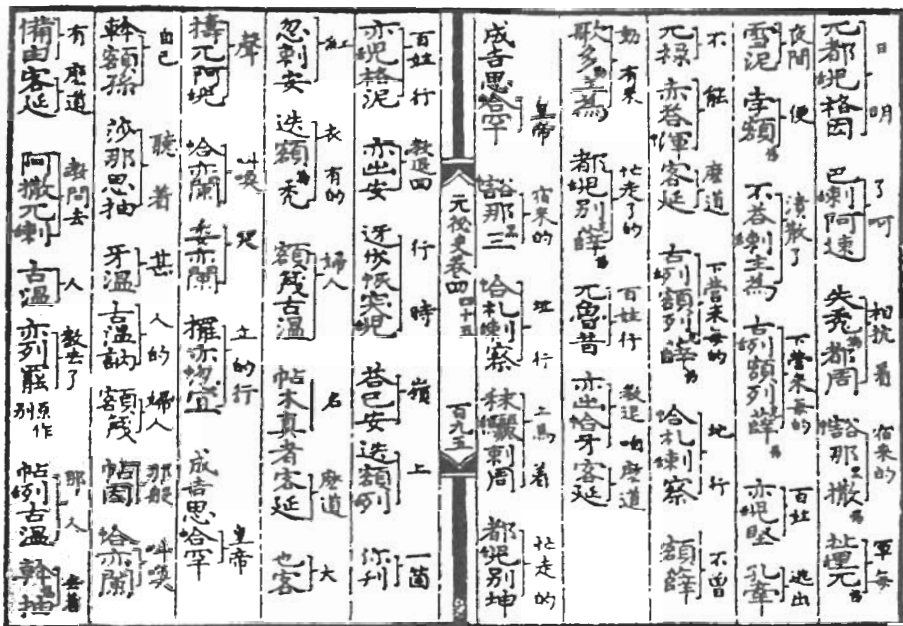
INTRODUCTION

君子以作事謀始 (易訟卦)

The 13th century work known as the Secret History of the Mongols' (Mongqol-un niuca [= ni'uca] to[b]ca'an) is the earliest and most important literary monument of the Mongol-speaking people, challenged only by the later 17th century chronicle Erdeni-yin tobci, or Precious Summary, by the Ordos prince Sayang Sečen (1604-?).² There is no doubt, however, that notwithstanding the literary merits of the latter - and they are many - Sayang's masterpiece is by far outshone by the Secret History, witness the number of translations and versions of this work (over forty)³ against the mere eight of the Erdeni-yin tobci.⁴

The reason for the great success of the Secret History at home and abroad is, first of all, its subject matter, for the Secret History is the only genuine (not to be confused with reliable) native account of the life and deeds of Činggis Qan - our Genghis Khan - one of the world's outstanding figures, whereas the Erdeni-yin tobci is a general history of the Mongols, written under the influence of Tibetan culture and Lamaism. There is no Buddhist influence in the Secret History, its language has not been touched by the literary and historiographical conventions of Tibet, its poetry reflects the pure, unmitigated tradition of the nomadic tribes of Mongolia and of the Turkic- and Mongolian-speaking inhabitants of the vast steppelands of Inner Asia. To be sure, the Turkic element - cultural and linguistic - is present in the Secret History; how could it be otherwise, since Mongolia was the cradle, home and stamping ground of both those peoples, so that they shared from remote times a common way of life, the same spiritual, i.e. shamanistic, background (with related cults and customs), and exchanged words, terms and titles as the occasion arose.

Later, the settled and culturally more advanced Turks of Central Asia, the Uighurs in particular, acted as tutors and cultural intermediaries to the Mongols, their greatest gift to them being the



Pl. 1. Two leaves from the Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih

attractive vertical Uighur script which the Mongols adopted about the turn of the 13th century and in which the *Secret History* was first written.⁵ However, regardless of its Turkic component, the *Secret History* is and remains a true and original Mongol product, unique of its kind, for no other nomadic or semi-nomadic people has ever created a literary masterpiece like it, in which epic poetry and narrative are so skilfully and indeed artistically blended with fictional and historical accounts. Linguistically too, the *Secret History* provides the finest and richest source of Preclassical Mongolian (in its reconstructed 'written' form) dating from the first half of the 13th century, and of Middle Mongolian, the language actually spoken in the second half of the 14th century – a language lacking any artificiality, simple and direct in style, far removed from the learned and often convoluted syntax of so-called Classical Mongolian.⁶ In this respect, one can say with A. Waley that its 'story-tellers' tales ... are some of the most vivid primitive literature that exists anywhere in the world',⁷ words echoed by F.W. Cleaves who called the *Secret History* 'one of the great literary monuments of the world.'⁸

The *Secret History* is a complex work; it presents at times great difficulties of interpretation. Because of the wealth of data that it provides on all aspects of life in 12th-13th century Mongolia, on important events and on a great number of individuals (some of whom played key historical roles), and on their clans and tribes, it is also a work that, to quote Waley again, 'would be possible to furnish with endless annotation.'⁹ Cleaves, for his part, went as far as observing that 'a definitive translation is out of the question until generations of scholarship have been consecrated to its study'¹⁰ – a sobering reminder to all those who take up this task.

In the following sections I shall survey some of the major issues concerning the *Secret History*, viz. its contents, date and place of composition, authorship and textual history (in relation also to the text of the *Secret History* preserved in the *Altan tobči*), as well as the transcriptions and translations made in modern times. I shall touch upon its value as a literary work and historical

source, presenting different and often conflicting views on the subject. I shall conclude with some remarks on the present version. Several appendices provide additional information on the chronology of Činggis Qan's campaigns in Mongolia, Siberia and Central Asia in 1204-1219, and some useful reference lists for the reader of the *Secret History* who wishes to pursue the study of this text more in depth.

The bibliography contains only titles cited in the present work; however, there are many references in the commentary to contributions of lesser importance, brief reviews and the like that are not included in the bibliography. The indices have been made as comprehensive as possible to facilitate the use of both the translation and the commentary.

1. Contents and subject matter of the *Secret History*

Although arbitrarily divided into 12 or 15 chapters and 282 sections or paragraphs at a later date, the *Secret History* is a continuous narrative with comparatively few lacunae and interpolations in the text, which shall be discussed further on.¹¹

The plain prose narrative turns frequently into alliterative passages of various lengths, i.e. into poetry, mainly for dramatic effect, to emphasize statements, or simply to introduce apt proverbial sayings, the so-called 'ancient words', i.e. the wise words of the ancients whenever circumstances call for their authority. It is a well-known genre, the characteristics of which will also be discussed in detail below.¹²

The order of events in the *Secret History* is chronological, but the first date, corresponding to AD 1201, appears only in § 141 (Chapter IV).

Chapters I-XII (up to § 268) describe the life and career of Činggis Qan from his birth, probably in 1162 (§ 59), to his death in 1227 (§ 268), the preceding sections (§§ 1-58) being devoted to his ancestry and the legendary origins of the Mongol (Mongqol) tribe and clans.

The final portion of the work (§§ 269-281) deals with the election of Ögödei Qa'an, Činggis' third son and successor, and with some events of his reign (1229-41), without however mentioning his death.

The narrative ends (§ 282) with a brief and apparently incomplete colophon recording where and when the *Secret History* was completed.

The work is thus essentially biographical, describing, often in great detail and in very vivid form, various aspects of Činggis Qan's private and official life, his numerous military campaigns, his relationship with relatives, friends and allies, as well as with rivals and foes, his pronouncements on matters of law and army organization, on moral issues, such as loyalty and the duties and obligations of chiefs and subjects, the role of Heaven and Earth in human affairs, and man's attitude towards these powers.

The section on Ögödei is, by comparison, much less coherent and quite fragmentary – a sort of afterthought or supplement (which, as we shall see, it almost certainly is)¹³ – but, nevertheless, still containing useful data on important topics like taxation and the post-relay service, and on the relationship of Ögödei with his brothers. Significantly, only one date, corresponding to 1231, is found in §§ 270-281,¹⁴ but several of the events described in that section can be dated quite accurately from the accounts in the Chinese and Persian sources. It should be mentioned, however, that the chronology of the *Secret History* is, in general, quite unreliable and at odds with those sources. This has much to do with the true nature of the work and the author(s)' aims.¹⁵

For the readers' convenience a detailed, chapter by chapter summary of events is provided before the Translation. In it, the dates in brackets are those given in the *Secret History* converted to the Christian era.

2. Place and date of composition

These two issues – place and date – are crucial and, in the case of the *Secret History*, they are closely, indeed intimately, related. Both have attracted the attention of scholars since the second half of the 19th century, and I have discussed them in detail in my previous articles on the subject to which the reader is referred.¹⁶ The following is a summary of the various theories and conflicting arguments, updated and with additional comments.

The colophon of the *Secret History* (§ 282) tells us almost exactly where the 'writing' was completed, viz. 'at Dolo'an Boldaq of Köde'e Aral of (= by) the Kelüren (= Kerülen) River, between Šilginček and ...'. The name of the second locality is missing, owing to a lacuna in the text. This gap is unimportant since Dolo'an Boldaq ('Seven Solitary Hills') of Köde'e Aral ('Barren Island') is a well-known place south-west of present-day Dëlgerxaan and just north of the Xerlën (Kerülen) River in southern Xentiï Aïmag. Köde'e (or Ködö'e, Köde'ü) Aral is not an island, but a large plain comprised between the two rivers Xerlën and Cennër in the south and east, and the Bayan Mountains (Bayan Ut!) in the north and west.¹⁷ It was in this beautiful, hill-dotted and well-watered plain that Činggis Qan had his principal encampment, the so-called Qan's 'Palaces' (*ordos*), and it was here that the Great Assembly (*yeke quriltä*) that elected Ögödei in 1229 was convoked in 1228, soon after Činggis' death and burial.¹⁸ A place consecrated by tradition, as it were.¹⁹

As for the date, the colophon is deceptively precise: 'The writing was completed at the time when the Great Assembly convened and when, in the Year of the Rat, in the month of the Roebuck, the Palaces were established at Dolo'an Boldaq ...'.

The month of the Roebuck (*quran sara*) is the seventh month of the lunar calendar, but to which Year of the Rat (*quluqana jil*) of the duodenary animal cycle does the colophon refer?

Since the *Secret History* ends with the reign of Ögödei (1229-41) but does not mention his death (cf. Činggis' 'ascension to Heaven' recorded in § 268), it has been assumed for a long time that the year in question must be 1240, even if no great assembly is mentioned in our sources s.a. 1240. This was the opinion held, among others, by the pioneering *Secret History* scholars Naka Michiyo 那珂通世, P. Pelliot, E. Haenisch and S.A. Kozin;²⁰ it is still the generally accepted date in Mongolia and China, albeit with some notable exceptions in either country.²¹

However, doubts on this dating were expressed in 1941, and again in 1948, by R. Grousset, who pointed out that in § 255 of the *Secret History* Činggis Qan appears to 'predict' the transfer of the throne from Ögödei's line to that of Tolui, as indeed happened with Möngke's election as *qa'an* in 1251; moreover, § 281 reads very much like a posthumous appraisal of Ögödei. Grousset therefore suggested the Year of the Rat 1252 as a more likely alternative.²² His suggestion was rejected by Pelliot on the grounds that the ambitions of Tolui's house must have been known before Ögödei's death in 1241, and that, whereas the sketchy nature of the Annals of the latter's reign in the *Yüan-shih* 元史 may account for the lack of mention of a great assembly in 1240, the more detailed imperial annals from 1251 onward would have no doubt recorded such an important event s.a. 1252.²³

Writing in 1951, W. Hung, while agreeing with Grousset on a dating later than 1240, put forth the view that an even better Year of the Rat would be 1264, owing mainly to the fact that a place-name given in § 247 of the *Secret History* as Hsüan-te fu 宣德府, only became a *fu* or administration in 1263 (previously it was a *chou* 州 or prefecture).²⁴

In answer to Hung's objection, A. Mostaert who, I suspect, was himself in favour of the year 1240, posed the question of why, if that were the case, did the *Secret History* leave out all the momentous events that occurred between the end of Ögödei's reign and 1264, including Ögödei's death, two long regencies, Möngke's election, etc., etc.?²⁵

Hung's hypothesis was adopted by A. Waley (albeit with some reservations) in 1960, and by G. Ledyard in 1964, both scholars basing their arguments on the fact that certain events concerning the Mongol campaigns in Korea show that the account in the *Secret History* could not have been written before 1258. While Waley suggests a date 'well after the middle of the thirteenth century',²⁶ for Ledyard 1264 is the earliest possible date for the composition of the *Secret History*.²⁷

On the other hand, Grousset's suggestion was adopted with qualifications by no less an authority than L. Ligeti in 1962, and without reservations by Yü Ta-chün 余大鈞 twenty years later.

Ligeti postulates the existence of an early version of the *Secret History* completed immediately after Činggis Qan's death and containing only an account of his life (a theory already mooted by Chinese and Japanese scholars); if the colophon refers to the *Urtext*, the Year of the Rat must correspond to 1228; if it refers to the whole work, it must correspond to 1252 in view of Grousset's valid arguments, i.e. the later interpolations. The problem, for Ligeti, is still unsolved.²⁸

Yü Ta-chün's argument is largely a criticism of previous theories and a strengthening of Grousset's proposal for the year 1252, in support of which he adduces further evidence showing, quite convincingly, that certain passages in the *Secret History* (in §§ 275, 276 and 277) could not have been written while Ögödei or his son and successor, Güyük (r. 1246-48), were on the throne. In order to overcome the major objection to the year 1252 being the Year of the Rat of the colophon, viz. that no great assembly was convened then, Yü is forced to reinterpret the actual wording of the colophon to mean that the writing of the *Secret History* was completed 'after (my emphasis - I.R.) the great *qurilta* had been held', the 'great *qurilta*' referring of course to the 1250-51 diet that elected Möngke.²⁹

The Year of the Rat 1228 for the first recension of the *Secret History* had already been put forward by Ting Ch'ien 丁謙 in 1901;³⁰ Ting's suggestion was later revived and modified by Uemura Seiji 植村潛二 (1955),³¹ G. Doerfer (1963),³² P.

Ratchnevsky (1965),³³ and I. de Rachewiltz (1965).³⁴ The main arguments in favour of this theory, which has gained ground in recent times (see below), are: 1) the *Altan tobči* (1655) of Blo-bzan bstan-'jin (Lubsangdanjin), which incorporates a large portion of the *Secret History* text (233 of 282 paragraphs), contains *only* the portion of the *Secret History* dealing with Činggis Qan's ancestry and life (§§ 1-268), i.e. what is considered to be the *Urtext*; the section on Ögödei Qa'an is missing altogether; 2) no great assemblies were held, according to our sources, in 1240, 1252 or 1264; 3) the title of the work being, in all likelihood, *Činggis Qan-u huja'ur* (pmo. *Činggis Qan-u uja'ur*) or *The Origin (sensu lato = History) of Činggis Qan*, the work itself must have ended, logically, with Činggis' death (§ 268). Thus, what one assumes must have happened, is that the later editors in the Yüan and early Ming periods interfered with the original text by interpolating, transferring, deleting and adding material (which would explain the internal historical and chronological inconsistencies, as well as other puzzling aspects of the text), and including the section on Ögödei as a continuation or supplement. Eventually, the original colophon of 1228 was transferred from the end of the *Činggis Qan-u huja'ur* to the end of the edited and enlarged version.³⁵ This question will be discussed further in Section Four of this Introduction.

Among the scholars who in the last four decades have adopted the date 1228 for the composition of the original text of the *Secret History*, and who regard the Year of the Rat of the colophon as corresponding to that year, we should mention F.W. Cleaves, G. Clauson, Murakami Masatsugu 村上正二, N.C. Munkuev, Ozawa Shigeo 小澤重男, Ye. Irinčin (Irinchen), Jinggin, Š. Gaadamba, D. Čerensodnom and U. Onon.³⁶ Other scholars have accepted it, albeit with a question mark.³⁷

Although Ledyard had not excluded duodenary cycles later than 1264, an extreme position was taken by Okada Hidehiro 岡田英弘 who in 1985, re-elaborating an idea mooted by Murakami in 1978,³⁸ expressed the view that the *Secret History* was composed

in the Year of the Rat 1324, and that the great assembly referred to in the colophon was the one held the preceding year (1323) at Köde'e Aral on the Kerulen which elected Yisün Temür (T'ai-ting ti 泰定帝, r. 1324-27).³⁹

Finally, a number of scholars beginning with the Archimandrite Palladii (P.I. Kafarov, 1817-78),⁴⁰ have prudently refrained from identifying the Year of the Rat in question.⁴¹

While Grousset's arguments against the date 1240 were refuted by Pelliot and rejected by Hung, Hung's dating was in turn questioned by Mostaert, Ligeti, Bira and de Rachewiltz;⁴² Ledyard's thesis was criticised by de Rachewiltz and Bira,⁴³ and this also happened to the earlier theories proposed by Naka, Ishihama and others, as well as to the more recent one by Yü.⁴⁴ Ligeti's criticism is not without fault, and Bira's reinterpretation of the text of the colophon is likewise open to serious doubts.⁴⁵ Thus, most of the arguments in favour and against the years 1240, 1252 and 1264 can be refuted on valid grounds. As for the Year of the Rat 1324, it can be argued that 1) it does not tally with the year of the *qurilta* on the Kerulen that elected Yisün Temür, which was a Year of the Pig (1323);⁴⁶ and 2) the vivid, unaffected and fresh style of the *Secret History* narrative, with its wealth of details on events, people and places, provides an insight into the life of Činggis Qan and his associates, and the society of his time that could only come from a contemporary or near contemporary witness and can hardly be reconciled with as late a composition as that put forward by Okada.

In view of the above and for the reasons outlined in my earlier studies, I am still of the opinion that the original text of the *Secret History* to which the colophon properly belongs was written down in the month of the Roebuck (2-31 August) of the Year of the Rat 1228 at Dolo'an Boldaq, exactly one year after Činggis Qan's death. However, the text of the *Secret History* as handed down to us, both in its Chinese (Y) and Mongolian (AT) versions, is the product of later additions, deletions and other editorial changes carried out during the Yüan and early Ming periods, broadly from the reign of Qubilai Qa'an (1260-94) to

those of Hung-wu 洪武 and Yung-lo 永樂 (1368-1417/18). At the same time it must be emphasized that while the identification of the Year of the Rat with any of the dates proposed so far remains hypothetical owing, as we shall see, to our almost total ignorance of the vicissitudes of the Mongol text of the *Secret History* during the period in question,⁴⁷ an early, pre-Güyük or pre-Möngke dating is supported by a hitherto overlooked piece of indirect evidence. In the *Secret History* § 198, Ögödei is already – albeit anachronistically – called Ögödei Qa'an; he is elected *qan* in § 269 and referred to as Ögödei Qa'an from then on. Neither his son and immediate successor Güyük (r. 1246-48), nor Güyük's successor Möngke (r. 1251-59), both of whom are mentioned several times in the *Secret History*, and both of whom bore the titles of *qan* and *qa'an*, are ever called Güyük Qan/Qa'an or Möngke Qan/Qa'an, something that we should expect had the *Secret History* been written in 1252 or 1264 (or later): they are simply referred to as Güyük and Möngge (= Möngke) throughout.⁴⁸ This may well indicate that the section on Ögödei in the *Secret History* in which these names occur was written before 1246 (or, at any rate, before 1251), which in turn would also argue for an early or even earlier date for the preceding section.⁴⁹ This, I believe, is as far as we can go at the present state of our knowledge.

3. Authorship of the Secret History

The problem of authorship is, if anything, even more complex than that of dating the *Secret History*. To begin with, there is no mention of an author. Indeed, given the composite nature of the *Secret History* (about which more later),⁵⁰ it would be more correct to speak of a compiler who gathered his material from a variety of sources – oral and written – such as the recollections of eyewitnesses, accounts of the descendants of personages who had participated in the events described, story-tellers' songs and narratives about the heroes' exploits, and possibly a number of documents recording the *qan*'s pronouncements and legal statutes.

although I am of the opinion that these played a limited role, most (if not all) the information being transmitted orally.⁵¹

The compiler was, in all likelihood, a person directly or indirectly involved in some of the stories; in any event, he had direct access to 'inside information', possibly as a member of the *qan*'s family or of his immediate entourage, in order to provide so many details of discussions and deliberations made in the *qan*'s tent.⁵² He was then able to bring all his data (real and fictional) together in an organic whole with great skill, especially for a man with no literary tradition behind him. He may thus have been both author and compiler: such distinctions would have been meaningless in the circumstances, the very problem of 'authorship' itself being irrelevant to the person concerned, hence his anonymity.⁵³ We also have no idea of how the composition was put together: whether the compiler was the actual recorder or whether the writing down was done by someone else, a scribe or copyist. This, likewise, is a matter of little relevance.⁵⁴

Various theories have been put forth as to who may have written or compiled the *Secret History*. The three main candidates for authorship are the following:

1. T'a-t'a T'ung-a 塔塔統阿 (*Tatar Toṅa? fl. 1204), the former Uighur seal-keeper of Tayang Qan of the Naiman who passed into the service of Činggis Qan in 1204 after Tayang Qan's defeat, becoming Činggis' seal-keeper as well as tutor in Uighur script to his sons. On this ground alone he has subsequently been credited with the introduction of that script among the Mongols. The information about him is extremely scanty – only ten lines in his Chinese biography.⁵⁵ In 1911, Kanai Yasuzō 金井保三 tried to prove his authorship of the *Secret History* on account of his literacy; however, as noted by W. Hung, it is hardly credible that, as an outsider who joined the Mongol camp only in 1204, he would have been so knowledgeable about the intimate details of Činggis' earlier life.⁵⁶ Hung's criticism cannot be dismissed. Moreover, T'a-t'a T'ung-a gets no

mention in the *Secret History* and is totally ignored by all other Mongol sources.

2. Čingqai or, preferably, Čingqai (ca. 1169-1252), the well-known Kereyit or Uighur dignitary under Činggis Qan, Ögödei and Güyük.⁵⁷ An educated Nestorian Christian, he combined the positions of chamberlain (*čerbī*) and chief secretary or chancellor (*bičēci*). As head of the Secretariat under Ögödei he held the imperial seal, was in charge of administrative affairs concerning the Western Regions (i.e. Muslim central and western Asia), and no official document in Uighur script or Chinese could be issued without being countersigned by him.⁵⁸ We know a good deal about him from Chinese, Persian and even Latin sources.⁵⁹ He was with Činggis Qan from the early days and had the privilege of being one of the fifteen or so participants in the so-called 'Baljuna Covenant.'⁶⁰ The fact that he is ignored by the *Secret History* may simply be due to political reasons, viz. the removal of all mentions of his name after he fell from power and was executed by order of Möngke in 1252.⁶¹

In 1955 Uemura Seiji made a case for him as the possible author of the *Secret History* which still finds favour with some scholars in China, notably Bayar.⁶² While Čingqai, by virtue of his long association with Činggis Qan and his position as *bičēci*, with skill in writing and access to documentation, would no doubt qualify as a candidate for authorship (or as a recorder), it is surprising that, as a participant in the Baljuna covenant he should make no remark at all on this momentous and dramatic event in the account of the Baljuna episode related in the *Secret History*, especially since we know from Chinese sources that the event in question – the solemn oath made on that occasion – was definitely recorded in the *Tobčīyan*, the official history of the Mongol *qans* from Činggis downward.⁶³

3. Šigi Qutuqu (ca. 1180-1260), the adopted son of Činggis Qan and one of his most trusted men.⁶⁴ A Tatar by birth, he held top positions in the administration and in the army, and enjoyed a

long life. In 1206 he was appointed grand judge (*yeke jarquči*) and was at the same time entrusted with the keeping of legal and population records.⁶⁵ Therefore, he must have been familiar with the Uighur script. In 1941 Haenisch first proposed his name as the author of the *Secret History*, and a strong case for his candidature was made by P. Ratchnevsky in 1965.⁶⁶ In fact it is most unlikely that, had the *Secret History* been written in 1228, Šigi Qutuqu, as a member of the *qan*'s family, a literate person and in charge of written records, would not have been aware of its existence and would not have gained access to it, especially since the *Secret History* contains numerous sections concerning laws and ordinances. This being so, one must seriously take him into account as a possible author/compiler. An important consideration is also that there were at the time very few, if any, literate individuals in the *qan*'s family circle besides Šigi Qutuqu (Čingqai was a close friend and associate, but still an outsider): he would indeed have been the most obvious candidate for such a task. There is, moreover, some internal, i.e. textual, evidence which could point to him as the narrator in the *Secret History*.⁶⁷

The main objection to this attractive theory has been raised by W. Hung, who remarked that Šigi Qutuqu, 'being with Činggis on the campaign to the West, would scarcely have written about the seven years of war and diplomacy in the far regions in such brief and dreary fashion, hardly comparable with the early sections of the book.'⁶⁸

This objection can, in my view, be safely dismissed. Although an active participant in the western campaign, Šigi Qutuqu would rather have forgotten about it since he was responsible for the major reverse experienced by the Mongols in central Asia. After the battle near Parvān, Šigi Qutuqu returned to Činggis Qan 'with only the insignificant remnant of his army.'⁶⁹ This fact alone, I think, would account for the superficial, almost dismissive way in which the war in the West is dealt with in the *Secret History*. Furthermore, the author of the *Secret History* was not interested in foreign people and punitive campaigns abroad,

witness the cursory treatment of *all* of them and the number of factual errors in his descriptions, his main concern being domestic matters and conflicts within the Mongolian heartland.⁷⁰

Another objection one can raise is why, if Šigi Qutuqu were the author or compiler of the work, would he perpetuate in writing the fiction of his own origins as one of Mother Hö'elün 'four foundlings'?⁷¹ Ratchnevsky has rightly pointed out that Rašīd al-Dīn's account of his adoption by Činggis' wife Börte rather than by his mother Hö'elün is far more reliable.⁷² Perhaps the answer is that Šigi Qutuqu preferred a good story to a factual account, even with regard to his own person. Mother Hö'elün's legendary role as the adoptive mother of future heroes was no doubt already current in Činggis Qan's time (the motif is too well 'elaborated' in the *Secret History* to be a later development), and veracity is, on the whole, not the strong point of the entire narrative.

Against the above-mentioned three candidates, Hung puts forward his own imaginary author, i.e. someone 'brought up in the intimacy of Činggis' family, a servant who grew up with the family, who witnessed many of the happenings, and who heard about many of the others from the lips of those personally involved.' This 'unlettered man ... might have told many of his stories many times to many listeners before they were set down in writing', and 'it required his long life and countless ages of nomadic antiquity behind him to compose his book, though the writing might have taken only a few days.'⁷³ Hung, who believes that the *Secret History* was composed in 1264, likes 'to imagine that in the coolness of the August evenings over the Kerülen, our hypothetical aged narrator was invited to recite some of his stories to the grandchildren and great-grandchildren of Činggis.'⁷⁴

Hung's theory about an old, illiterate servant or familiar of Činggis' recollecting the qan's family history has found a follower in Š. Čoimaa who, in 1994, suggested Father Mōnglik as the author of the *Secret History*.⁷⁵ Mōnglik was the son of Čaraqa of the Qongqotat, a faithful retainer of Činggis' father Yisügei Ba'atur, and is regarded by some as the man whom Hö'elün

married after her husband's death.⁷⁶ As does Ratchnevsky's theory about Šigi Qutuqu, Čoimaa invokes a linguistic argument (the use in certain passages of the pronoun of the first person plural) to support his contention.

Other hypotheses have been put forward involving either an individual person identified as a likely candidate,⁷⁷ or an anonymous author belonging to a particular group or faction at the Mongol court. In this regard, we should mention the thesis of the eminent non-Mongolist writer I.N. Gumilev who, after a thorough and perceptive analysis of the contents of the *Secret History*, reached the conclusion that its author must have been a member of the 'Old Mongolian Party', i.e. of the conservative element among the political leadership whose aim was to revive the traditional Mongol military values, the 'old days of valour', against the more educated and progressive element (represented chiefly by the non-Mongol advisers at court), whose aim was to set up a civil administration and rational exploitation of the conquered territories.⁷⁸

Finally, for Ligeti who critically reviewed some of the earlier theories, including W. Hung's,⁷⁹ the anonymous author of the *Secret History* ought not to be regarded as an author in the modern sense, but rather as a recorder-compiler of materials from many heterogeneous sources, since 'according to the practice of this age, the person of the author does not matter, he is unimportant, he stays behind the scenes, and only lucky, accidental circumstances would turn up his name. In the case of the "Secret History of the Mongols" too, we still have to wait for such a lucky, accidental circumstance.'⁸⁰

While agreeing in principle with Ligeti, I consider the most likely candidate as author or, better, compiler and author of the *Urtext* of the *Secret History* to be Šigi Qutuqu. My argument in support of him is that he would certainly qualify as a member of Gumilev's so-called old conservative party, i.e. the 'old guard.' The Chinese sources are very critical of his management of affairs in north China, and the *Secret History* ignores all members of the opposing faction (Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai 耶律楚材, Nien-ho Chung-

shan 結合重山, etc.). This would also explain the *Secret History's* bias towards domestic versus foreign matters and perhaps, also, the hint concerning the transfer of rule from Ögödei's line to that of Tolui. Unlike Čingqai, Šigi Qutuqu did not fall foul of Tolui's son Möngke, for we know that he not only survived the purges following the latter's enthronement, but was awarded an apanage in China in 1253. Rašid al-Dīn confirms that he was attached to the house of Tolui, whose ulus after Činggis' death was the ancestral territory in Mongolia.⁸¹ These aspects of Šigi Qutuqu's personality and career, together with Ratchnevsky's convincing arguments and the indirect evidence that the *Secret History* narrator was a member of Činggis' family,⁸² speak strongly in his favour. However, for want of any solid and conclusive evidence, we can only make an educated guess in the matter, without absolutely ruling out certain of the other personages discussed above.

4. History of the text

The manuscript tradition of the Mongol text of the *Secret History*, as well as the vicissitudes of the Chinese transcription and translation carried out in the 14th century, have been the subject of a detailed study by W. Hung which appeared in 1951 and to which I have frequently referred. A good summary of Hung's study by B.I. Pankratov appeared in 1962, and another one, by Chen Chin 甄金, in 1986.⁸³ For pertinent comments and further information on the text in Uighur script and the Chinese version, we are indebted to L. Ligeti and F.W. Cleaves respectively.⁸⁴ An essential chronology and bibliography of the *Secret History* was prepared by J.R. Krueger and published in 1967.⁸⁵

The following is an outline of the textual history of the *Secret History* based mainly on the above-mentioned contributions, but with a number of my own inferences. However, because of the many gaps in our knowledge regarding the early

period (13th-14th c.), the reconstruction as presented is still to a large extent conjectural.

The first recension of the *Secret History* was in Uighur script and the manuscript almost certainly had no 'formal' title, the opening line Činggis Qa'an-nu huja'ur 'The origin of Činggis Qa'an' which describes only the contents of the first, genealogical portion of the book, serving also as designation for the rest of the work – a classical case of *pars pro toto*. This practice is well attested in the West, witness the opening sentence of *The Gospel According to Matthew*.⁸⁶ Furthermore, our epic chronicle did not require a proper title since it was not written to be published as a book, but was compiled solely for the members of the imperial clan.⁸⁷

The words Činggis Qa'an-nu huja'ur represent the pronunciation of the opening sentence of the *Secret History* in the second half of the 14th century which in Uighur script read Činggis Qayan-u uja'ur. Since Činggis Qan never bore the title of qayan (first assumed by his son and successor Ögödei), but only that of qan, the original opening words must have been Činggis Qan-u uja'ur.⁸⁸

In assuming that the opening words stand *per se*, i.e. are not grammatically connected with the words that follow them in § 1 of the *Secret History* and thus form a sort of title of the work, I agree with my predecessors Naka, Poppe, Mostaert, Ligeti, Murakami, Cleaves and Irinčin. There is, however, a substantial body of opinion that disagrees on both counts, holding instead that the words in question are logically connected with the next sentence and are, in fact, its subject.⁸⁹

Unfortunately we are not informed about the fate of the manuscript during the several decades that elapsed between the time it was completed at Köde'e Aral and the beginning of the Ming period in the second half of the 14th century. What we know is that 1) a number of copies survived the turmoil at the end of the Yüan dynasty, and 2) in the course of transmission the original text had undergone certain modifications. Presumably,

the text of the *Činggis Qan-u ujaγur* (original and/or copies) had been kept in the imperial archives throughout the Yüan period, but the 'editing' of the text may already have begun during Möngke's reign (1251-59) or even earlier, which may account for an 'intermediate' version – possibly one of several – preserved in the *Altan tobči*, the existence of which is postulated further on (see Section Five). It was, however, during Qubilai's long reign (1260-94) that research into the earlier history of the Mongol ruling house was officially promoted with the establishment in 1261 of a Department of National (= Mongol) History (*Kuo-shih yüan* 國史院) within the College of Literature or Han-lin Academy (*Han-lin yüan* 翰林院).⁹⁰ Chinese and Mongol scholars like Wang E 王鶚 (1190-1273) and Sarman (fl. 1288)⁹¹ participated in the enterprise.

For the purpose of eventually compiling the chronicle of the previous reigns, the scholar-officials of the Department of National History collected all the written sources available and prepared drafts in Mongolian (ca. 1290). These were duly revised and translated into Chinese. The Mongol chronicle was known simply as *Tobčiyān* or *History*; its Chinese counterpart was the *Shih-lu* 實錄 or *Veritable Records*. The records of Činggis' and Ögödei's reigns (i.e. the first two parts of the *Wu-ch'ao shih-lu* 五朝實錄 or *Veritable Records of the Five Reigns*) were completed in 1303. The material contained in the *Činggis Qan-u ujaγur* was selectively but heavily used in the preparation of the *Tobčiyān* – a work to which few people had access and which unfortunately did not survive the fall of the dynasty, hence our very scanty knowledge about it.⁹²

While this historiographical activity was going on in the latter part of Qubilai's reign and in those of his successors, the text of the *Činggis Qan-u ujaγur* underwent various changes at the hands of unknown editors who saw fit to 'improve' the original in the new political climate. These alterations, carried out independently from the activity of the Department of National History, consisted chiefly in 1) introducing new material,

including the passages favourable to the house of Tolui to which Qubilai also belonged;⁹³ 2) expunging references to events and personages no longer approved of, such as those pertaining to the former chancellor Čingqai;⁹⁴ and 3) altering titles to confer posthumous honours on the imperial ancestors. The changes were arbitrary and often incorrect, as in changing the title of *qan* to *qayan* with respect to Qabul Qan, Ambaqai Qan, Yisügei Qan, Činggis Qan, etc.⁹⁵ In meddling with the text, the revisers may also have at times altered the order of the existing material, which would account for some lacunae and internal inconsistencies.⁹⁶

The revision was probably a gradual process and, given the nature of the work, done entirely by Mongol officials or, even more likely, by members of the imperial clan and court *bičēcis*;⁹⁷ one cannot detect any Chinese historiographic bias or influence in the text itself. Although no dates can be assigned to the revision, most of the alterations were carried out in all likelihood during Qubilai's reign, when the Mongol court took an active interest in historical records.

The revised version, which we may now call *Činggis Qayan-u ujaγur* to distinguish it from the *Činggis Qan-u ujaγur*, was in many respects different from the latter, a fact confirmed by a comparison with the text preserved in the *Altan tobči*.⁹⁸

As stated earlier in connection with the ongoing compilation of the *Tobčiyān*, oral and written sources on the previous reigns were collected at the time. One of those was an account of Ögödei's reign compiled on the model and style of the *Činggis Qan-u ujaγur* and forming, as it were, a continuation of the latter. In all probability this account was never completed, or it may have reached Qubilai's court archives in a fragmentary state owing to the conflict between the Ögödeids and the Toluids of the preceding two decades or so. Of its existence, however, we are certain, for what is left of it is the present section on Ögödei in the *Secret History*. As with the *Činggis Qan-u ujaγur* and the *Tobčiyān*, the other records in Mongolian were also subject to editorial work, as shown by the fact that the entry on Korea was

inserted arbitrarily (and incorrectly, as it turned out) into the above account on Ögödei (§ 274).⁹⁹

The investigation carried out by W. Hung into the history of the Mongolian manuscript of the *Secret History*¹⁰⁰ indicates that from the latter part of Qubilai's reign onward, Mongol and Chinese officials were engaged in several history projects (one involving also the condensation of more extensive records),¹⁰¹ and that the prevailing suspicion of the Mongol court and officials towards Chinese officialdom affected the historiographers' task.¹⁰² This explains the introduction of a system of checks and counterchecks of the edited texts requiring multiple translations. For example, the *Tobčiyān* could be translated into Chinese by a non-Chinese official; at the same time, the *Veritable Records* in Chinese had to be rendered into Mongolian in Uighur script. With the records of the early rulers, the Chinese version had to proceed from the Mongolian, but for the later records starting with Qubilai's reign the reverse was true.¹⁰³

As for the *Činggis Qaγan-u ujaγur*, the account on Ögödei was used together with the extant records on the second emperor in the compilation of the *Tobčiyān*, and these records were then presumably shelved back in the archives.¹⁰⁴ We know that the *Tobčiyān* was regarded as an 'extremely secret' document, access to which was forbidden except to the authorized, and the same no doubt applied to the *Činggis Qaγan-u ujaγur* and its sequel.¹⁰⁵

In March 1369, immediately after the fall of the Yüan dynasty, a commission of eighteen historiographers of the College of Literature headed by Sung Lien 宋濂 (1310-81) began in earnest the compilation of the *Yüan-shih*, the official history of the previous dynasty.¹⁰⁶ Among the documents that they retrieved from the secret archives of the former Imperial Library (*pi-fu* 秘府, lit. 'The Secret Repository'), chief among them the *Veritable Records of Thirteen Reigns* (*Shih-san ch'ao shih-lu* 十三朝實錄),¹⁰⁷ were at least two copies of the *Činggis Qaγan-u ujaγur* and its sequel, the short account on Ögödei (see below). Unfortunately, the historiographers made no use of either source in their haste to

finish the official history of the Yüan, a task they completed in a little over a year (July 1370).¹⁰⁸

In the following years those unusual documents attracted the attention of the Mongol and Chinese scholars in the College of Literature who, after joining the section on Ögödei to the *Činggis Qaγan-u ujaγur*, transferred the original colophon to the end of the former and made a free summarized version in Chinese of the entire text using one of the copies in Uighur script.¹⁰⁹ Subsequently they prepared an interlinear phonetic transcription with a word by word interlinear translation into Chinese.¹¹⁰ Apparently the second operation was carried out on the other available manuscript copy (or on one of the other copies), since there are numerous minor differences between the text of the free version and that of the interlinear version with regard to variations in both the transcription of proper and geographical names and in the rendering of words, as noted by Pelliot, Cleaves and Mostaert.¹¹¹ According to Hung, such divergences can be accounted for by the fact that 1) more than one translator worked on different parts of the text, and 2) different translators worked on the interlinear and the free translation of the same section of the text.¹¹²

By this time, the document found in the secret archives of the Yüan court, which lacked a 'proper' title, had been renamed *Yüan pi-shih* 元秘史 or *Secret History of the Yüan*, and *Mongγol-un niγuča tobčiyān* in Mongolian, the latter being merely the Mongol counterpart of the Chinese title.¹¹³

When, in the mid-Hung-wu period (1368-98), the Ming government decided to train Chinese students as interpreters in their dealings with the troublesome neighbours on the northeastern frontier, the College of Literature prepared a basic Sino-Mongolian glossary with the Mongol words given in phonetic transcription, followed by a reader consisting of twelve official documents in Mongolian, interlinearly transcribed and translated into Chinese, with the first five documents also having sectional summaries in Chinese. The work was published in 1389

under the title of *Hua-i i-yü* 華夷譯語 or *Sino-Foreign (= Mongolian) Vocabulary*.¹¹⁴ The aim of the compilers, whose names have been handed down, was to enable the user of this language handbook (altogether only 84 leaves) to speak, not to write, Mongolian; therefore, no Uighur script was employed. The Chinese language used in the *Hua-i i-yü* is the so-called *Yüan* vernacular, i.e. the 13th-14th century northern Chinese colloquial used as the 'official' Chinese language during the Mongol period.¹¹⁵ The fact that the free Chinese version and the interlinear translation of the *Mongȳol-un niȳuča tobčiyān* were also in the vernacular, and that the system of transcribing the Mongol words with Chinese characters accompanied by Chinese glosses is the same as that used in the *Hua-i i-yü* of 1389, shows beyond doubt that when the scholars in the College of Literature undertook the complex task of translating and transcribing the *Mongȳol-un niȳuča tobčiyān* with the addition of Chinese glosses in the first decade of the Hung-wu period, they did so also with a practical, didactic aim in mind. Significantly, in the edict of 1382 authorizing the compilation of the *Hua-i i-yü*, it is specifically stated that the compilers could consult the *Yüan pi-shih*, i.e. the *Mongȳol-un niȳuča tobčiyān* 'for reference.'¹¹⁶ This means, of course, that by that date the text of the *Secret History* was already available in translation and transcription.

Upon completion of the *Hua-i i-yü*, or perhaps even while this handbook was still being completed, someone in the College of Literature decided to utilize the entire text of the *Yüan pi-shih*, i.e. the continuous free translation and the already 'processed' Mongol text, to provide 1) an additional rich source of language material for future interpreters, and, at the same time, 2) a vast store of sundry information on the lore and customs of the Mongols. The scholars in the College of Literature were by then well acquainted with the *Yüan pi-shih* in transcription, which they had 'mined' for words to include in the *Hua-i i-yü* vocabulary.

To carry out this project certain editorial improvements were deemed necessary, drawing on the experience gained in

preparing the *Hua-i i-yü*. They consisted chiefly in breaking up the text into sections (282 in all), each comprising a varying number of lines of Mongol text in transcription with interlinear glosses followed immediately by the free Chinese translation. In this way the latter was broken down into the same number of sectional summaries following the system already employed in the *Hua-i i-yü*.¹¹⁷

The system of phonetic transcription, i.e. the use of Chinese characters to represent Mongol sounds, was improved with the introduction of mnemonic devices, making the new text an innovative and more sophisticated work than the *Hua-i i-yü*.¹¹⁸

Lastly, the text was divided into twelve *chüan* 卷 following the Chinese practice to divide books into chapters. In the present case, the editors called the last two chapters not, as we would expect, *chüan* 11 and 12, but *hsü-chi* 續集 ('Supplementary Collection' = 'Supplement'), *chuan* 1 and 2. The first ten chapters, forming the main portion of the work (§§ 1-246), deal with Činggis' ancestors, his life and career in Mongolia, while the two supplementary chapters cover his foreign campaigns and his death, as well as the brief account on Ögödei (§§ 247-281). The division into twelve chapters was motivated by the compilers' desire or intention to divide the book into *chüan* of almost equal length, i.e. of ca. fifty leaves each (49 + 51 + 51 + 51 + 51 + 54 + 50 + 49 + 49 + 45 + 52 + 56 = 608 leaves). The breaking up of the text into 282 sections or paragraphs is purely arbitrary, as punctuation often is. Furthermore, it is also inconsistent, insofar as certain passages are broken in mid-sentence, the rest of the sentence belonging to the next section. I suspect that, at times, the Chinese and Mongol scholars may have been led astray by the punctuation of the Mongolian manuscript, the use of punctuation marks (*čeg*) in the early Mongol documents in Uighur script being, as is known, irregular and unreliable.¹¹⁹ But this is mere speculation.

It must be stressed that since the aim of the editors was essentially linguistic, they did not interfere with the text itself nor with the contents of the book, and they totally ignored problems

of chronology, internal contradictions and historical accuracy. On the other hand, they were very meticulous in performing the task assigned to them, since accuracy in transcription and translation was of paramount importance. If they did not understand or were not sure about the exact meaning of a word, they left it untranslated. If there was an obvious lacuna in the text, they left a blank space. We do not know to what extent they improved the interlinear translation, i.e. the Chinese glosses, over that of their predecessors, but, as in the case of the *Hua-i i-yü*, the renderings are almost always accurate. However, they were not overpunctilious and (quite rightly) did not deem it necessary to render the same Mongol word with the same word in Chinese; in fact, they frequently employed synonyms. Occasionally they made mistakes, both in the transcription and in the glosses, but these are comparatively few and easily identifiable.

Since the abridged free translation was originally carried out independently of the transcription and translation, besides the already noted variations in the transcription of proper and geographical names, there are also differences in vocabulary between the interlinear translation and the sectional summaries that will be discussed in the Commentary. As in the case of the *Hua-i i-yü*, no effort was made to preserve the text in Uighur script which, the task successfully completed, was discarded and eventually lost.

We do not know exactly when the work was completed, but we know that 1) it was definitely printed, for although no complete exemplar of the book has yet turned up, we have the testimony of Ming scholars, as well as 41 leaves of the printed edition discovered in the Peking Palace in 1933 together with printed fragments of the *Hua-i i-yü*, and 2) as shown by these leaves, its title was still *Yüan pi-shih* and its Mongolian counterpart was transcribed phonetically under the Chinese title as *Monggol-un niuča* (= *ni'uča*) to [b]č'a'an.¹²⁰

When the monumental Ming encyclopedia *Yung-lo ta-tien* 永樂大典 was being compiled (1403-08), it was thought desirable also to include in it the text of the *Yüan pi-shih* under the character

Yüan 元 (according to rhyme). First, a neat copy of the abridged translation was made in 1404, with the title *Yüan pi-shih* changed to *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* 元朝秘史 or *Secret History of the Yüan Dynasty*. The editors of the encyclopedia then decided to include the full text in transcription, dividing the contents into 15 chapters which formed *chüan* 5179-5193 of the *Yung-lo ta-tien*.¹²¹ These editorial changes yielded an identical text (except for minor variants) with a different format and altered title, the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* in 15 *chüan*. The alteration of the title may help us in dating, albeit approximately, the printing of the *Yüan pi-shih* in 12 *chüan*. We know that the *Hua-i i-yü* was published in 1389 or, more likely, in 1390, because the date of the preface corresponds to 3 November 1389.¹²² As Hung pointed out, the *Yüan pi-shih* 'reader', with its more sophisticated system of transcription, 'could hardly have come about very soon after 1389.'¹²³ We know that it took at least seven years to prepare (compile, cut and print) the *Hua-i i-yü*.¹²⁴ One may therefore assume that it would have taken several more years to process a much longer and difficult text like the *Yüan pi-shih*, particularly since the task was not urgent because the *Hua-i i-yü* had just been published. I doubt very much whether the work could have been completed and printed before the second half of the '90s, the scanty data available suggesting a rather later date.

Firstly, the printed fragments of the *Hua-i i-yü* found in 1933 bear a striking resemblance to the 41 leaves of the printed *Yüan pi-shih*, and Ch'en Yüan's 陳垣 identification of the signatures of at least two of the woodblock makers indicates that the two texts were printed by the same team of workmen.¹²⁵ However, as shown by Hung, the *Hua-i i-yü* fragments belong to the second edition of this book.¹²⁶ It is doubtful that a second edition of such a text would have been called for within ten years of the first.

Secondly, it was in the first years of Yung-lo's reign, i.e. in the period 1403-05 that we see an improvement, albeit temporary, in the relations of the Ming court with the Uriangqai Mongols in the north: friendly embassies were exchanged between the two,

with regular markets and new provisions established for trading – the famous ‘horse fairs’ – the presentation of tribute, etc.¹²⁷ It was also a most suitable climate for the (politically motivated) promotion of means to improve communications and intercourse with the Mongols, such as the publication of Mongol language textbooks. Significantly, the publication in 1389 of the first edition of the *Hua-i i-yü* coincided with the submission to the Ming court of an important group of Mongol tribes – a determining factor in Chinese policy at the time.¹²⁸

Thirdly, as we have seen, it was just at that time, in 1404, that the *Yüan pi-shih* free translation was copied for inclusion in the great Ming encyclopedia, to be followed by the text in transcription, duly copied and included soon after.

Fourthly, the title of this work was changed to *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih*. If the *Yüan pi-shih* ‘reader’ had not already been printed, its title and, possibly, chapter division, would in all likelihood have conformed to those adopted by the *Yung-lo ta-tien* commission. Therefore, unless the cutting of the blocks and the printing were so far advanced by ca. 1405 as to make any change in title and format impossible, the *Yüan pi-shih* was almost certainly printed and published before the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* was copied between 1405 and 1408. I would therefore suggest as a tentative date for the publication of both the *Yüan pi-shih* and the second edition of the *Hua-i i-yü* the period 1403-05.¹²⁹ I must emphasize that since no complete exemplar of the printed edition has survived, and none of the 41 extant leaves is the first or last leaf of a chapter, the argument *ex titulo* rests on inferences.

Thus, by 1408 we may assume the existence of three texts of the *Yüan-(ch'ao) pi-shih*: (A) the printed text in 12 (10 + 2) chapters, (B) the manuscript copy of the *Yung-lo ta-tien* edition in 15 chapters, and (C) the manuscript, originally copied for the *Yung-lo ta-tien* (in 1404), of the free summarized translation also in 15 chapters. The earlier manuscripts of the free version, of the text in transcription and perhaps also of the text in Uighur script must still have existed but their fate is unknown.¹³⁰

All the later manuscripts and printed editions of the text in transcription, i.e. of our *Secret History*, derive from A and B, and all the manuscripts and printed editions of the free summarized translation derive from C. While no original exemplar of A (except for 41 leaves) and B has survived, it is almost miraculous that C should have been preserved (see below).

There are numerous variant readings in A and B which have been listed and published by E. Haenisch.¹³¹ The variants are mostly due to copyists' errors, which is not surprising, since they are found in later manuscript copies of A and B, as well as in modern printed editions based on these copies.¹³² Some errors occur in one only of either manuscript version.¹³³ This leads us to believe that while the *Yung-lo ta-tien* copyists may occasionally have erred in transcribing a difficult text,¹³⁴ the Ming editors of the encyclopedia had also at their disposal, besides the printed text, a good manuscript of the *Yüan pi-shih* for reference, which they used to correct some of the imperfections of A.

With regard to the colophon, since all the manuscripts deriving from A and B contain an identical text,¹³⁵ the lacuna in it must go back to the *Činggis Qaγan-u uγaγur* manuscript(s) used by the early Ming historiographers and did not occur in the transmission of the Chinese text in transcription as surmised by Mostaert.¹³⁶

I think it is evident from the above that the textual history of the *Secret History* in the 13th and 14th centuries rests largely on inferences supported by relatively few well-established facts; the picture could alter considerably with the discovery of new material.¹³⁷ By contrast, the history of the text – more specifically of versions A, B and C – during the Ming and Ch'ing periods is well documented and, thanks to the meticulous investigation of W. Hung, now traceable virtually step by step. However, in view of its complexity given the mass of material available, it is not necessary to describe the text filiation in detail here, especially since Hung's article is easily accessible. I shall therefore sum up his conclusions regarding the lineage of A, B and C as follows:

A. At least one exemplar still existed in China in the late 18th century. Chin Te-yü 金德輿 (fl. 1800) owned an incomplete exemplar of A, and Chang Hsiang-yün 張祥雲 (fl. 1799-1806) possessed a good facsimile copy. Ku Kuang-ch'i 顧廣圻 (1776-1835) in turn had a good facsimile copy of Chang's copy made in 1805 after checking it against Chin's exemplar. Ku's copy is known as the 'Ku certified text' ('Ku chiao pen 顧校本').¹³⁸

After passing through several hands, the Ku certified text came into the possession of the Manchu scholar Sheng-yü 盛昱 (1850-1900). It was subsequently acquired by the Commercial Press of Shanghai which reproduced it photographically and published it in 1936, in the 3rd series of the *SPTK*. This edition contains the 41 leaves of A discovered in 1933, and is regarded as the best modern edition (Y²).¹³⁹

A facsimile copy of the Ku certified text belonging to Wen T'ing-shih 文廷式 (1856-1904) was acquired by Yeh Te-hui 葉德輝 (1864-1927) who printed and published it in 1908 (Y¹).

Both Y¹ and Y² are reproduced photographically in YSC, 311-621 and 2-310 respectively.

Y¹ was used by Shiratori Kurakichi 白鳥庫吉 in conjunction with Y² for his own edition (with corrections and romanized transcription of the Mongolian text) in 1942.¹⁴⁰

Wen T'ing-shih had a copy of his copy of the Ku certified text made for Naitō Torajirō 內藤虎次郎 in 1902; this copy was in turn recopied soon after for Naka Michiyo 那珂通世, whose annotated translation appeared in Tokyo in 1907 (Na¹).¹⁴¹

A manuscript copy formerly belonging to P. Pelliot and now in the Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, (Y³) is not discussed by Hung. It deserves attention insofar as it appears to be a copy of the Ku certified text collated with B, or with a copy of B, though its position in the stemma is not clear.¹⁴²

B. The original text was lost, probably during the Boxer War and the destruction of the College of Literature in Peking in 1900.¹⁴³

A manuscript copy of B was in the possession of Ch'ien T'ahsin 錢大昕 (1728-1804).

Another manuscript copy – probably a copy of the above – belonging to Pao T'ing-po 鮑廷博 (1728-1814) was eventually bought by the Archimandrite Palladii (P.I. Kafarov, 1817-78) in 1872, who transliterated and translated it into Russian.¹⁴⁴ A photo-reproduction of this copy was edited by B.J. Pankratov (1892-1979) and published in Moscow in 1962 (Y³).¹⁴⁵ It is reproduced in YSC, 623-771.

A copy of the sectional summaries only, personally made by Chang Mu 張穆 (1805-49) in 1841, was collated by him in 1847 with the copy formerly belonging to Pao T'ing-po. It was published the following year in the *Lien-yün-i ts'ung-shu* 連筠移叢書 (Y⁵).¹⁴⁶

Chang Mu's edition in 15 *chüan* was richly annotated by Li Wen-t'ien 李文田 (1834-95) and published posthumously in 1896 with marginal notes by Wen T'ing-shih (YC).¹⁴⁷

Although Hung's study covers most of the facts concerning the history of B, as in the case of A some information was not available to him at the time. For an updating of our knowledge on the subject, we have now M. Taube's brilliant article on the Palladius manuscript, and Harayama Akira's 原山焯 important contributions regarding the Lu Hsin-yüan 陸心源 and Palladius manuscripts, including a complete list of the variant readings of these two texts.¹⁴⁸

C. This copy was for a long time in the Nei-ko ta-k'u 內閣大庫, the old storage building in the Peking Palace, then in the library of Liu Yao-yün 劉嶽雲 (1849-1917), and in 1933 in Ch'en Yüan's library (Li-yün shu-wu 勵耘書屋) in Peking. A page of the manuscript is reproduced in YPSIYYTK.¹⁴⁹

As we shall see, all the transcriptions and translations of the Mongol text of the *Secret History* are made from Y¹, Y² and Y³ (Y³ became available in photo-reproduction only in 1962)¹⁵⁰ in conjunction with the *Altan tobči* text for reference, while the translations of the Chinese free summarized version are made from Y⁵, as well as from Y¹ and Y².¹⁵¹

5. *The Secret History text in the Altan tobči*

Whereas the text of the *Secret History* in Chinese transcription has been known for a long time – centuries in fact – the existence of its counterpart in Uighur script was unknown until 1926. In that year, Ĵamiyan Güng (1864-1930), the learned chairman of the Scientific Research Committee of the MPR (Bügüde Nayiramdaqu Mongyol Arad Ulus-un Sinjileküi Uqayan-u Küriyeleng)¹⁵² discovered a copy of the chronicle *Altan tobči* or *Golden Summary* by Blo-bzañ bstan-'jin (mo. Lubsangdanjin, kh. Luvsandanzan; fl. 1700) in the family library of the *tayiji* Dari (or Damdin) of the Yüngsiyebü clan in the former Sang Beyise Banner (*qosiqun*) of Sečen Qan Ayimay, the present Bayan Tümen of Dornod Aimag.¹⁵³ This unique manuscript was donated by the *tayiji* to the Oriental Library of the Scientific Committee in Ulan Bator.

Ĵamiyan Güng found that a large portion of the *Secret History* was incorporated in the *Altan tobči* and, realizing the importance of his find for the investigation of the former, he promptly made a copy of the entire work by his own hand which he sent to P. Pelliot in Paris in 1927.¹⁵⁴ It is through Pelliot that the scholarly world first learned about the *Secret History* text contained in the *Altan tobči*.¹⁵⁵

In 1932, B. Ya. Vladimircov in Leningrad obtained the manuscript on extended loan and during that period had a photostat copy made for the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, the present St. Petersburg Branch (SPb Filial) of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences (IV RAN), where it is still kept.¹⁵⁶ The manuscript was returned to Ulan Bator in 1935, where it is held in the Academy of Sciences Library.¹⁵⁷

The great Buriat scholar C.Ž. Žamcarano (1880-1937),¹⁵⁸ who had been exiled to Leningrad in 1932 for political reasons, studied the manuscript of the *Altan tobči* and prepared an excellent description of its contents. It was published in 1936 in his book on Mongol chronicles of the 17th century.¹⁵⁹

In 1937, the Scientific Committee of the MPR in Ulan Bator published the text of the *Altan tobči*, unfortunately not in facsimile reproduction but in a two-volume printed edition.¹⁶⁰

The text of the *Secret History* in the *Altan tobči* was romanized and included into S.A. Kozin's work on the *Secret History* which appeared in Moscow and Leningrad in 1941.¹⁶¹

In 1952, the 1937 Ulan Bator edition of the *Altan tobči* was reproduced photographically by Harvard University and published as vol. 1 of the Harvard-Yenching Institute *Scripta Mongolica* series. This one-volume edition contains a valuable introduction by A. Mostaert.¹⁶²

In 1957, C. Šagdar published in Ulan Bator a version of the *Altan tobči* in Cyrillic script for the general public using the 1937 edition. A second revised edition appeared in 1990.¹⁶³

In 1963, Sechin Jagchid (Ĵaqaçidsečen; Cha-ch'i-ssu-ch'in 札奇斯欽) published a partial translation of the *Altan tobči* into Chinese of which a second revised edition appeared in 1979.¹⁶⁴

In 1973, the *Altan tobči* was translated into Russian in full, with critical notes and a commentary, by N.P. Šastina, who had previously translated the Mongolian chronicle *Šara tuji*.¹⁶⁵

In 1974, L. Ligeti, who had obtained a microfilm of the Ulan Bator manuscript, published his transcription of the *Secret History* text incorporated in the *Altan tobči* in his *MLMC* series.¹⁶⁶

An Inner Mongolian edition of the *Altan tobči* based on the Ulan Bator edition of 1937 with a rich commentary by Čoyiji was published in Hohhot (Kökeqota) in 1983.¹⁶⁷

Following a close examination of the *Altan tobči* manuscript in Ulan Bator in 1970 and 1987, the present author published an article in 1989 pointing out the shortcomings and unreliability of all the then available editions of the *Altan tobči* and, in particular, of the *Secret History* text preserved in it.¹⁶⁸ The article concluded with a plea for the Mongol authorities 'to make this unique historical document available in facsimile or in photo-reproduction as soon as possible.'¹⁶⁹

In 1990, as part of the activities in Mongolia connected with the commemoration of the 750th anniversary of the writing of the

Secret History, the Mongolian Academy of Sciences published under the editorship of Š. Bira an excellent photo-reproduction of the *Altan tobči* manuscript,¹⁷⁰ thus making the original available to scholars the world over. We are all greatly indebted to Professor Bira and his colleagues for having achieved this splendid task in a comparatively short time, and for the high quality of this now indispensable publication.

In 1992, a complete transcription and word-index of the *Altan tobči* by H.-P. Vietze and Gendeng Lubsang based on the 1990 photo-reproduction was published by the Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa of Tokyo University of Foreign Studies.¹⁷¹

Thus we are well-equipped at present to undertake a thorough investigation of the *Altan tobči* using the original text of the unique manuscript of Lubsangdanjin's work. It should be mentioned, however, that this manuscript is a mediocre late-17th or early 18th century copy of the lost original, containing numerous misprints and faults (see below).

Since the 1930s, scholars in Mongolia, China, Japan, Europe and the U.S.A. have been studying the *Altan tobči* from literary, linguistic and historical points of view, and independently from the text of the *Secret History* incorporated in it.¹⁷² The main contribution to a comparative analysis of the *Secret History* and *Altan tobči* texts is unquestionably Š. Čoimaa's recent monograph.¹⁷³ As amply demonstrated by Žamcarano, Heissig and Mostaert, the *Altan tobči* is a rich source of epic material related chiefly to the cycles of stories about Činggis Qan, his sons and close companions (*nököd*); it is also a repository of wise sayings or 'instructions' (*suryal, bilig*) attributed to the conqueror. Lubsangdanjin has interwoven old epic tales and traditional wisdom with historical narratives drawn from a variety of sources, most of which are no longer extant, encompassing a period from the kings of India and Tibet to Činggis' legendary ancestry, and, through Činggis' sons and grandsons, to Dayan Qan (1470-1543) and Legden (Ligdan, Lindan) Qan of the Čaqar (1592-1634).¹⁷⁴

For the account on Činggis' ancestors, beginning with Börte Činua and Үооа Maral and ending with Činggis' death in the Year of the Pig (1227), Lubsangdanjin relies chiefly on the *Secret History*. We are not informed as to how he gained access to this source, i.e. whether directly or through another chronicle containing it, nor does Lubsangdanjin cite the *Secret History* as a source: all we have is Lubsangdanjin's text itself which reproduces a major portion of the *Secret History*, all the purloined passages having been identified by Kozin, Mostaert and Ligeti.¹⁷⁵ In his perceptive analysis of the *Altan tobči* text of the *Secret History*, Ligeti has made the following observations:¹⁷⁶

1. Lubsangdanjin 'copied' most of the *Secret History* into his work.
2. Usually the text of the *Secret History* is copied verbatim.
3. In some sections the text of the *Secret History* is reproduced in either a 'mutilated' or 'enlarged' form.¹⁷⁷
4. Slips and inaccuracies, especially frequent in the case of proper and geographical names, as well as in the case of obsolete words, are due to the copyist's carelessness and ignorance.¹⁷⁸
5. From the above it is obvious that the present text of the *Altan tobči* is a copy of the original by an unknown copyist.¹⁷⁹
6. Although the language of the *Secret History* has been somewhat modernized by Lubsangdanjin to conform with the 'classical' orthography current in his time,¹⁸⁰ the preclassical forms of words are often preserved, especially in those passages which Lubsangdanjin did not understand. (An unknown hand has subsequently added interlinear glosses to many of these words, but they are often inaccurate.)¹⁸¹
7. Lubsangdanjin used a manuscript of the *Secret History* which preserved the orthographic and linguistic characteristics of the 13th century original in Uighur script.¹⁸²
8. The manuscript which served as a source for the *Altan tobči* is not identical with that (or those) used by the Ming transcribers

and translators, as shown by the fuller accounts, i.e. additional words and sentences found in the former.¹⁸³

9. The wide divergences existing at times between the *Altan tobči* account and the *Secret History* (Y) indicate that Lubsangdanjin used another (unknown) source on Činggis Qan besides the *Secret History*.¹⁸⁴
10. The 'mutilated' sections, i.e. those sections of the *Secret History* which are given in a shorter version or left out altogether in the *Altan tobči*, are due either to Lubsangdanjin's editorship and selection criteria, or to the fact that they were not in the manuscript he used. The latter is probably the case for the section (§§ 176-208) devoted to the succession issue, which is in all likelihood a later interpolation in the *Činggis Qan-u ujaγur*, and for the entire section on Ögödei (§§ 269-281).¹⁸⁵

The conclusion that can be drawn from Ligeti's analysis is that the *Secret History* text used by Lubsangdanjin is essentially the 13th century *Činggis Qan-u ujaγur* rather than its somewhat later (but still 13th century) recension, the *Činggis Qayan-u ujaγur*.¹⁸⁶ The variant readings concern mainly the orthography, the original early readings of the word usually being retained, albeit in a corrupt form, often to the point of unrecognizability due to copyists' errors. Other changes, such as those affecting names and titles (e.g., Činggis Qan > Sutu Boyda Činggis Qayan; Muqali > Muquli; etc.) are purely formal, as are the grammatical 'improvements' introduced by Lubsangdanjin. All the major changes we observe in the *Altan tobči* could, therefore, be due to additions and deletions by Lubsangdanjin himself who had at his disposal yet another source on Činggis Qan, and who as a compiler did not hesitate to omit material which he regarded as unnecessary or irrelevant, or to interpolate epic pieces of a later date into the *Secret History* narrative. (Žamcarano believed that some of these pieces go back to the time of Činggis Qan; consequently, C. Damdinsüren has retained them in his modern Mongolian version of the *Secret History*.) However tempting the above conclusion may be, the presence in the *Altan tobči* version

of the same anachronisms concerning post-1228 events as appear in the *Secret History* indicates that the *Altan tobči* text represents in all probability an intermediate version.¹⁸⁷

Nevertheless, as demonstrated by Pelliot, Ligeti, Mostaert and other investigators, the value of the *Secret History* text in the *Altan tobči* cannot be underestimated, since it not only allows us to fill in a number of lacunae, but also to restore the original readings of numerous doubtful names and terms. In the case of proper and geographical names in particular, the ambiguity of the Uighur script combined with the fact that, as Pelliot writes, the Ming transcribers 'étaient profondément ignorants du passé de leur pays',¹⁸⁸ meant that quite a few of their transcriptions are not reliable, and it is with the help of the *Altan tobči* readings that we can reconstruct their original form.

Unfortunately, we do not yet have a truly critical edition of Lubsangdanjin's *Altan tobči*, and the only translation of it in a western language is Šastina's Russian version. Her work leaves much to be desired: a new translation based on a critical edition of the text was, indeed, one of N. Poppe's *desiderata*.¹⁸⁹ Following the publication in photo-reproduction of the Ulan Bator manuscript, and the historical and linguistic researches by Čoyiji. Ozawa, Orlovskaya and others, it would now be possible to undertake such a task.

I have made constant use of the *Secret History* text of the *Altan tobči* in the Commentary. A list of the *Secret History* passages in the *Altan tobči* is found in Appendix Two.

6. *The Secret History as history and literature*

Opinions on the value of the *Secret History* as a historical document differ widely. At one extreme, some historians and writers, the main representative of whom is R. Grousset, use the *Secret History* as their main source on the life of Činggis Qan, being, however, fully aware of its epic flavour and biases, i.e. of its unreliability on several important events.¹⁹⁰

At the other, scholars like A. Waley and Okada Hidehiro regard the *Secret History* as almost worthless as a historical record.¹⁹¹

Somewhere in the middle we find P. Pelliot, B. Vladimircov, L. Hambis and P. Ratchnevsky who have subjected the *Secret History* version of events to close scrutiny on the basis of a comparative investigation of all the available sources, accepting, rejecting or re-interpreting entire episodes as well as the chronology and sequence of events presented in the Mongol chronicle.¹⁹²

As for Š. Bira, the longest section of his book on Mongolian historiography is devoted to the *Secret History* which, in the words of the author, is 'a creative product of an entire collective of court aristocrats of antiquity and of tale-tellers.' Bira maintains that this product – a history, in fact, of the 'Golden Clan' of Činggis Qan – was written for the instruction of the successors to the founders of the Mongol empire. The 'epic fragments' interspersed in the *Secret History* (of which Ema gives a useful breakdown) also serve a definite purpose, viz. by being organically linked with the general subject-matter and the aim of the narration 'they serve as a picturesque verbal equivalent to a graphic illustration of the events described, and are the chief means of expressing historic views.' The *Secret History* is, therefore, a historical record and 'upon close inspection of the monument it is not hard to also note a purely historical approach taken both by its authors not only to the distant past, but also to their contemporaries.' Moreover, 'from the viewpoint of historiographic attainment, the basic parts of the *Secret History* are likewise remarkable by the fact that in them we have to deal with a quite complex presentation of chronology.' Bira then expounds on the political philosophy of the authors of the *Secret History*, the central theme of which according to him is the creation of the Mongolian state, i.e. the concept of Mongolian statehood which was 'the most powerful attainment of the historical knowledge of the Mongols of that time.' This concept 'is nowhere formulated specifically in the shape of a complex historical procedure but it is

not hard to get an impression of it when analyzing the basic data of the monument. This fact, that first and foremost it relates the genealogical history of the Mongolian khans, already of itself bears witness to the strengthened interest in history of the ruling elite, personified by the khans.' In conclusion, for Bira, 'the *Secret History* is the outstanding monument of Mongolian historiography.'¹⁹³

Bira is also of the opinion that the authors of the *Secret History*, while relying largely on oral tradition, made use of written records.¹⁹⁴

Another author who has dealt at length with the political significance of the *Secret History* is I.N. Gumilev. For him, as for Bira, this work is the product of a representative of the ruling élite (for Bira, however, the authorship was collective) who, as mentioned earlier, was also a member of the 'Old Mongolian Party' and whose ideal and political platform were 'a return to the old days of valour.'¹⁹⁵

We may, perhaps, see too much in this multifaceted compilation. Although the *Secret History* is clearly neither a history of Činggis Qan like Juvaini's work, nor a bare chronicle of events like the *Sheng-wu ch'in-cheng lu* 聖武親征錄 (and, presumably, the lost *Tobčiyān*),¹⁹⁶ but a clever mélange of historico-narrative prose and epic poetry constantly and unexpectedly blending fact and fiction,¹⁹⁷ it would be more accurate to call it 'the epic story (or account) of Činggis Qan' and adopt Pelliot's designation of 'epic chronicle' for it.¹⁹⁸ Following in Pelliot's footsteps, we shall continue to extract from it data – there is a rich store of them – which not only confirm what we already know from other contemporary records, but which also complement them, especially with regard to the location of certain events and the persons involved. It is noteworthy that some 900 proper and geographical names are found in the *Secret History* (many of which are not attested in any other source) against the 640 of the *Sheng-wu ch'in-cheng lu*.¹⁹⁹

Trying to separate all the purely historical facts from the semi-fictional or wholly fictional accounts in the *Secret History* is

an extremely difficult and often impossible undertaking. It can only succeed in a limited number of instances where totally independent sources support the *Secret History* version. Regrettably we shall never know which (if any) of Činggis Qan's numerous utterances recorded in the *Secret History* are the conqueror's *ipsisima verba*. Several typical episodes, such as Temüjin's rescue of Börte, may actually have been made up by the compiler inspired by popular accounts and folk-tales – indeed as was done by Greek and Roman annalists. In my opinion, however, it is not in the historical aspect of the work that the real interest of the *Secret History* lies, but rather in its faithful description of Mongol tribal life in the 12th and 13th centuries, especially with regard to the role of the individual in that society. In this respect, the *Secret History* is a true mine of information. The central theme of our epic chronicle is the *modus operandi* of one dominating figure who, together with the other leading characters – his family and retainers – skillfully manipulates the society of his time to achieve his one goal, viz. tribal supremacy for himself and his clan against innumerable odds. The *Secret History* describes this process in great detail, showing the manifold facets of its hero's complex personality. If there is one message which the *Secret History* conveys in unequivocal terms, it is that success as a leader cannot be achieved without good fortune and strength bestowed by Heaven and Earth, and the loyalty of one's retainers and subjects. Such a leader, then, rules by the will of Heaven, i.e. by divine right. It goes without saying that the process cannot operate successfully without the leader observing on his part the principle of reciprocity, i.e. reward, care and protection, towards his followers and dependants.²⁰⁰ This conception has an almost exact counterpart in medieval Europe and is the cornerstone of the feudal system.

Thus, the *Secret History* is above all a source of the first magnitude for the social history of the Mongols before the establishment of their world empire. Although its primary concern is obviously the 'aristocracy of the steppe', going through its pages one also gains constant insights, more than just glimpses,

into the lives of ordinary people and the interplay between chiefs and subordinates. Data furnished by the *Secret History* have been put to full use by B. Vladimircov to describe what he calls 'nomadic feudalism.' His work on the subject is, in spite of certain controversial generalizations and biases, and the limitations imposed by the times and circumstances in which it was written, the best survey of Mongol society and social relationships in the time of Činggis Qan and up to the beginning of the 18th century.²⁰¹ For a sharp bird's-eye view of the 12th-13th century Mongols from an ecological and social perspective, J. Fletcher's posthumous article of 1986 is still unsurpassed.²⁰²

The dynamics of conquest in the harsh human and physical environment of Mongolia as perfected by Činggis Qan and illustrated by the *Secret History* is masterfully synthesized by O. Lattimore in his essay published in the *Scientific American* in 1963.²⁰³ The *Secret History* provides first-hand information on the military organization of the Mongols under Činggis Qan and Ogodei, and on Činggis' regulations concerning the duties and responsibilities of the Guard (*kešik*) – the most important institution of all and the one which insured, together with the strict enforcement of the Mongol 'Law' (*ĵasaq*), the enduring success of the conqueror's armies.

Besides informing us on the political and religious attitudes of the tribal élite and providing a detailed picture of nomadic life, social stratification and military matters, the *Secret History* is also a major source on the material culture of the medieval Mongols, an aspect of the book which has not yet been fully investigated.²⁰⁴

While recording for his successors and, indeed, for posterity Činggis' wisdom and organizational skill and foresight, the *Secret History* also sings the praise of the other (and perhaps the true) heroes in the saga – the valiant companions from early days such as 'the four hounds' and 'the four steeds',²⁰⁵ as well as the commanders of a thousand without whose total commitment to their leader, Činggis would have remained one of many tribal chiefs in northern Mongolia.

The saga meets with history when the bard becomes the chronicler, because those celebrated heroes are real people (even if at times colourfully portrayed as supermen) and their feats on the battlefield, in spite of the occasional reverse, are only too true. It is in this regard that the *Secret History* is for us a special document: it adds both flesh and soul to much that we learn from the Persian and Chinese historians by giving us the facts as seen, or perceived, from the Mongol camp, in other words 'from the inside.'

The *Secret History* has no precursor nor real successor in the Mongolian historiographical tradition: although they are both no longer extant, I think we can confidently say that neither the chronicle known as the *Altan debter* (*Golden Book*) used by Rašīd al-Dīn, nor the earlier-mentioned *Tobčīyan*, belong to the same genre of 'historical' writing as the *Secret History*.²⁰⁶ For this reason I hesitate to place the latter within a historiographical tradition as Bira does, and in view of the still uncertain date of composition of the *Altan tobči*, to regard Lubsangdanjin's work as 'the first such big Mongolian chronicle', thus giving it priority over Sayang Sečen's *Erdeni-yin tobči* of 1662.²⁰⁷

The *Secret History* stands alone also because it is so close to the events which it relates. If we choose to ignore its historical aspect, we can still enjoy it as a literary masterpiece, being the only monument of the early pre-Buddhist Mongolian literature, written in a language which reflects the character and culture of the Mongols before their conversion and the subsequent impact of Tibetan civilization on their way of life. As rightly noted by Žamcarano, 'The changes of the texts from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, as compared to those of the seventeenth century (even if only paraphrased), give an idea of the differences between the two periods and also between their speech formation and contents in reference to their vocabularies. The simplicity, bluntness, and genuine truthfulness of the narrative of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries with their ancient wording, on the one hand, and on the other, a certain ornateness, garnished with Buddhist concepts and expressions of courtesy and reverence

before superiors, and the legendary character of the narratives of the seventeenth century.'²⁰⁸ It is indeed true that the extravagant, fantastic and magical element that characterizes the later Mongol epic is almost totally absent from the *Secret History* which, in this respect, is remarkably 'sober.' On that count alone, the *Secret History* occupies a unique position in the literary history of the Mongols.

The language of the *Secret History* deserves special attention. Insofar as the pronunciation of the words is concerned, the text in Chinese transcription gives us only the phonetic representation of how the Ming transcribers read the manuscript of the *Secret History* in Uighur script in the second half of the 14th century. Therefore, the text in transcription does not reflect the spoken language of the time of composition, viz. the language spoken by Činggis Qan, or, at any rate, in the Mongol court milieu of the early 13th century.²⁰⁹ In the more than 150 years between the time the *Secret History* was written and the time when it was transcribed phonetically into Chinese, the so-called Middle Mongolian language had undergone and was still undergoing various changes, some of which are attested to in the transcribed text, affecting both vowels and consonants. Among the phonetic changes one should mention the following: $i > i$; $q(i) > k(i)$, h (init.) ~ zero, $a'a \sim \bar{a}$, $e'e \sim \bar{e}$, $o'o \sim \bar{o}$, $u'u \sim \bar{u}$, $\bar{u}'\bar{u} \sim \bar{u}$, $a \sim o$ and $a > u$ (through assimilation). Moreover, the value of certain consonants (q/γ , k/g and t/d) is still uncertain.²¹⁰ Nevertheless, it is possible to turn the text from Chinese transcription into Uighur script more or less mechanically. This has, in fact, been done with the 'preclassical' text in romanized transcription and in Uighur vertical script.²¹¹ It is impossible to say how the original text in Uighur script, i.e. the *Činggis Qan-u ujaγur*, was read ca. 1230: the very reconstruction of this text from the Chinese transcription even with the help of the *Altan tobči* will always remain a tentative and, in my view, somewhat futile attempt. For instance, the word for 'rat' in the *Secret History* is *quluqana*, for this is the form in which the Ming scholars recorded it seven times in transcription.²¹² In all the reconstructions of the text in Uighur script

we find *quluḡana*, which is the corresponding form in Written Mongolian.²¹³ However, in the first half of the 13th century (1240 to be precise), this word was written *qulaḡana*, because the vowel *a* of the second syllable had not yet been assimilated to that of the first syllable.²¹⁴ In all likelihood, the manuscript used by the Ming transcribers had *qulaḡana*, which they read as *quluḡana* (= *quluḡana*) and transcribed as such.²¹⁵

Although most of the basic vocabulary of the *Secret History* is common to Written Mongolian and to the modern dialects in the same or in related forms, many words have survived in one dialect, but have disappeared from others. The dialects in which they are attested may be spoken in opposite parts of the eastern Mongolian group, such as the Buriat dialects in the north, and Ordos and Kharachin in the south.²¹⁶ Several dozen words are borrowings from Turkic languages, mostly Uighur,²¹⁷ as well as from other languages like Persian, and less than 20 of the 32 that were not glossed by the Ming translators are still a puzzle.²¹⁸ Because of the heterogeneous character of its vocabulary, Mongolists have been unable to relate the dialect of the original text of the *Secret History* to any modern dialect in particular.²¹⁹

Apart from the above-mentioned phonological problems concerning the evolution of Middle Mongolian in the 13th and 14th century, the grammar of the *Secret History* has been thoroughly investigated in the last fifty years and there are now several major publications on the subject.²²⁰ However, especially in the lexical area, problems still remain and much of the Commentary in the present work is devoted to their elucidation.

Žamcarano had earlier described the Mongol narrative of the 12th and 13th centuries as characterized by simplicity, bluntness²²¹ and truthfulness. Insofar as the *Secret History* is concerned, a further insight into its language and style is provided by A. Mostaert who remarked that 'la langue de l'*Hist. secr.* est caractérisée par une grande liberté de construction, la rapprochant sous certains rapports de la langue journalière telle qu'elle est encore parlée de nos jours.'²²²

Besides the above characteristics, the most noteworthy feature of the *Secret History* as a literary work is undoubtedly its epic content about which much has been written in many languages, and which is undoubtedly its chief 'attraction' for most readers. Pelliot called the *Secret History* a repository of 'morceaux de poésie épique populaire', preserving many fragments of a 'gesta' in rhymed prose.²²³ Waley regards the parts of the *Secret History* founded on story-tellers' tales as 'some of the most vivid literature that exists anywhere in the world',²²⁴ and he is certainly right.

In the *Secret History* there are some 165 rhymed passages of varying length, from two to more than eighty verses (with a few non-rhyming lines in between), with from seven to a maximum of twenty-four poetic passages per chapter. More than one-third of the entire work is in alliterative verse, i.e. in poetic form.²²⁵ There are also several lyrical and dramatic passages in prose narrative.²²⁶ The 'gnomic' parts of the *Secret History*, i.e. the numerous proverbial expressions and wise sayings, are usually rhymed, as we would expect.²²⁷ The epic pieces were originally sung by the story-teller following the ancient tradition of the Mongol and Turkic bards, a good example of which is the *Book of Dede Qorquut*, where 'the stories in prose are interspersed with rhythmic, alliterative, and assonant or rhyming passages of *soylama*, "declamation." The level of the language fluctuates, now highly poetic and dignified, now racy and colloquial.'²²⁸

While Palladii, Nakajima and Haenisch ignored the poetical passages in their translations of the *Secret History*, most other translators have in one way or another isolated these passages, and in some rare cases turned them into real poetry.²²⁹

One of the first western scholars to discuss specifically the epic element in the *Secret History* was N. Poppe who devoted several pages of his work on the Khalkha-Mongolian heroic epic to it.²³⁰ J.R. Krueger discussed the poetic passages in the *Secret History* in the context of his study of those found in the *Erdem-yin tobci*.²³¹ At various times other western scholars have written about the poetry of the *Secret History*,²³² and an interesting article

on the style of the *Secret History* by A.V. Kudiyarov was published in 1986,²³³ but up till now no comprehensive treatment of the subject has been undertaken.

One cannot, however, separate the poetic passages in the *Secret History* (Y) from those in the corresponding sections of the *Altan tobči*. Except for the long missing section (§§ 176-208) and, of course, the one on Ögödei (§§ 269-281), most of the poetic passages in the *Secret History* have their counterpart in the *Altan tobči*. Furthermore, as stated earlier, there are epic passages in alliterative verse interspersed in the *Altan tobči* text of the *Secret History* which have to be treated separately.²³⁴ In comparing the two versions of the same poetic passage it is an interesting fact that the *Altan tobči* version, as noted by H.-P. Vietze, is at times at variance with the *Secret History* text. Apart from the verses that were left out altogether by Lubsangdanjin, there are 1) verses in the *Secret History* taken over into the *Altan tobči* with slight orthographic or stylistic changes, and 2) poetic passages which contain more words or even more lines in the *Altan tobči*.²³⁵ While a full comparative study of the two texts is still due, a number of examples of differences between the two texts has been provided by Vietze. One can also profitably consult Šastina's translation of the *Altan tobči*, where all the poetic passages are rendered in versified form.²³⁶

In the *Secret History* an epic or dramatic passage may be accompanied by a reference to the wise words of the ancients and by a quotation in the form of an alliterated saying or maxim. For example, in Hö'elün's famous 'Lament' (§ 78) the angry mother of the two murderous children (Temüjin and Qasar) 'Citing old sayings,/Quoting ancient words' mightily reviles her sons, reminding them of the desperate plight of the family, for 'We have no friend but our shadow,/We have no whip but our horse's tail.'

There are many such sayings and proverbial expressions in the *Secret History*, some of which have survived in the modern dialects and are found in the large collections of Mongolian proverbs.²³⁷ All those in the *Secret History* have been identified

and discussed in an important article by D. Cërënsodnom published in 1986.²³⁸

Equally important are the traditional folklore elements, also forming a part of the oral tradition of the Mongol tribes, that recur in the epic poetry of the *Secret History*, e.g. the theme of the *mangqus*: (§§ 78, 195) which in our work is still an ill-defined monstrous animal of the dragon-snake type, not yet the future *mangyus-ogre*. We owe to the late Š. Gaadamba the most detailed analysis of these folkloristic themes within the literary and historical framework of the *Secret History*.²³⁹ Gaadamba's overall contribution is undoubtedly the best introduction to the study of this text as a source of folk traditions as well as a literary masterpiece. He will often be quoted, together with other Mongol specialists in folk literature, in the present Commentary.

Ultimately, as rightly pointed out by Ligeti, much of the debate as to whether we should classify the *Secret History* as a historical or a literary work is sterile, since it originates from the assumption that a Mongolian or 'eastern' literary genre would be identical with a western one, 'not to mention that at a given period of social evolution certain "pure" genres cannot be found even there where they clearly developed.'²⁴⁰ Summing up we can safely state, I think, that the *Secret History* is, indeed, an epic chronicle rather than an heroic epic, aimed at recording not only the deeds and pronouncements of Činggis Qan, but also those of his faithful companions in a language and style that reflect the attitudes and values of contemporary Mongols. It is at the same time a glorification of the conqueror's clan for the sake of posterity, especially of his immediate successors, and the mere fact that it was put down in writing so soon after his death (in the form which it still largely retains) indicates, in my view, that it was also meant to serve as a guide and instruction, not just as a plain record or for entertainment.²⁴¹ Even in the most poetic passages of the *Secret History* there is an undeniable consciousness of history, and we are reminded of A. Fichter's remarks on Virgil's *Aeneid* which may well apply to the Mongol epic chronicle: 'The dynastic theme brings into focus what must be

considered one of the most basic elements of epic ..., its consciousness of history. The narrative strategy of the dynastic poem reflects the assumption ... that the present may be regarded as the culmination of a course of events set in motion in the remote past. The dynastic prophet is an analyst of historical experience. He bestows on himself ... the privilege of shaping his material so that "beginning, middle, and end all strike the same note."²⁴²

7. *Transcriptions, translations and modern editions of the Secret History*

The Mongol text of the *Secret History* in Chinese phonetic transcription has been transliterated and transcribed, i.e. reconstructed, several times into Latin and Cyrillic script as well as into Mongolian in Uighur script.

The first transcription from Chinese into a western alphabet was done in Cyrillic script by Palladii (who did not know Mongolian), apparently for the benefit of scholars who did not know Chinese.²⁴³ Together with the transcription, Palladii provided also a word by word interlinear translation into Russian based on the Chinese interlinear version. This, Palladii's last work, was carried out between 1872 and 1878 on Pao T'ing-po's manuscript copy which he had acquired in 1872 (see above, Section Four). Palladii completed his work in 1878 and apparently gave it to the well-known Russian mongolist A.M. Pozdneev (1851-1920) in that year when the latter visited Peking where Palladii resided as head of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission, on the understanding that Pozdneev would have it published in St. Petersburg.²⁴⁴ Palladii died at the end of 1878 in Marseilles on his way from Peking to St. Petersburg.²⁴⁵ Two years later Pozdneev published the (revised) first chapter of Palladii's transcription and translation of the *Secret History* under his own name.²⁴⁶ In 1866 Palladii had already published a Russian translation of the Chinese free summarized version in vol. 4 of the *Works (Trudy)* of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission (see below).

It was through this translation and Pozdneev's publication of 1880 that the *Secret History* first became known in the West.²⁴⁷ Pozdneev used Palladii's work for other publications without, however, acknowledging its true source, but he never succeeded in having it published in full, although several attempts were made by the Imperial Russian Archeological Society to carry out the project.²⁴⁸ After Pozdneev's death in 1920, the manuscript was kept in the Archives of the Institute of Oriental Studies in Leningrad/St. Petersburg, where it is still today.²⁴⁹ A neatly typed copy, formerly belonging to Pelliot, is in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris.²⁵⁰ The complex history of the Palladius manuscript and of Pozdneev's rather unsavoury role in it, is now known through the painstaking research of various scholars.²⁵¹

The authors of the reconstructions of the Mongol text in transcription based on Y¹, Y² and Y³ are listed below in chronological order:

- 1872-78 Palladii (P.I. Kafarov): unpublished ms. (see above)
- 1920 P. Pelliot: completes his transcription in ms.²⁵²
- 1935 E. Haensch²⁵³
- 1937 Idem: 2nd edition²⁵⁴
- 1939 Hattori Shirō, Qu. Duyarjab: only ch. 1 in Uighur script²⁵⁵
- 1941 S.A. Kozin²⁵⁶
- 1942 Shiratori Kurakichi²⁵⁷
- 1949 P. Pelliot²⁵⁸
- 1962 E. Haensch: reprint of 1937²⁵⁹
- 1964 L. Ligeti²⁶⁰
- 1971 L. Ligeti: 2nd edition²⁶¹ (see 1964)
- 1972 I. de Rachewiltz²⁶²
- 1980 Bayar: in Uighur script and phonetic transcription²⁶³
- 1984-89 Ozawa Shigeo: in Latin and Uighur scripts²⁶⁴
- 1985 T. Daščeden²⁶⁵
- 1986 Eldengtel, Ardajab: in Uighur script²⁶⁶
- 1987 Ye. Irinčin: in Uighur (preclassical) script²⁶⁷
- 1990 B. Sum'yabaatar: in Uighur script²⁶⁸

Mongolian. Fortunately, we are well served in this respect because the grammar and syntax of the *Secret History* have been thoroughly investigated, particularly the former. Since the early, somewhat tentative excursions into this subject by N. Poppe and E. Haenisch,³⁵⁴ several fully-fledged grammars have appeared by J.C. Street, S. Godziński and S. Ozawa,³⁵⁵ and thorough investigations of various aspects of the language of the *Secret History* and of the Mongol documents of the 13th and 14th centuries have been published in various forms (articles, monographs and books),³⁵⁶ including a grammar of the language of the *Altan tobči*, incorporating numerous examples taken from the *Secret History*.³⁵⁷

By now, the vast literature on Middle Mongolian in 'Phags-pa and other scripts (Persian, Arabic, etc), together with the extensive studies of the Mongol material in Uighur script, have largely filled the gap in our knowledge of the old Mongolian language and made a difficult text like the *Secret History* much more accessible. One major subject that requires further in-depth study is the unstable, and therefore complex, syntax of the preclassical period. Another matter that requires a frontal attack is the vexed problem of transcription, with scholars still divided on the value of the velar and dental stops, of the intervocalic -w- versus a hiatus (-' -), and other issues.³⁵⁸

The study of the vocabulary of the *Secret History* has been greatly helped by the publication, almost sixty-five years ago, of Haenisch's precious *Wörterbuch*,³⁵⁹ and by the word-indices that followed it. The first of such indices – a reverse one without page or paragraph references – appeared in 1969; a complete *index verborum* in 1972; a complete index-vocabulary (without suffixes) in 1993/2000; and a complete word- and suffix-index (together with a photo-reproduction of Y²) in 2001.³⁶⁰ One of the most valuable tools for lexical research into the *Secret History*, especially with regard to difficult terms, is the product of a joint effort by a team of scholars from Inner Mongolia who have examined, often in great detail, the semantic connotations of hundreds of words.³⁶¹

An international team of researchers is at present at work preparing a dictionary of Preclassical Mongolian that will also include Middle Mongolian forms.³⁶²

9. *The present work*

This Introduction is meant to serve its literal purpose, viz. only to introduce the reader to the *Secret History* and its *Problematik*. It covers the main issues such as the place and date of composition, authorship and textual history without confusing the reader with too many technicalities. The value of the *Secret History* as a historical source and the literature on the subject are also adequately dealt with.

On the other hand, much more could be said about topics like the relationship between the *Secret History*, the *Altan tobči* and Rašid al-Dīn's account on Činggis Qan; on the ideology and political philosophy underlying the work; also about its value as a source on the social and economic history of the period; and, especially, concerning the special position it occupies in the historical and literary context of Central Asian epics. Indeed, any of these topics could easily be the subject of a book. I hope that eventually these important aspects of the work will be dealt with as they deserve, drawing on sources and information that were not available to scholars of earlier generations. References to these sources and to the contributions already made by modern and contemporary investigators are found in the Commentary. Regrettably, some publications from Russia, Mongolia and China could not be consulted, and a number of them have been cited second-hand.³⁶³

The Translation follows by and large the model of the first edition (Ra), seeking a compromise between faithfulness to the Mongolian original and readability. This is not easy to achieve because of the very different nature of Činggis Qan's language and the Queen's English. Whereas F.W. Cleaves' translation is meant to be a literal as well as a literary rendering of the original (hence the King James Version's English), mine is primarily

the introduction dealing with the textual history of the *Secret History* is incomplete.³⁴⁷

At times difficult to the point of obscurity for the lay reader,³⁴⁸ Cleaves' book is nevertheless of paramount importance because it represents a joint effort by the two greatest scholars in the field of the old Mongolian language (i.e. Preclassical and Middle Mongolian).³⁴⁹ Mostaert's and Cleaves' painstaking work is the basis for all present and future translations, a true *monumentum aere perennis*, and all post-1982 translations and versions of the Mongol epic chronicle have immensely benefitted from it. For this reason I have included in the present work a list of Additions and Corrections to Cleaves' book (Appendix Five).

As to the translation of the Chinese summarized version, the one by Palladii, though occasionally hard to read, is still the most accurate, whereas Waley's is certainly the most readable. The latter is unfortunately far from complete, but all the passages of literary value are included.

The three indispensable editions of the Chinese text (Y¹, Y² and Y³) have already been discussed in Section Four. The one-volume composite edition of 1975 (YSC) is the most convenient to use; it is also easier to obtain than the three separate ones. Ozawa's six-volume work (Oz¹) provides a reliable, critical edition of the text. The one-volume edition of Eldengtei and Oyundalai (El-Oy) is also convenient to use, but 1) the pagination does not correspond to that of Y¹ and Y², 2) the text has been heavily edited, and 3) the free summarized version at the end of the volume is in simplified characters. Bayar's edition in three volumes (Ba), carefully produced, is the most inconvenient to use **because, unlike El-Oy, the *Secret History* sections, i.e. the 282 paragraphs, are not numbered, and the line arrangement and phonetic transcription do not make for easy identification of a word or passage. In spite of their shortcomings, these too are valuable contributions.**

3. beginning with the 1982

8. *Modern and contemporary studies on the Secret History*

To find one's way in the *mare magnum* of the literature on the *Secret History* is not easy. Articles, essays, monographs and books on the subject are published in a dozen languages and they have been increasing in number, especially in the last two decades. Some of them appear in obscure, inaccessible or near-inaccessible journals or publications. The quality of these contributions is very uneven; nevertheless, it is necessary to consider as many of them as possible.

General and specialized bibliographies (including bibliographical essays and articles) are the two best sources of reference, together with the catalogues of library collections.³⁵⁰ Many journals on Asian history, philology and linguistics, and on Central Asian and Mongolian studies publish articles on the *Secret History*;³⁵¹ the most important contributions – articles, monographs and books – are listed in the bibliographies of books on the *Secret History* such as the present one. A special place is occupied by the proceedings, acts and transactions of the various conferences and congresses on Asian, Altaic and Mongolian studies where many papers on all aspects of the *Secret History* are published;³⁵² next come the newsletters, occasional papers and monographs of societies like the Mongolia Society of Bloomington, Indiana, into which material related to the *Secret History* also finds its way. To these we must add the anniversary volumes, *Festschriften*, and volumes containing articles mostly or exclusively devoted to the investigation of the *Secret History* – all publications easy to miss.³⁵³

Unfortunately we do not yet have a 'Bibliographie raisonnée' of the subject issued at regular intervals and must, therefore, plough through much material to find the required information, and use personal contacts, which is often the best way.

Of primary importance for the study of the *Secret History* is the material dealing with its language, i.e. so-called Middle

designed to provide the reader with an accurate but at the same time fairly fluent translation into modern English. While the criteria that have guided our respective versions are different, these are, nonetheless, complementary.³⁶⁴

I have continued to use the italic type for my own additions to avoid parentheses and square brackets; I have, however, kept them for less intrusive purposes (see the Conventional Signs). I believe that the translation must not only be readable but look readable as well and a great number of parentheses or brackets tend to deface a page. Since a few Mongol and foreign terms had to be retained in their original form (e.g. *quda*, *gür qan*), I had recourse for those to a different font (Monotype Corsiva: *quda*, *gür qan*) to avoid confusion.³⁶⁵ I have also employed a more scientific transcription of Mongolian and other Altaic languages, and have not hyphenated compound proper and geographical names as in the previous edition.³⁶⁶

One of the most difficult aspects of the translation has been adherence to consistency in the use of italics particularly with regard to possessive pronouns (personal pronouns are not, as a rule, italicized), and in the translation itself when rendering the same Mongol word or expression into English in a different context. In deciding whether to italicize a pronoun or a word, I let myself be guided more by intuition and *Sprachgefühl* than by logic, thus inevitably opening myself up to criticism.³⁶⁷ As for consistency in translation, given the fact that in Mongolian as in other languages many words can and do have a wide semantic range, while trying to be as consistent as possible I took into account both the context and English usage. There cannot be 'perfect' consistency, as shown also by F.W. Cleaves' effort to produce a meticulously literal rendering of the Mongol text.³⁶⁸ Likewise, I had to use different ways of translating the Mongolian *verba dicendi* to avoid awkward constructs in English.³⁶⁹

The Translation is accompanied by footnotes to assist in solving immediate problems of interpretation without constantly referring to the Commentary, and to advise the reader whenever checking the Commentary is indispensable for a full

understanding of the passage. Hence also the numerous cross-references in the footnotes to other passages and to differently spelled proper and geographical names. Like most works of this kind, the same name can recur in slightly different forms. Thus the footnote serves as an instant aid to the intelligence of the text.

The Commentary has grown over the years and is now almost twice the size of that of the first edition – a fact which reflects the development of Mongol studies in the last two decades. Although meant to be both historical and philological, the Commentary does not deal with all the linguistic features of the *Secret History*, but only with those that are relevant to the understanding of the text and are still dubious and/or contentious; the same applies to historical problems. For a much fuller treatment of individual words and terms, as well as of grammatical and syntactic peculiarities, the reader is referred to Ozawa's monumental *oeuvre*.³⁷⁰ There is, unfortunately, no counterpart of Ozawa's work to solve the countless historical and geographical puzzles posed by the *Secret History*. Unsolved problems still remain, but it is my sincere hope that the Commentary has gone quite some way towards solving the major conundrums still besetting mongolists and non-mongolists alike.

In order to simplify the user's task, a number of appendices have been provided³⁷¹ together with three indices: the Commentary can thus serve not only to elucidate the text and the translation, but also to refer the reader to a wide range of topics directly and indirectly related to the *Secret History*.

Finally, the following points should be noted:

1. The text (in transcription) on which the Translation is based is the one I published in 1972 (R), duly revised.³⁷²
2. Except for orthographical errors, which are usually corrected and mentioned in the footnotes, the form of proper and geographical names in the Translation is that found in the *Secret History*. Variant and alternative readings are given in the footnotes and/or discussed in the Commentary. However, the tribal name Mongqol (= Mongyol) is always written Mongol,

and Činggis Qa'an is written as such, never as Činggis Qahan.³⁷³ Also, except for a few names like 'the Mongols', 'the Tatars' and 'the Uighurs' which have practically been assimilated into most western languages, I have left all the Mongol and Turkic tribal names **unchanged** in the plural, thus 'the Tayiči'ut', 'the Önggüt', 'the Naiman', etc. Several of these names are, in fact, already plural forms in Mongolian. In **doing** so, I have followed the practice adopted by P. Pelliot, A. Mostaert, F.W. Cleaves and other scholars.³⁷⁴

3. References are usually given in abbreviated form, the abbreviations being listed in the Bibliography and Abbreviations.
4. In many instances, and almost invariably in the case of periodicals, whenever the reference is either of quite secondary importance, or concerns a brief book review or a minor contribution that is mentioned but once or twice, only the author and the periodical are cited; the title of the contribution itself is omitted. Consequently, such references are not entered in the Bibliography and Abbreviations so as to keep the length of the latter within reasonable bounds.
5. For the same reason, no romanized transcription of names of authors and titles is provided for books in Chinese and Japanese; however, the authors of articles in these languages are given in transcription since they are named (with date of publication) in the Notes to the Introduction and in the Commentary.
6. If some important contribution has been ignored in the present work, it is only through oversight or unavailability. I hope to issue in due course a Supplement updating and revising both the Translation and the Commentary. Information about any errors or omissions on my part – whether in the form of book reviews or personal communications – will be gratefully received and acknowledged.

Ἄλλὰ τίη μοι ταῦτα περὶ θρῶν ἢ περὶ πέτρην;

Hesiod, *Theogony*, 35

NOTES TO THE INTRODUCTION

¹ In the Introduction, book titles are given in full, but in the Notes they are referred to in their abbreviated form as listed in the Bibliography and Abbreviations.

² On the *Erdeni-yin tobči* (1662), see ET¹, ET², ET³, ETI; GOM; MKYLYC; SSET; MGK; Žamc.¹, 13-35; Žamc.², 7-26; FKM, I, 94-111; MIs, 249-275; IEBC, 135; BM, 169-171; Poppč 1950b, 87; Morikawa 2001.

³ See Section Seven of the Introduction.

⁴ Two in Chinese, one in Manchu, three in Japanese, one in German, and one in English (partial). The complete English translation by J.R. Krueger has not yet been published. There are also several modern editions of the text in Mongolian. See ET³, xx; MAM, 121-124.

⁵ See Section Four of the Introduction.

⁶ See Section Six of the Introduction.

⁷ Wa, 7.

⁸ Cl, xi.

⁹ Wa, 7.

¹⁰ Cl, xi.

¹¹ See Section Four of the Introduction.

¹² See Section Six of the Introduction.

¹³ See Section Four of the Introduction.

¹⁴ In § 272.

¹⁵ See Section Six of the Introduction.

¹⁶ See de Rachewiltz 1965; idem 1986/87; idem 1993/94.

¹⁷ See the Commentary, § 282; de Rachewiltz 1998, 240, 251-253.

¹⁸ See the Commentary, § 269.

¹⁹ So much so, in fact, that some later (17th c.) Mongol chronicles, including ET, give this locality also as the place where Činggis was first elected *qan*. See the Commentary, § 123.

²⁰ Na¹, 671; Na², 587 (but see below, n. 34); Pelliot 1940/41, 1-2, n. 1; Ha, 148; Ko, 17-18, 199. For other scholars who have adopted this date, see de Rachewiltz 1965, 186-187 and n. 9. To those already cited, we must add Kobayashi Takashiro 小林高四郎, N. Poppe, L. Hambis, S. Kałużyński and A. Fedotov. See Kob, 312; cf. also GHK, 172-210, and Kobayashi 1969; GLME, 93; Ka, 188; Fe, 200, n. 282.

²¹ Mongolia celebrated the 750th anniversary of the writing of the SH in 1990. Academician Š. Bira also shares the view that the Year of the Rat is 1240. See MHW, 17-19. Cf. also IMo, 305, and BIAMS, 1990.2 (6), 14. For Bira's reinterpretation of the colophon, see the Commentary, § 282 ad fin. The leading proponent before Bira was C. Damdinsüreñ. See Da¹, 280 (following Ko, 199); OMT, 865. With regard to China, the two 'standard' versions of the

- 1997 J.C. Street²⁶⁹
 2001 Kuribayashi Hitoshi, Choijinjab²⁷⁰

There exists also an incomplete and unpublished transcription of the *Secret History* text by F.W. Cleaves at Gilford, New Hampshire.²⁷¹

One has to acknowledge that none of the above transcriptions and reconstructions of the text is entirely reliable; indeed, many of them can no longer be used for a serious linguistic analysis and are therefore only of historical interest.²⁷² A major task ahead is the preparation of a scientific and thoroughly reliable text in romanized transcription, not in such an imperfect medium as the Uighur script (although this could be done in a second stage). J.C. Street's provisional reconstruction and Kuribayashi's and Choijinjab's revised Ligeti's edition are, in my opinion, the first step in the right direction.

The *Secret History* has been translated so many times that the reader may justifiably ask whether it has not, in fact, been over-translated. However, since we are dealing with a difficult and complex text, both historically and linguistically, every new translation and commentary is welcome provided it is not a mere rehashing of previous versions and adds something to our knowledge.

The following are the translations in chronological order, with the language in which they are written:

- 1872-78 Palladii: Russian; unpublished ms. (see above)
 1880 Pozdneev (ex Palladii): Russian; ch. 1 only²⁷³
 1907 Naka Michiyo: Japanese²⁷⁴
 1917 Cënd GÜN (Cëndü GÜng): completes his translation in modern Mongolian in Uighur script²⁷⁵
 1940 Kesigbatu: m. M.U.s.; 1st part only (§§ 1-153)²⁷⁶
 1941 E. Haensch: German²⁷⁷
 1941 S.A. Kozin: Russian²⁷⁸
 1941 Altanvačir: m.M.U.s.²⁷⁹
 1941 Bökekesig: m.M.U.s.²⁸⁰
 1941 Kesigbatu: m.M.U.s.²⁸¹

- 1941 Kobayashi Takashirō: Japanese²⁸²
 1943 Naka Michiyo: 2nd edition of 1907²⁸³
 1947 C. Damdinsürēn (Č. Damdingsüring): m.M.U.s.²⁸⁴
 1948 E. Haensch: 2nd edition of 1941²⁸⁵
 1948 P. Pelliot: French; chs. 1-6 only²⁸⁶
 1948 A. Temir: Turkish²⁸⁷
 1948 C. Damdinsürēn: Inner Mongolian edition of 1947²⁸⁸
 1950-52 A. Mostaert: French; numerous sections and passages²⁸⁹ (see 1953)
 1951 C. Damdinsürēn: Chinese translation by Hsieh Tsai-shan²⁹⁰
 1953 A. Mostaert: one volume reprint of 1950-52²⁹¹
 1955 P. Poucha: Czech²⁹²
 1956 C. Damdinsürēn: Chinese translation of 1951; 2nd edition²⁹³
 1957 C. Damdinsürēn: 2nd edition of 1947 in Cyrillic script²⁹⁴
 1957 C. Damdinsürēn: Inner Mongolian edition of 1947²⁹⁵
 1960-62 Yao Ts'ung-wu and Sechin Jagchid: Chinese²⁹⁶
 1962 L. Ligeti: Hungarian²⁹⁷
 1963 Iwamura Shinobu: Japanese²⁹⁸
 1965 Kuo-yi Pao (Ünensečen): English; ch. 9 only²⁹⁹
 1970 S. Kałużyński: Polish³⁰⁰
 1970-76 Murakami Masatsugu: Japanese³⁰¹
 1971-85 I. de Rachewiltz: English³⁰²
 1973 S.A. Kozin: Italian translation of 1941 by M. Olsüfieva³⁰³
 1976 C. Damdinsürēn: 3rd edition of 1947 in Cyrillic script³⁰⁴
 1978 Doronatib: Chinese³⁰⁵
 1979 Doronatib: reprint of 1978³⁰⁶
 1979 Sechin Jagchid: Chinese³⁰⁷
 1979 C. Damdinsürēn: Kazakh translation of 1957 by S. Magauŭya³⁰⁸
 1980 Doronatib: m.M.U.s.; partial translation³⁰⁹
 1981 E. Haensch: W. Heissig edition of 1948³¹⁰
 1981 Bayar: m.M.U.s.³¹¹
 1982 F.W. Cleaves: English; vol. 1 (Translation) only³¹²

- 1984 P. Kahn: English³¹³
 1984-89 Ozawa Shigeo: Japanese³¹⁴
 1985 E. Haensch: 2nd edition of 1981
 1985 Mansang: m.M.U.s.³¹⁵
 1987 K. Dorba: Oirat³¹⁶
 1989 M. Taube: German³¹⁷
 1990 U. Onon: English³¹⁸
 1990 Č.-R. Namžilov: Buriat and Russian³¹⁹
 1990 C. Damdinsüren: 4th edition of 1947 in Cyrillic script³²⁰
 1990 P.A. Darvaev, G.G. Čimitov: Kalmuck, Russian and Buriat³²¹
 1990 Š. Gaadamba (Š. Gadamba): m.M.U.s.³²²
 1991 A. Fedotov: Bulgarian³²³
 1993 D. Čerensodnom (D. Čeringsodnam): m.M.U.s.³²⁴
 1993 U. Onon, S. Bradbury: English³²⁵
 1993 B.I. Pankratov: Russian; partial translation³²⁶
 1994 Yu Won-su: Korean³²⁷
 1994 M.-D. Even, R. Pop: French³²⁸
 1995 S.A. Kozin: 2nd edition of 1973³²⁹
 1997 Ozawa Shigeo: Japanese³³⁰
 1997 Čend Gün: publication in photo-reproduction of 1917: m.M.U.s.³³¹
 1997 Pak Won-gil: Korean; vol. I only³³²
 1998 B.I. Pankratov: Russian; partial translation³³³
 2000 S.A. Kozin: reprint of 1995³³⁴
 2000 Kesigbatu: reprint of 1941³³⁵
 2001 U. Onon: 2nd revised edition of 1990³³⁶
 2001 Yü Ta-chün: Chinese³³⁷

Although this list is as complete as I can make it, some translations or versions of the *Secret History*, especially reprints and subsequent editions, may have been overlooked; I trust nevertheless that all the important works are included.³³⁸

All the above-mentioned translations were made from the Mongol text in Chinese transcription, but there are also a number of translations of the Chinese free summarized version which

must be mentioned. They are the following, also listed in chronological order:

- 1866 Palladii: Russian³³⁹
 1957 Wei Kwei Sun: English³⁴⁰
 1963 A. Waley: English³⁴¹
 1997 Čend Gün: m.M.U.s.³⁴²
 2000 L. Ramírez Bellerín: Spanish³⁴³

In view of the great number of transcriptions and translations available, it is appropriate to inform the reader of their relative merits.

Among the romanized transcriptions of the Mongol text, those by L. Ligeti, I. de Rachewiltz, S. Ozawa and J. C. Street are recommended provided that the first two are used together with their later additions and corrections.³⁴⁴ The linguist will probably find Ozawa's and Street's transcriptions more to his or her liking.

Concerning the translations, the works by A. Mostaert, L. Ligeti, M. Murakami, S. Ozawa, F.W. Cleaves, Doronatib, Š. Gaadamba and D. Čerensodnom are, I think, indispensable. Ozawa's monumental contribution is a *sine qua non* for the wealth of its linguistic commentary; neither can we dispense with the rich annotations and commentaries of Mostaert and the other scholars. For the early period, I regard the contributions by M. Naka and E. Haensch as outstanding and, indeed, unmatched until the appearance of Mostaert's and Ligeti's epoch-making studies.

Cleaves' work deserves special mention. The aim of this translation is to render the original Mongolian as faithfully as possible, even as far as the grammar and sentence structure are concerned. To match the ancient language of the original, the English used in the translation is 'somewhat archaic', modelled by Cleaves on that of 'the language of the Authorized Version of the Holy Scriptures.'³⁴⁵ Cleaves himself thought that his translation was more suitable for recitation than for silent reading.³⁴⁶ Although numerous footnotes have been added to the translation, the projected commentary volume never appeared and

SH into Chinese, i.e. Da² and Do¹, also give 1240. See Da², 276; Do¹, 424, n. 1. See Ir, '元朝秘史及其复原', 81-82, for more proponents of this dating in the PRC. For divergent opinions in Mongolia and China, cf. Ga, 415-416, n. 691; Će, 494-495, n. 704; Yü TC 1982; Jinggin 1992 (an important contribution).

²² EM, 230, 303; GKV, 'Introduction historique', v-vi.

²³ Pelliot 1940/41, 1-2, n. 1.

²⁴ Hung 1951, 488-490. Hung's masterly article has been translated into Chinese by Huang Shih-chien 黃時鑑 in CKYSYC 2:1982, 18-46.

²⁵ Mo, 264-265, n. 254. I think that Mostaert was in favour of the year 1240 because in a letter from F.W. Cleaves to Mostaert of 26 December 1962 kept in the C.I.C.M. Archives in Rome, discussing the date of the SH colophon, Cleaves states: 'date qui, à mon avis, est sûrement 1240.' I very much doubt whether he would have made such a statement if Mostaert had not been of the same opinion. Cf. below, n. 312.

²⁶ See Waley 1960, 529. The view that the SH could not have reached its present form till well after 1258 had already been put forward by Naka in a work published posthumously in 1915 (NMI, 'Chingisu kan jitsuroku zokuhēn', 62, 64); however, Naka believed that the relevant passage in the SH was an interpolation made in the text long after its composition. See Waley, loc. cit.

²⁷ Ledyard 1964, 10. In n. 44 on p. 10, Ledyard points out that the evidence presented in his paper does not exclude 1276 or even 1288.

²⁸ Li, 210-213. Cf. also ATL, 6 and 9-10.

²⁹ Yü TC 1982, 157.

³⁰ YTL 15, 4a. Cf. Hung 1951, 487, n. 136.

³¹ Uemura 1955.

³² Doerfer 1963.

³³ Ratchnevsky 1965, 118-119; cf. ISK, 92.

³⁴ de Rachewiltz 1965. It should be mentioned, however, that Naka Michiyo (1907) and Ishihama Juntarō 石濱純太郎 (1940) had claimed that the original work, consisting of ten *chüan* 卷 was composed in Činggis Qan's time (Naka) or, at any rate, before 1240 (Ishihama), and that the last two *chüan*, i.e. the *Supplement (hsü-chi 續集)* was added in 1240, the year to which – both scholars agree – the colophon refers. See de Rachewiltz 1965, 187; Hung 1951, 466-468.

³⁵ See de Rachewiltz 1965, 198ff.

³⁶ Clauson 1966, 29-30; Mu, III, 377-378, and 391-398 (for a fuller discussion); Munkuev 1979, 24; Oz², II, 254, § 282, n. 1; GH, 105-121; Ir, '元朝秘史及其复原', 83ff.; Jinggin 1992, 681-685; Ga, 415-416, n. 691; Će, 494-495, n. 704; On, 173. For Murakami's views on the dating of the SH, cf. also Murakami 1978, where the author first proposes a scheme whereby the original text was composed in 1228, additions were made in 1252, and the final form of

the work was achieved in 1324 (the '1326' in the article is a printing error). With regard to Cleaves, in 1962 he was convinced that the year of the colophon corresponded to 1240 (see above, n. 25). However, in 1966 he informed me (p.c.) that he agreed with my argument in favour of 1228 (de Rachewiltz 1965). This was confirmed in his letter of 7 March 1992 which also explains why he never expressed his opinion on the subject in print. See below, n. 312.

³⁷ Cf., e.g., Ta, 217.

³⁸ See above, n. 36.

³⁹ See Okada 1985; idem 1989, 291-292; and CIH, 17-19. Cf. also *BIAMS*, 1998.2 (22)/1999.1 (23), 103.

⁴⁰ Pa, 16-17. Cf. CI, lxiv-lxv.

⁴¹ They include B.I. Pankratov, Kuo-yi Pao (Unensechin of the Borjigin), S. Jagchid, M.-D. Even and R. Pop. See Y³, 'Predislovie', 5; Pao, 'Introduction', 1; Ja, 450, n. 2; Ev-Pop, 313, n. 79. Cf. also Irinčin's noncommittal position in YShi, 135.

⁴² Mo, 264-265, n. 254; Li, 211; MHW, 24; de Rachewiltz 1965, 196.

⁴³ de Rachewiltz 1965, 192-193; MHW, 24-26.

⁴⁴ See Hung 1951, 466-472; de Rachewiltz 1965, 193; idem 1986/87.

⁴⁵ See de Rachewiltz 1965, 190-191; MHW, 19-20; and, with regard to Bira's thesis, cf. the *Commentary*, § 282.

⁴⁶ See YS² 29, 638; MWESC 13, 1b. Yisün Temür's election took place on 4 October 1323. Cf. RC, 104 (K, 7). By the seventh month (22 July-19 August) of 1324 the great assembly had long been dissolved, and there is no mention in the detailed records of the YS of another *qurilta* being held at that time. See YS² 29, 649.

⁴⁷ See Section Four of the Introduction. In the present section I have outlined the views on dating held by the major investigators of this important issue. However, for a comprehensive survey (which is not deemed necessary here), relatively minor contributions should also be taken into account, such as N. C. Munkuev's book review in *MAA* 3:1963, 138-141; J. Legrand's comments in *OUMÉIX*, IV/1, 169-172; Ž. Tömörčeren's article in *BŠUAM*, 1990.2, 33-35; Park Won-Kil in *MH* 12:2002, 105-125; etc.

⁴⁸ See SH, §§ 270, 274, 275, 276 and 277.

⁴⁹ More precisely, before August 1246 and July 1251. The germ for this idea comes from a pertinent observation first made by F.W. Cleaves (p.c.) which he might have developed in the projected vol. II of his *magnum opus*.

⁵⁰ See Section Six of the Introduction.

⁵¹ The question of whether the body of Činggis' laws known as the *jasag*, of which there are several references in the SH, was committed to writing in Činggis Qan's time has not yet been settled. For recent discussions see de Rachewiltz 1993; Skrynnikova 2000.

⁵² Be. Süke claims, in fact, that the author of the SH must have been a member of the Borjigit clan, largely on account of his concern with the family genealogy in the early portion of the work and the many references to members of that clan scattered throughout the text. See *ÖMNSÜ*, 1986.6, 45-59; *ÖMBYS*, 1990.2, 99-103. Also, in § 165 of the SH, the narrator referring to Ong Qan's son Senggüm says, 'he spoke disparagingly of us.' The pronoun 'us' (*bidan-i*) refers to Činggis Qan's family, not to the Mongols in general, as evident from the context. Hence, the person who relates the incident, the narrator (and presumed author), appears to be a member of that family.

⁵³ See Ligeti's remarks cited at the end of the present section.

⁵⁴ See the Commentary, § 282. Cf. Waley 1960, 529.

⁵⁵ See YS² 124, 3048-3049. The rest of his biography (8 lines) is devoted to his four sons.

⁵⁶ Hung 1951, 485-486. Cf. Li, 207.

⁵⁷ On Čingqai see P. Buell in ISK, 95-111, and Buell 1994. See also the other references to him in ISK, 769a (Index), esp. pp. 152-153.

⁵⁸ See HTSL, 2a-b; CG, 92. Cf. Cleaves 1951a, 495-503. It is possible that the three lines in Mongolian at the end of the Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1240 were added by Čingqai. If so, we have a sample of his handwriting. See Cleaves 1961, 74, pl. 1.

⁵⁹ See ISK, 110-111 (Bibliography). Čingqai is mentioned in John of Pian di Carpine's *Historia Mongalorum*. The Franciscan envoy of Pope Innocent IV met the chancellor, whom he calls 'protonotarius', at Güyükh's camp in Mongolia in August 1246. See SDM, 320, 324, 325, 392, 395; MM, 63, 66-67.

⁶⁰ See Cleaves 1955a, esp. pp. 397-398, 402.

⁶¹ See *Successors*, 215. Cf. Li, 207.

⁶² See Uemura 1955, 10-12; Ba, I, '關於“蒙古秘史”的作者和譯者', 101; MKSYCLWC, 165-181. For Bayar, however, Čingqai was only one of several learned *biččëcis* who took part in compiling and writing the SH.

⁶³ For the significance of the Baljuna oath, see Cleaves 1955a. For the brief treatment of the Baljuna episode in the SH, see §§ 182, 183. For Čingqai and the *Tobčiyān*, see Hung 1951, 484-485.

⁶⁴ On Šigi Qutuqu see Ratchnevsky 1965; idem in ISK, 75-94; ČK¹, 202b (Index), ČK², 310a-b (Index).

⁶⁵ See the SH, § 203 and com. Cf. ISK, 79-80.

⁶⁶ See Ha, iii (following the first edition, Leipzig, 1941, xiv); Ratchnevsky 1965, 114-120; ISK, 90-94.

⁶⁷ See Ratchnevsky 1965, 119-120; ISK, 92. Cf. the Commentary, § 269. Munkuev 1979, 12-15, is also of the opinion that Ratchnevsky's argument in favour of Šigi Qutuqu is strong since he had all the necessary qualifications, such as an intimate knowledge of Činggis Qan's family, literacy, status, etc.

⁶⁸ Hung 1951, 486. See the SH, §§ 254-264.

⁶⁹ TDMI, 442. Cf. the SH, § 257 and com.

⁷⁰ Cf. Hung's remarks in Hung 1951, 486-487.

⁷¹ See the SH, § 135.

⁷² See the Commentary, § 135.

⁷³ Hung 1951, 486-487.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 492.

⁷⁵ See Čoïmaa 1994.

⁷⁶ See the Commentary, §§ 67, 68.

⁷⁷ See e.g., Š. Gaadamba in MNTSZA, 199-204 (cf. the Uighur script version in *ÖMNSÜ*, 1989.1, 67-72). Gaadamba favours Argasun (= Arvasun), i.e. the Harqasun of the SH, §§ 275, 276 and 277, but the argument is weak.

⁷⁸ See Gumilyov 1974, an English version of his article in TMAE, 484-502.

⁷⁹ See Li, 206-209.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 209-210. Cf. also Whitaker 1984, 219, where the same view is propounded.

⁸¹ See Ratchnevsky 1965, 108-112; ISK, 88-91. Cf. also KIPMX, 44-46, 77, 79.

⁸² See above, n. 52. For a critical appraisal of the whole issue, see Munkuev 1979, 10-26.

⁸³ See Y³, 'Predislovie', 5-17; Chen C 1986.

⁸⁴ See Li, 191ff.; Cl, 'Introduction' (pp. xvii-lxv).

⁸⁵ See Krueger 1966.

⁸⁶ See the Commentary, § 1. For a comparison with a similar usage in the *Manju-yin ünēn mayad qauli*, see Mo, xiii.

⁸⁷ See Section Six of the Introduction, ad fin. Later chronicles like the *Tobčiyān* and the *Altan debter* were given formal titles under Chinese and Persian influence. Cf. Hung 1951, 440ff., 465ff., 471-472; Li, 201.

⁸⁸ For the difference between the Mongol language of the text in Uighur script and that in Chinese phonetic transcription, see Section Six of the Introduction.

⁸⁹ See the Commentary, § 1.

⁹⁰ On this office, see GCUMR, 127 [16].

⁹¹ See H.L. Chan in ISK, 305-306; Hung 1951, 473.

⁹² See Hung 1951, 465-466, 474, 482.

⁹³ These passages, limited to § 254 and § 255 and significantly missing in the AT, could have been interpolated during Mōngke's reign, but I think it unlikely since all the other revisions and interpolations occurred under Qubilai and, possibly, later. This was certainly the case of title changes (*qan* > *qayan*; see below, n. 95), and of the mention of Korea in § 274 which, since it refers to an event of 1258, could hardly have been interpolated by mistake in 1258-1259. The passage in which it occurs belongs to the section on Ögödei (§§ 269-281) which is a later addition anyway.

⁹⁴ See Section Three of the Introduction.

⁹⁵ The practice of retrospectively conferring the title of *qaγan* on Činggis Qan and his most illustrious ancestors, both direct and collateral, must have begun between 1260 and 1271. See de Rachewiltz 1983, 274, 278, n. 10.

⁹⁶ These are noted and discussed in the Commentary. As will be shown further on in this section, the lacuna in § 282 affecting the place-name following that of Šilginček must have occurred at this stage in the transmission of the Mongol text, no doubt caused by a copyist who left the word out by mistake. The fact that the omission was not noticed at the time should not surprise us, since it also passed unnoticed by all present-day Mongol and western scholars with the exception of Mostaert.

⁹⁷ We know that with regard to the *Tobčiyān* the emperor himself ordered certain insertions to be made. From the time of Qubilai onward the emperor was in fact directly involved in the compilation of historical records which had to be presented and read to him, and formally approved. See Hung 1951, 466, 473.

⁹⁸ See Section Five of the Introduction. It should be emphasized, however, that while the revised version may reflect later, e.g. pro-Tolui, biases, the tendentious attitudes already manifest in the *Činggis Qan-u ujaγur* were retained, among them the minimization of the Baljuna events and the role of Teb Tenggeri (no mention of the part he played in Činggis' election in 1206), and the falsified account of Jāmuqa's death.

⁹⁹ Likewise, the incorrect date of the Year of the Rat (= 1228) for Ögödei's enthronement (which actually took place in 1229) in § 269 is no doubt due to careless editing and it is further proof that this section does not belong to the *Činggis Qan-u ujaγur*.

¹⁰⁰ Hung 1951, 465-481.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 470.

¹⁰² For Qubilai's change of attitude towards Chinese officials after Li T'an's 李璘 rebellion of 1262, see H.L. Chan in ISK, 516-519. Cf. also *ibid.*, 247-248, 257-258, 344, 346.

¹⁰³ Hung 1951, 466, 470-472. It is worth noting that the decision (recorded in the entry of 11 January 1287 in YS² 11, 294) to translate the *Veritable Records* into Mongolian specifically mentions that the Mongol script to be employed was the Uighur script, not 'Phags-pa.

¹⁰⁴ Although the *Tobčiyān* is no longer extant, its Chinese counterpart for the reign of Ögödei was the second of the *Wu-ch'ao shih-lu*, i.e. the *T'ai-tsung shih-lu*, completed in 1303. This was one of the main sources for the Annals of T'ai-tsung in the *Yüan-shih*. See Hung 1951, 473, 481. A good deal of the information on military campaigns, the duties of the Guard, and taxation found in the Mongolian account on Ögödei filtered via the *Tobčiyān* and the *T'ai-*

tsung shih-lu into the Annals of T'ai-tsung, albeit in a very abridged and somewhat revised form, and in other parts of the *Yüan-shih*. Cf. SH, §§ 270-280 and YS² 2, 30-36. See Abramowski 1976, 124-134.

¹⁰⁵ See Hung 1951, 484. Cf. *ibid.*, 450-451 and n. 43.

¹⁰⁶ See *ibid.*, 472ff; Cleaves 1988a.

¹⁰⁷ See Cleaves 1988a, 67; *idem* 1993a, 5, 6.

¹⁰⁸ See Hung 1951, 459-460; Cleaves 1993a, 6. Most of the work had actually been completed by September 1370. See *ibid.*, 5.

¹⁰⁹ With regard to the script used in these texts, there is no longer any doubt that it was the Uighur, not the 'Phags-pa script. In the past there has been some controversy on the subject, especially among scholars in Japan, some of whom held that the Ming scholars inherited and worked on a text of the SH in 'Phags-pa script, into which it had been transcribed from its original Uighur, and there is still some lingering interest in this theory and/or some variations of it among contemporary scholars. See GHMAKK, 21-24, n. 1; GHK, 306-363; GH, 42-69; Whitaker 1984, 220-221, 222, and Krueger 1966, 29, 30, 31 (for the relevant articles by S. Hattori and S. Murayama); LCSH, 4. A reconstruction of §§ 1-68 of the SH in 'Phags-pa script is found in Oz¹, I, 451-503. This theory, together with the earlier theories of O. Franke, S. Kozin and N. Poppe, and those of Hattori and Ozawa about the original form of the text being a Sino-Mongolian version, or an Uighur text transcribed first into 'Phags-pa and thence into Sino-Mongolian using the same technique to transcribe Chinese sounds into 'Phags-pa script (see GCR, V, 7-10, Ko, 25-26; Poppe in *HJAS* 13:1950, 268, but see *ibid.*, 266, and Poppe 1969, 275; Li, 1-9), are now of purely historical value. The text used by the Ming scholars of the College of Literature was in Uighur script, as shown by numerous idiosyncrasies of the Chinese transcription noticed by several investigators, see HCG, 54 et passim; Mo, x et passim; Cl, lx; Li², 'Préface', 7-12; Y³, 'Predislovie', 6. For a full discussion, see Li, 191-196. Cf. also *Altaica* 4:2000, 124; Thomsen 1958; Gaadamba 1993; Shagdarsürüng 1994; Y. Saitō (in *Add. & Corr.*), 40-52; and the Commentary, § 251. Conclusive evidence is also provided by the fact that in 1287 the *Veritable Records* (*shih-lu*) from Činggis on were to be translated into Mongolian 'in the Uighur script', not in 'Phags-pa script. See above, n. 103. The Mongol government's practice to use the Uighur script for certain writings and the 'official' 'Phags-pa script for other purposes deserves special investigation. See, provisionally, R. Finch in *WAW*, 94-95.

¹¹⁰ For the system of transcription used, see below, n. 118.

¹¹¹ See Pelliot 1940/41, 7; HCG, 133; Cleaves 1963, 68; Mo, xi.

¹¹² Hung 1951, 460. Cf. Mo, 172, n. 155.

¹¹³ The title *Yüan pi-shih* appears for the first time in an entry of 20 January 1382 (the '1582' of Hung 1951, 452, is a misprint) in the *Ming shih-lu* 明實錄. See Hung, loc. cit. The Mongol version of this title occurs in the later printed

edition, but both titles must no doubt go back to the time when the free version and the transcription were made.

¹¹⁴ There is a vast literature on this famous vocabulary which has been edited, transcribed and translated into various languages. These studies are all based on the *Han-fen-lou pi-chi* 番芬樓秘笈 edition (4th series) of 1918, which is a photo-reproduction of the 1389 edition, seven exemplars of which were in the Peking National Library. See Y¹, 'Predislovie', 12; cf., however, PTSM, 14, which lists only one exemplar. On the HIIY, see in particular, HSHHM, 274-275; SMG and SMD; Lew.; *Matériel I*, and *Matériel II*; 'Quelques problèmes'; de Rachewiltz 1999b; MIÜTB, 153-275 (also with reconstruction of the words in Uighur script); QIÜ; ISMH, 203 (7.1.1); and the bibliographical references in the above publications. The ingenious system devised for the transcription of Mongol sounds with Chinese characters is examined in detail in YPSIYYTK and Lew. See also below, n. 118.

¹¹⁵ On this language, which still needs a full, systematic investigation, see provisionally Chavannes 1904, 1905 and 1908; CY, passim; YTPHPCL (and Iriya Yoshitaka's 入矢義高 review in *THGH* 26:1956, 186-228); LCSH; MKI (and F. Aubin's review in *TP* 75:1989, 167-177); Zograf 1993; de Rachewiltz 1967; Cleaves 1979; GALCT; LPYYCY; YKLCTYC; SYYTYT.

¹¹⁶ See Hung 1951, 452. Cf. also *ibid.*, 448. The compilers extracted words from the *Yüan pi-shih* for inclusion in the first part of the HIIY, i.e. the Sino-Mongolian glossary, which contains 844 entries.

¹¹⁷ The first five documents in the HIIY of 1389 are rescripts, an edict and a diploma issuing from the Ming government and addressed to Mongolian personages; they were originally written in Chinese and subsequently translated into Mongolian. The other seven documents consist of letters and reports of Mongol chiefs addressed to the Ming court and government; originally in Mongolian, they were subsequently translated into Chinese. For some reason, no Chinese sectional summaries were provided in the second group.

¹¹⁸ Much has been written on the Chinese transcription, or rather transliteration, of the Mongolian text of the SH. Ch'en Yüan's 陳垣 detailed analysis YPSIYYTK remains the fundamental study on the subject (a translation of this work into a western language is long overdue); it must, however, be read in conjunction with Mostaert's 'Quelques problèmes.' GHMAKK may still be consulted with profit, together with Hattori 1973. For the techniques of transliteration, see also UUY (and Cleaves 1949a, 497-498), SMD; L², 'Préface', 14-20; and Kuz'menkov 1987 and 1993. For a comparison of the systems employed in the HIIY and the *Yüan pi-shih*, see Hung's important remarks in Hung 1951, 454-461; S. Murayama in *THG* 22:July 1961, 1-16, and TDPMKV, III, 432-433; and, of course, Lew.

¹¹⁹ For an attempt at reconstructing the punctuation of the original Mongolian, see PYCPS and Street 1986/87.

¹²⁰ The 41 leaves – sole survivors of the Ming printed edition – have been reproduced in Y². See Hung 1951, 449-450 and n. 39 (for the location of the leaves in question in Y²). Cf. PTSM, 26. The title in the margin is clearly *Yüan pi-shih*, not *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih*. See Y² 3, 9a et passim. The title *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* that we find at the beginning and at the end of the individual chapters must have been introduced by Ku Kuan-ch'i 顧廣圻 (1776-1835), who took it from the *Yung-lo ta-tien* text, with which he was well acquainted, in 1805. Cf. Hung 1951, 437-440; Y³, 'Predislovie', 7; YSC, 'Hsü 序', 28. As for the Mongol rendering of the Chinese title, it is the same in all the later texts deriving from the printed edition. Cf. Y¹ 1, 1a1; Y² 1, 1a1. (For *niuča* = *ni'uča*, see the Commentary, § 170.) For the printed fragments of the HIIY, see further on, and below, n. 125.

¹²¹ See Hung 1951, 433-435, 456, 461-465. The free summarized translation was not included in the *Yung-lo ta-tien*, but the manuscript copy made in 1404 has survived. See further on under C.

¹²² See HIIY, 'Hsü 序', 2b; SMD, 8; *Matériel I*, x. This is the date of the first edition. A second edition of the HIIY was published sometime later, close to the time of the printing of *Yüan pi-shih* 'reader.' Cf. Hung 1951, 462-464. See pl. 4 of YPSIYYTK.

¹²³ Hung 1951, 461.

¹²⁴ The *Ming shih-lu* entry regarding the compilation of the *Hua-i i-yü* is dated 20 January 1382. See above, n. 116. Cf. also *Matériel I*, x and n. 17.

¹²⁵ See Hung 1951, 462.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*

¹²⁷ See HEM, 24; HEMAC, 18-21; SMRM, III, 29-30.

¹²⁸ See SMRM, II, 5-7; DHMEM, 19-20.

¹²⁹ This is somewhat at variance with the dating of 1404-1418 proposed by Hung. See Hung 1951, 462-463. I regard Hung's argument about the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* being part of the later *Enlarged Hua-i i-yü* as valid, but its subsequent inclusion in the latter has no bearing on the book itself having been printed in the *Yung-lo* period.

¹³⁰ Ligeti writes that the 'manuscrit mongol original (c. à d. en écriture ouigouro-mongole – I.R.) ... fut même imprimé au XIVE siècle' (L², 'Préface', 8). I do not know on what evidence he based this statement.

¹³¹ In H, 128-138.

¹³² I.e., Y¹, Y² and Y³ (Haenisch's Y, C and P).

¹³³ See Hung 1951, 458, n. 61.

¹³⁴ We may, however, do an injustice to the Ming copyists insofar as the three examples of incorrect readings cited by Hung, *loc. cit.*, are not taken from B, which no longer exists, but from 'YCPS(P-P)', i.e. from the so-called

Palladius ms., which is itself a handwritten copy of the YCPS collated by Pao T'ing-po 鮑廷博 (1728-1814) of a copy, formerly belonging to Ch'ien Ta-hsin 錢大昕 (1728-1804), of a copy of B. How can the Palladius ms. then be relied upon as a faithful copy of B?

¹³⁵ See Y¹ Sup. 2, 58b; Y² Sup. 2, 58b; Y³ 15, 12b.

¹³⁶ Mo, 260.

¹³⁷ It is possible, indeed likely, that as a result of the 'Cultural Revolution' upheaval of the 1960s and 1970s, rare works formerly in private hands eventually found their way into state or local libraries.

¹³⁸ Or the 'Ku collated copy.' Cf. Hung 1951, 446; Cl, lxiii.

¹³⁹ For a list and pagination of the 41 leaves in Y², see Hung 1951, 449, n. 39. As noted by Hung (op. cit., 450, n. 41), it is regrettable that the Commercial Press editors substituted the 41 leaves for the original leaves of the Ku certified text thus making the latter unavailable to the reader, instead of adding them for comparison.

¹⁴⁰ See Shi. Shiratori's edition has been reprinted in *LCYYWCTL*, III-IV, as well as in Su (with the addition of the Mongol text in Uighur script).

¹⁴¹ Wen T'ing-shih's copy made for Naitō is now in the Jimbun Kagaku Kenkyūjo 人文科學研究所 library in Kyoto. A page of this ms. is reproduced in MSKK (pl. 1). Naka's annotated translation (Na¹) was reprinted with an index and bibliography in 1943 (Na²). See Section Seven of the Introduction.

¹⁴² Cf. L. Hambis' remark in his 'Avertissement' (Pe, 12): 'Paul Pelliot ... a utilisé, outre le texte publié en 1908 ... surtout celui d'un manuscrit de l'époque Ming, qui est, semble-t-il, de beaucoup le meilleur, et lui appartenait.' Apart from its historical interest in relation to the transmission of the text, this ms. does not offer any new or unusual textual variants. Of the seals affixed on the first leaf of *chüan* 1, one seems to be that of Wang Shib-to 王士禛 (1802-89; see ECCP, 834a-836a); the other is that of Min Kuo-hsün 閔國勳, whom I have been unable to identify. The ms. in question is in the Département des manuscrits of the Bibliothèque nationale (call number Ms. Chinois 11003), and is in 6 pen (320 x 225mm) with 2 *chüan* in each pen. The line arrangement is the same of Y¹ and Y², but the ms. lacks continuous pagination and margin title.

¹⁴³ See Hung 1951, 443.

¹⁴⁴ On this, the first translation of the SH ever made, see Section Seven of the Introduction.

¹⁴⁵ It was to be followed by an annotated translation of the text (vol. II), a glossary (vol. III), and Pankratov's reconstruction and translation of the Mongolian text (vol. IV), none of which unfortunately ever appeared. See Y³, 'Predislovie', 18. For the history of the Palladius ms. and its present location, see *ibid.*, 15, and below, n. 148.

¹⁴⁶ A photographic reproduction of the original edition is now available in the *SLTS*.

¹⁴⁷ Li's work is also included in the *TSCC*, 1st ser., nos. 3907-3909. For a valuable revision of YC by Kao Pao-ch'üan 高寶全, see YCPC. Another annotated edition of Chang Mu's text by Ch'en Pin-ho 陳彬蘇 (YCPS) has been reprinted in Taipei in the *JJWK* series. All the critical investigations (including geographical and other commentaries) by Chinese scholars on the 15-*chüan* text of the SH, such as the works by Ting Ch'ien 丁謙 (YTL), Shih Shih-chieh 施士杰 (YSCK) and Shen Tseng-chih 沈曾植 (YPC), are based on Chang's text.

¹⁴⁸ See Taube 1974; Harayama 1983; *idem* 1984. Cf. Also B. Temürbayana in *ÖMNSÜ* 38.1:1989, 55-64. Taube postulates the existence of two ms. copies of B which go under the name of 'Palladius ms.' The original ms. was given by Palladii to A.M. Pozdneeov in 1878 when the latter visited Peking. Pozdneeov handed it over to the library of St. Petersburg University where it still is, in the Naučnaya biblioteka imeni M. Gor'kogo Sankt-Peterburgskogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta (Vostočnyĭ otdel), call number Xyl. 1264. See Yakhontova 1993, 9, and p.c. of 17 March 2002. The Lu Hsin-yüan ms. utilized by Harayama is a good ms. copy of B which belonged to that famous Ch'ing bibliophile (1834-94; see ECCP, 545a-547a), and which is briefly mentioned in Hung 1951, 444, n. 26. However, the Seikadō Bunko 靜嘉堂文庫 copy is not 'a re-copy from it', but is the text originally in Lu's collection sold by Lu's son Lu Shu-fan 陸樹藩 to Baron Iwasaki Yanosuke 岩崎彌之助 (1851-1908) in 1907.

¹⁴⁹ Fig. 6: p. 143 of the 1982 edition. The present whereabouts of the ms. itself are unknown. After Ch'en Yüan's death in 1971, his rich book and manuscript collection went first to the Peking Normal University, then to the National Library of China (p.c. of Prof. Ch'en Chih-ch'ao, Ch'en Yüan's grandson). A search in the Rare Books collection of the National Library in January 2002 has, however, proved fruitless.

¹⁵⁰ The variant readings in Y³ had, however, been published by E. Haenisch in the 'Nachtrag' of H in 1962 (pp. 128-138), but the variants listed by Haenisch concern solely the transcriptions of Mongol words, not the Chinese glosses, and the list is incomplete owing to the fact that Haenisch consulted only the defective photocopy of Y³ which Pelliot had sent to the Peking National Library in 1933. Cf. L², 9-10; Taube 1974.

¹⁵¹ See Section Seven of the Introduction.

¹⁵² The future Academy of Sciences of the MPR (BNMAU Šinžlëx Uxaany Akademii) and present Academy of Sciences of Mongolia.

¹⁵³ On Blo-bzan bstan-'jin (hereafter Lubsangdanjin), see *Žamc.*¹, 80; *Žamc.*², 56 and n. 1; PLBMS, 12-14; FKM, 51-56; LDAT, 25-27; MHW, 170-172. On the composition and description of his chronicle, the *Alian tobči*, lit. *Golden Button* ('Button' = 'Historical Summary or Epitome'), by its full title *Erten-ii*

qad-un ündüsüleksen törö yosun-u jokiyal-i tobčilan quriyaşsan Altan tobči kemekü orosibat, or (*Herein*) *Contained (is the Work) Called the Golden Button Which Relates Briefly the Achievements in Governance of the Former Rulers*, see Žamc.¹, 79-82; Žamc.², 55-58 (cf. J.R. Krueger in *CAJ* 2:1956, 235-237); FKM, 50-60; LDAT, 27-42; MHW, 173-184. Cf. also D. Cagaan in MÜZT, II, 112-122. Sometimes the AT is referred to as the *Altan tobči nova* to distinguish it from other chronicles by the same title. (For these *Altan tobčis*, cf. C.R. Bawden in *AM* 3:1953, 227-229.) For the date of composition of the AT, cf. in particular MHW, 176 ('very end of the 17th century, or the beginning of the 18th'). For the circumstances of its discovery by Jamiyan Güng, cf. also Š. Bira in the Introduction of AT¹ (Bayan Tümen Sum in Dornod Aimag is at 48° 04' N and 114° 30' E); ATI, ii; Vietze 1993, 238; and Vietze & Lubsang 1993, 300 (for a different identification of the original owner of the ms. and the locality where it was found by Jamiyan Güng in 1926). Jamiyan Güng's name is occasionally written Jamyang güng (or Jamyang-güng). See Žamc.², 56; AT², xi. Cf., however, AT³, 4; ATI, i.

¹⁵⁴ For the circumstances in which the ms. copy was delivered to Pelliot, see Vietze 1993, 238-239; Vietze & Lubsang 1993, 300-301. In 1946, after Pelliot's death, this copy (AT³) was acquired by the Bibliothèque nationale, where it is kept in the 'Fond mongol' of the Section des manuscrits orientaux (call number 131). It consists of 246 folios. See L. Hambis in *JA* 241:1953, 295.

¹⁵⁵ Mainly through Pelliot's articles, beginning with Pelliot 1930a.

¹⁵⁶ Call number F.V. 90. See N. Poppe in *HJAS* 16:1953, 275. Cf. Žamc.¹, 79; Žamc.², 55-56 (on p. 55, line 9 from bottom, for 'F.B.' read 'F.V.'). For a somewhat different account of the circumstances in which Vladimircov obtained the copy of the AT, see Vietze 1993, 239; Vietze & Lubsang 1993, 301. I examined the photocopy in 1988 and found it still in remarkably good condition except for a few sheets which were slightly damaged by dampness.

¹⁵⁷ Call number 6476 (formerly 569).

¹⁵⁸ On Žamcarano (Jamsarin-u Čeveng), his life and works see I. de Rachewiltz in *EAH* 1:June 1991, 55-56, nn. 2 and 5; 10:Dec. 1995, 77 (where, however, on line 7 for *Bibliografičeskii* read *Biobibliografičeskii*).

¹⁵⁹ Žamc.¹, translated by R. Loewenthal in 1955 (Žamc.²). See the reviews by C.R. Bawden in *JOS* 3:1956, 395-403; and J.R. Krueger in *CAJ* 2:1956, 234-238.

¹⁶⁰ This text (AT²) circulated only in Mongolia and in the USSR, and a single western scholar, Owen Lattimore, is known to have possessed a copy of it which he obtained in Ulan Bator in 1944. See Vietze 1993, 239.

¹⁶¹ Ko, 321-397. For Kozin's work, see Section Seven of the Introduction.

¹⁶² AT², ix-xxi. See the reviews by N. Poppe in *HJAS* 16:1953, 275-279; C.R. Bawden in *AM* 3:1953, 227-229; and L. Hambis in *JA* 241:1953, 295-298. O. Lattimore's copy was used for the photo-reproduction.

¹⁶³ The second edition is an improvement on the first, and in place of the original preface (Šagdar¹, 5-7) has a new postscript (Šagdar², 190-192). A 'recast' of Šagdar² with additional passages in versified form and 196 footnotes by O. Süxbaatar was published in Ulan Bator in 1998 with the title *Altan tovč XLIX bot*.

¹⁶⁴ MKHCSIC, the first edition of which had appeared in *CKTYNP* 2:1963, was published in Taipei by the same publisher and at the same time as Jagchid's translation of the SH (Ja). Its chief merit lies in complementing the latter by providing a Chinese translation of the epic material in the AT which is not found in the SH. For other interesting contributions by S. Jagchid to the investigation of the AT and the SH, see MKSLT, 123-146; and Jagchid 1978.

¹⁶⁵ LDAT. Her translation of the *Šara tuji* (= *tuɣuɣi*) (ŠT), on which see Žamc.¹, 60-70, and Žamc.², 43-49, appeared in 1973. V.A. Kazakevič's annotated edition of the text was never published. See Žamc.², 43, n. 1.

¹⁶⁶ ATL. In 1967 Ligeti had already published a selection of texts from the *Altan tobči* in transcription in *Preklasszikus emlékek 3. Jüan- és Ming-kori szövegek klasszikus átírásban*, MN 5, 7-40.

¹⁶⁷ AT¹. The AT text in this edition is divided into 333 sections which up to section 176 correspond to the SH paragraphs (as in ATL, 13-136), but no page references to the 1937 edition are provided.

¹⁶⁸ de Rachewiltz 1989b. Other scholars had earlier pointed out the misprints, inconsistencies and inadequacies of the 1937 edition and of Kozin's text of the AT in transcription, as well as the variant readings of the Pelliot ms., i.e. of the copy made for him by Jamiyan Güng. Cf. AT², xx-xxi; Hambis, op. cit., 296; LDAT, 15-16. Regret for the lack of availability of a photo-reproduction of the original ms. had also been expressed by Cleaves in his 'Foreword' to AT², and by Čoyiji in the introduction to his edition (AT⁴, 4).

¹⁶⁹ de Rachewiltz 1989b, 204-205.

¹⁷⁰ AT¹. This edition is preceded by an introduction in Mongolian and in English by Bira. For this edition and the preceding ones, see Vietze 1993.

¹⁷¹ ATI. This work is also preceded by a useful and informative 'Einleitung.'

¹⁷² In addition to the investigations already mentioned, starting with P. Pelliot and C.Ž. Žamcarano, and down to H.-P. Vietze, scholars like Yamamoto Mamoru 山本守, Kobayashi Takashirō 小林高四郎, Yoshida Jun'ichi 吉田順一, Ozawa Shigeo 小沢重男, and Okada Hidehiro 岡田英弘 in Japan, M.N. Orlovskaya and G.I. Mikhaïlov in Russia, Š. Čoimaa in Mongolia, Lee Seong-gyu in Korea, and L.V. Clark in the U.S.A. have made valuable contributions to the study of the AT. See de Rachewiltz 1989b, 199, n. 8; 200, n. 1; Clark

1978/79; and, for Prof. Ozawa's early contributions (mainly linguistic), BOM, 37 (1951-72). See also the bibliography in MNTLAT, xi-xii.

¹⁷³ See MNTLAT. For a concise introduction to the subject, see *ibid.*, i-vi.

¹⁷⁴ See Žamc.¹, 82ff.; Žamc.², 58ff.; AT², xiii-xviii; Heissig 1976a; *idem* 1985; Lubsandorji & Vacek 1989; Okada 1995. Cf. also de Rachewiltz 1982b.

¹⁷⁵ Ko, 321-397 (incomplete); AT², xviii-xx (where, however, on p. xx, 3rd column, one must add: 'par. 265 [fin] ... page 97' and 'par. 267 [déb.] ... page 97 [fin]'); ATL (where the beginning of § 267 in AT¹, 124a, is also not mentioned). Cf. also Yoshida 1974, 68.

¹⁷⁶ Li, 196-200. Ligeti's analysis should be complemented with the data supplied in Yoshida Jun'ichi's masterly article (Yoshida 1972). Unfortunately AT¹ was not available to Yoshida, who used AT² only.

¹⁷⁷ Defective or missing sections are §§ 39, 176-208, 254, 255, 265, 266, 267, 269-282; enlarged sections (= lacunae in the SH) are found in §§ 47, 60, 76, 78, 170, 181, 206; enlarged sections (= interpolations) concern §§ 56, 60, 69, 74, 86, 91, 92, 94, 100, 103, 118, 132, 139, 141, 149, 176, 208, 235, 238, 245, 268. Cf. Vietze 1995a.

¹⁷⁸ Cf. Žamc.¹, 87-88; Žamc.², 61-62.

¹⁷⁹ See ATL, 6, where Ligeti calls the AT¹ 'une copie assez médiocre.'

¹⁸⁰ For the language of the AT, see YAT. Cf. also Aalto 1973; M. N. Orlovskaya in OUMELX, II/1, 356-360; Lee SG 2001; and Čoïmaa 2002.

¹⁸¹ See Mostaert in AT², xi; N. Poppe in HJAS 16:1953, 278; ATL, 6-8; Vietze 1993, 240-241.

¹⁸² Cf. Poppe, *op. cit.*, 277-278; Vietze 1995a.

¹⁸³ See above, n. 177; and Vietze 1993a, 472, 475-476.

¹⁸⁴ Such is the case of the long passage on Küdei Sečen's address in AT¹, 11b-12a, which refers to the election of Ambaqai Qan (SH, § 52) on which see Žamc.¹, 93-96; Žamc.², 65-68. For other examples of episodes or passages in AT¹ which are not found in the SH, but were recorded in the sources used by Rašid al-Dīn and by the compilers of the SWCCL, see Li, 204ff. Cf. Žamc.¹, 83-108, Žamc.², 59-77, where Žamcarano discusses the differences between the parallel accounts in the SH and AT¹.

¹⁸⁵ See Sections Two and Four of the Introduction. For the relevance of some of these omissions, see Li, 200; however, Ligeti does not comment on the significance of the omission of the section on Ögödei.

¹⁸⁶ The same conclusion, viz. that Lubsangdanjin was in possession of the original text of the SH, is tentatively reached by Vietze in Vietze 1993a, 308.

¹⁸⁷ This is particularly evident in the passages corresponding to §§ 262 and 263 of the SH which mention Sübe'etei's attack on Kiev and Yalawači's and Masqut's appointment in north China, both events having taken place during Ögödei's reign. (I wish to thank Dr. Paul D. Buell of Seattle, Washington, for his critical remarks on the AT version of the SH text made in his letter to me of

13 March 2002.) For the AT passages incorporated into Damdinsüren's version of the SH, see Appendix Three. Cf. Žamc.¹, 80; Žamc.², 57.

¹⁸⁸ HCG, 333.

¹⁸⁹ In a letter of 15 December 1974, Poppe sent me a list of Mongol works that in his view should be translated: in order of priority the *Altan tobči* by Lubsangdanjin is the third one (after the *Bolor toli* and the *Erdeni-yin erike*) because 'Shastina's translation is not very good.' Cf. also MHW, 171, n. 3, 172; 228; and de Rachewiltz 1989b, 202 and n. 2.

¹⁹⁰ CW, the original edition of which (*Le Conquérant du Monde (Vie de Gengis-khan)*) appeared in Paris in 1944 – undoubtedly the most popular and well written biography of Činggis Qan in any language – is largely, in fact almost entirely, based on the SH like many of such biographies (by M. Prawdin, R. Fox, R.P. Lister, M. Hoang, etc.). Grousset is, however, careful to point out throughout his work that the account as presented is 'the recital of the Mongol bard', the 'Gest' of so and so, 'this quaint little drama the Mongol bard has staged for us', etc. etc. See CW, 9, 35 et passim, and his revealing remarks in the 'Introduction historique' to GKV, xxvii-xxviii.

¹⁹¹ Wa, 7-8; Okada 1969; *idem* 1972; *idem* 1989; CIH, 17-19 (see Section Two of the Introduction).

¹⁹² See, especially, HCG, 3 et passim; GKV; GK; and ČK'. Among the more popular books on Činggis Qan, one which deserves credit for its attempt to be more selective in its use of sources is GKG, still useful today.

¹⁹³ MHW, 21, 28, 32, 34, 47. Bira's understanding of the purpose and meaning of the SH is essentially in accordance with the view expressed by Š. Nacagdorž (Š. Načuydorji) in his preface to Da': 'In this book is displayed in an admirable, harmonious and beautiful manner the fact that the 13th century Mongols, according to the laws of history ... struggled for the sake of establishing a centralized Mongol state ... This work is not only so much a primary source of Mongol history, but also a monument of Mongol literature.' See Da', 3.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 57. I think that Bira is undoubtedly right. For C.J. Halperin, however, the SH 'drew exclusively [my emphasis – I.R.] from oral sources' (Halperin 2000, 2).

¹⁹⁵ Gumilyov 1974, 205; SIK, 241-242. See Section Three of the Introduction.

¹⁹⁶ See Section Four of the Introduction.

¹⁹⁷ Cf. Pelliot's remark in HCG, 82: 'Le discours de Gengis-khan dans le § 213 de l' *Histoire secrète*, qui a des parties allitérées, peut très bien, comme tant d'autres [my emphasis – I.R.], être un morceau littéraire inventé de toutes pièces.'

¹⁹⁸ Although in Pe, 1-2 (written ca. 1920), Pelliot refers to the SH as a 'chronique', in his contribution to the entry 'Mongoli' in EI, XXIII (1934),

665a, it is designated as a 'cronaca epica.' In my opinion, 'epic chronicle' is a more accurate designation than I. Whitaker's 'heroic epic' which, apart from being a tautology, deprives the work of its historical quality. See Whitaker 1984, 219. Cf. Barthold's designations of the SH as a 'product of the heroic epos' and a 'Mongol epic' in TDMI, 43, 456. Munkuev 1979, 8, calls it an 'epico-historical work.'

¹⁹⁹ For the SWCCL, I have used the (unpublished) 'Index des noms mongols et chinois' prepared by P. Pelliot and L. Hambis in the Hambis Archives at the Centre de Recherches sur l'Asie Centrale et la Haute-Asie, Instituts d'Asie, Collège de France, Paris. In Pe, 2-3, Pelliot had already drawn attention to the great number of proper names found in the SH. L. Bese's posthumous work on Mongolian and Turkic proper names in the SH (in Hungarian, entitled *Etnonimek*) is being edited and prepared by A. Birtalan of Budapest.

²⁰⁰ Cf. de Rachewiltz 1973; and the various references in the SH to the *jasag* ('law') and the mutual obligations between lord and subjects (§§ 208, 220, 252). See also Ratchnevsky 1974, 473, n. 10; de Rachewiltz 1993; and the Commentary, § 208.

²⁰¹ Vlad.¹ and Vlad.² On Vladimircov's contribution, cf. Šastina 1967, 10-13; SFH, 146-147, n. 12, et passim; IAFC, 584a (Index); Krader 1958; G.N. Romyancev in FIMN, 70-81; È.R. Rygdylon, *ibid.*, 166-172. See also MCFN for further references on nomadic feudalism. There is a vast literature on the subject.

²⁰² Fletcher 1986.

²⁰³ Lattimore 1963. Cf. his (unsigned) review of CW in the *TLS* of 9 November 1967. On this subject see also Fletcher 1986, 32ff.

²⁰⁴ See the very handy topical repertories in GGMGL.

²⁰⁵ I.e., Jebe, Qubilai, Jelme, Sübe'etei; and Bo'orču, Muqali, Boroqul, Čila'un.

²⁰⁶ On the lost *Altan debter*, about which very little is known, see TDMI, 44-45; HCG, xv; Hung 1951, 470, 471; Li, 201; TM, 226b (Index); Ivanics 1997; and CCME, 88-90. Some portions of the *Altan debter* could be identified by a close comparison of Rašīd al-Dīn's chapters on Činggis Qan in SL, the corresponding sections in the SWCCL and the YS, and the SH. One of the reasons why this comparative analysis has not yet been carried out is because Rašīd al-Dīn's work is available only in the original Persian and in Russian translations (SL¹ and SL²).

²⁰⁷ See MHW, 170.

²⁰⁸ Žamc.², 58; see Žamc.¹, 82. Cf. Pe, 3: 'Pour la première fois également, un texte considérable nous fait pénétrer dans la vie et la pensée mongoles avant qu'aucune influence lamaïque ne soit venue les bouleverser.' For an insightful

analysis of the portrayal of Činggis Qan in the SH and in the later chronicles influenced by Tibetan Buddhism, see Šastina 1977; LM, 344-348.

²⁰⁹ Cf. Ligeti's statement in ATL, 9-10, that 'la prononciation fixée par les transcripateurs ne vaut que pour le dialect mongol des transcripateurs de la fin du XIV^e siècle. Les anciennes transcriptions chinoises du mongol prouvent jusqu'à l'évidence que le système phonétique mongol des transcripateurs était différent, sur bien des points essentiels, de celui du mongol du XIII^e siècle, parlé dans l'entourage des grands khans.'

²¹⁰ On these changes and the phonetic system of the SH, see the relevant sections of IMCS and UGPM; Lew., 88-114 (Lewicki's statements concerning the system of the HIIY are also valid for the SH, but see N. Poppe's review in *JAOS* 71:1951, 187-192); and, especially, 'Quelques problèmes.' Cf. also de Rachewiltz 1999b, 107-108, n. 54. Morphologically, we notice also the gradual disappearance of the feminine verbal forms. See Li, 195-196. For the Mongol language at the time of Činggis Qan, cf. GH, 71-90.

²¹¹ See Ko, 399-519 (rom.); Shi (rom.); Ir; Ba; El-Ar; Oz¹, I-VI; Su.

²¹² See R, 300a.

²¹³ See, e.g., the last paragraph (282) of the SH in the works cited above, n. 211.

²¹⁴ See Cleaves 1961, 69, 73, n. 7.

²¹⁵ Cf. also § 129, where the Ming transcribers wrote 'Onon' twice for the 'Onan' of the manuscript. Therefore, Pelliot's statement in Pe, 3, that 'à bien des égards nous pouvons mieux étudier la langue mongole de l'*Histoire secrète des Mongols* au moyen de la transcription chinoise que si cette *Histoire* nous était parvenue dans l'écriture mongole' is only valid if by 'langue mongole de l'*Histoire secrète des Mongols*' Pelliot means only the Mongol dialect spoken by the Ming transcribers.

²¹⁶ See TH (or its Mongolian version JYT) which is the best analysis of the SH vocabulary so far.

²¹⁷ Poppe 1955 lists merely 59 Turkic loan-words in the SH, 'Phags-pa script material and the HIIY; however, there are many more borrowings from Turkic languages in the SH than previously estimated. See TH and the Commentary.

²¹⁸ See de Rachewiltz 1995.

²¹⁹ In IAL, 21, Poppe states that 'Eastern Middle Mongolian is well represented by the language of the text in the so-called hp'ags-pa script, the language of the *Secret History of the Mongols*, and various Sino-Mongolian glossaries of the XIV century'; in Poppe 1975b we read: 'The language of the SH is Mo. [= Script Mongolian (Written Mongolian) - I.R.] but in phonetic transcription which betrays the influence of the colloquial language of that time, i.e. MMo. [= Middle Mongolian - I.R.]; and in GWM (1974 ed.), 2, he simply states that the SH was 'written in 1240 in a Mongolian dialect and later

translated with Chinese characters.' In a letter to me dated 15 December 2001, Prof. M.N. Orlovskaya has confirmed that 'the language of the SH cannot be related to any modern dialect.' Cf. also FSTYTIM and Kuz'menkov 1993a.

²²⁰ See Section Eight of the Introduction.

²²¹ Žamc', 82, uses the term *grubost'* which means 'coarseness, rudeness', by which he no doubt meant an unadorned directness of speech in contrast to the later literary style of the 17th century.

²²² Mo, 33. See also *ibid.*, 134.

²²³ Pe, 3, and EI, XXIII, 665a (see above, n. 198). Cf. also his statement in NHHO, 25, n. 2: 'l'Histoire secrète abonde en données légendaires souvent contradictoires.'

²²⁴ Wa, 7.

²²⁵ The number of poetic passages increases of course if the non-alliterated lines are regarded as actual boundaries, rather than a sort of 'caesura', between passages. There is also no agreement among translators about a number of lines which are regarded by some as being alliterative. The figures given here are, therefore, somewhat subjective and interpretative but, by and large, correct, I think. For a convenient listing of the poetic passages, see MNTÜK, 362-428.

²²⁶ Among them: Temüjin, with Bo'orču's help, recovers the eight light-bay geldings (§§ 90-93); Temüjin's flight from the Merkit, when Börte was left without a horse (§§ 98-102); Börte's rescue from the Merkit camp (§ 110); Qargil Šira's attempt on the life of five-year old Tolui (§ 214); Father Mönglik's picking up the hat of his son Teb Tenggeri when the latter was about to be killed.

²²⁷ Cf. P. Poucha in *JM* 6:1969, 24-32. It should be noted that some of the proverbial sayings in the SH are not alliterated but have a final rhyme as, e.g., § 277: *olon ayu'ul-i /gün ükü'ül-i*, and as a result were not recognized as such by Ligeti. See *L*², 251. Cf. *Cl*, 218. See also the end of § 126, where To'oril Qan's injunction to Temüjin is expressed in the same manner.

²²⁸ *BDK*, 'Introduction', 14.

²²⁹ In W. Heissig's re-edition of Ha, the poetic passages have been isolated and versified. In Pe and Mo, they have been marked by writing the alliterative syllables in bold type. In Li, they have been turned into good Hungarian poetry by the professional pen of Géza Képes. In his version (SHM), P. Kahn rendered the entire SH into poetry. Regrettably, Waley did not turn a single passage into English verse.

²³⁰ *KMGE*, 7-11. Cf. *HEKM*, 9-16; and Poppe 1934, 429ff.

²³¹ See *PPET*, 9ff., 229b (Index).

²³² See, e.g., Lörincz 1975; Jagchid 1978; Sárközi 1978; Kahn 1996.

²³³ See Kudiyarov 1986. Cf. also the earlier contribution by L.D. Šagdarov (Šagdarov 1973).

²³⁴ See Section Five of the Introduction, and above, nn. 186 and 187.

²³⁵ Vietze 1992. Cf. also *idem* 1995.

²³⁶ See also Šastina's remarks on the AT versification in *SMCU*, 8-9.

²³⁷ Such as *MCÜD*. They are discussed in the Commentary.

²³⁸ See Cérénsonom 1986. Cf. also Jagchid 1978 where several of these maxims and aphorisms from both the SH and the AT are cited.

²³⁹ See the Bibliography under Gaadamba, as well as the volumes *MNTSZA* (esp. pp. 234-253) and *MAAZDB* (with D. Cérénsonom), and Gaadamba's rich commentary in *Fa*. On the subject of folklore contacts of the Mongols and other nomadic peoples, cf. also Bira 1990a.

²⁴⁰ Li, 6. Cf. also Bira's remarks in *MHW*, 27-28. For a very personal view of early Mongolian historical resources and their interpretation, see Jackendoff 1986.

²⁴¹ Cf. Munkuev 1979, 15. On the topic of instruction and entertainment in the SH, see Kahn 1996. We must not overlook the fact that for the Mongols in the early 13th century, as for the early Turks, writing – a new and unfamiliar medium – was used for very definite purposes confined almost entirely to state and administrative matters. To compile such a long text as the *Činggis Qan-u ujaŋur* would have been a major undertaking and nothing less than a *raison d'état* would have sanctioned it and made it possible.

²⁴² Fichter 1982, 165. Cf. Alan Qo'a's prophetic words at the beginning of the SH (§ 21): 'When one understands that, the sign is clear: They are the sons of Heaven ... /When they become the rulers of all, /Then the common people will understand!'

²⁴³ See B. Pankratov in his 'Predislovie' to *Y*³, 14-15.

²⁴⁴ It is not clear whether Pozdneev obtained the ms. of Palladii's transcription and translation (two pages of which are reproduced in *Y*³ between p. 10 and 11) in 1878 in Peking together with the 'Palladius ms.' (see above, n. 148), or whether he received it early in 1880, after Palladii's death. See Pankratov, *op. cit.*, 15; Yakhontova 1993, 9.

²⁴⁵ See *IPCLM*, 29-30.

²⁴⁶ In lithographic form, with the title *Transcriptiya paleografičeskogo teksta 'Yuan'-čao-mi-ši'*, St. Petersburg, n.d., 112 pages. Pp. 1-59 contain the transcription and Russian interlinear translation; pp. 61-90, the reconstructed Mongol text in Uighur script; and pp. 91-112, 26 notes to the text, which on p. 90 ends in the middle of § 104 (= R, line 2511) of the SH. The first page is reproduced in *Aalto* 1951, 13, and p. 61 is reproduced on p. 14. A copy of this extremely rare work was given by B. Vladimircov to Pelliot in 1924. It is in the 'Fond mongol' of the Section des manuscrits orientaux of the Bibliothèque nationale, Paris (call number Mongol 160). A copy of this lithograph is found in the Ulan Bator State Library (call number M 49^o Mon. P. 471). See Manaljaw 1975, 147-148. In 1988 I also checked the copy held in the library of the former LO (now SPb Filial) IVAN. The lithograph has no date of

publication. According to Pe, 2, it was published in 1880, but Aalto 1951, 5, thinks that it probably appeared in 1887. For other publications on the SH by Pozdneev, see *ibid.*, 2ff. Cf. Yakhontova 1993, 10-11; MVR, 82.

²⁴⁷ Cf. Pankratov, *op. cit.*, 14; Krueger 1966, 26.

²⁴⁸ See Manaljaw 1975, 148; Aalto 1951. Cf. Krueger 1966, 26.

²⁴⁹ See Pankratov, *op. cit.*, 15. The ms. is kept in Arkhiv Vostokovedov Sankt-Peterburgskogo Filiala Instituta Vostočkovedeniya RAN (call number razr. I, op. 3, ed. khr. 2). See MVR, 82 (confirmed by Dr N.S. Yakhontova, p.c. of 21 March 2002).

²⁵⁰ In the Section des manuscrits orientaux (call number Fond mongol 159). See de Rachewiltz 1999b, 96, n. 13.

²⁵¹ See Aalto 1951; Krueger 1966; Manaljaw 1975; Munkuev 1979; PR, 75-76.

²⁵² See L. Hambis in Pe, 3, n. 1; de Rachewiltz 1999b, 97, n. 17; and below, n. 258.

²⁵³ See Cleaves 1949a, 498 (with references to other reviews). Haenisch had already published several sections of the SH in transcription in UUY.

²⁵⁴ See *ibid.* The most important addition is the 'Nachtrag' with the list of variant readings in Y¹, Y² and Y³ (pp. 124-140). Cf. Haenisch's remarks in H, 'Vorwort', vi; and Haenisch 1975, 77.

²⁵⁵ See Hat-Du. The modern forms are given in parentheses.

²⁵⁶ See Ko, 203-320. Cf. B. Pankratov's review in *SNV* 29:1998, 82-87 (edited by M.F. Čigrinskii and I.V. Kul'ganek); Haenisch 1975, 77. Kozin's transcription is reproduced in Dar-Či. See below, n. 321.

²⁵⁷ See Shi. Cf. S. Murayama's review in *TYGH* 35, 3-4:March 1953, 06-016; 36, 1:June 1953, 03-013.

²⁵⁸ See Pe, 5-120. Pelliot's work was edited by L. Hambis and published posthumously. Pelliot never completely revised his transcription, but kept on adding notes and remarks on the ms., most of which have been included in Pe as footnotes. On Pe, cf. Poppe 1950a; Mo, 2-3.

²⁵⁹ See H. A reprint of the 1937 edition with a new preface.

²⁶⁰ See L¹. A provisional work for internal circulation only. On it, see de Rachewiltz in *AM* 18:1973, 229-231.

²⁶¹ See L². Cf. de Rachewiltz, *loc. cit.* A revised text of L² has been published in KCI, 6-615.

²⁶² See R. The transcription was essentially based on Pe (revised) and L², but I also took into account A. Mostaert's and F.W. Cleaves' contributions. See the 'Introduction', 2 and 8, n. 11. However, both the transcription (Part I) and the word-index (Part II) contain numerous mistakes. For a list of Additions and Corrections, see Appendix Six.

²⁶³ See Ba. Bayar's transcription system is explained in the introduction to the work (I, 136ff).

²⁶⁴ See Oz¹. The romanized transcription accompanies the Chinese phonetic transcription, the Chinese glosses and the Japanese translation of each section. The reconstruction of the text in Uighur script is found at the end of each volume. Volume I contains also a rendition of the text of §§ 1-68 in 'Phags-pa script' (pp. 451-503).

²⁶⁵ See Daš.

²⁶⁶ See El-Ar.

²⁶⁷ See Ir. A revised version in one volume of the *ÖMYS* edition of 1984-87 in the Mongol script of the preclassical period with a valuable introduction in Mongolian and Chinese.

²⁶⁸ See Su. Sum'yaabaatar's transcription in Uighur script is printed alongside Shiratori's romanized transcription. The second volume of B. Sum'yaabaatar's work on the text of the SH, entitled *Mongolyn nuuc tovčoon* *xyalbar sudlal* (Ulan Bator, 1997), is not available to me.

²⁶⁹ See St. The text of Street's transcription (Draft of 24 March 1997; Copyright John C. Street) is only available on disk from the author.

²⁷⁰ See KCI, 6-615 (romanized transcription together with the Y² text). The transcription is based on L², duly revised.

²⁷¹ See Wright 1998, 285-288.

²⁷² This certainly applies to H, Ko, Pe and Shi.

²⁷³ See above, n. 246.

²⁷⁴ See Na¹. Cf. also Section Four of the Introduction.

²⁷⁵ See Cé. The ms. of Čend Gün's translation of the SH (both the Mongol text and the sectional summaries) was not published photographically until 1997. For the history of the Dagur nobleman Čend Gün (Čengdū Güng) of Barga (1875-1932), his translation, and the ms. of his work, see *ibid.*, 1-27; L. Uspenski in *ÖMNŠU* 38:Jan. 1989, 65-66. Cf. Daš, 10; Manaljaw 1975, 149-150. This is the first translation ever made into modern Mongolian in Uighur script (henceforth m.M.U.s.). The translations, or rather versions, of the SH in m.M.U.s. in the present list vary a good deal in style, from very literary Written Mongolian to the contemporary written language of Inner Mongolia. However, when a version in Uighur-Mongol script (*Uyğurçin Mongğol üsüg*) retains the original form of the word in the SH, e.g. *uğur* instead of mo. *ifur*, it is regarded as a transcription of the text and placed in the first list.

²⁷⁶ See Ke¹. The library of Tokyo University of Foreign Studies (Tōkyō Gaikakugo Daigaku) has a copy of this work. Only the first part (*degedü böläg*) was published at Kuei-hua ch'eng 歸化城, i.e. Köke Qota (= Hohhot). Cf. Mo, xix, n. 16. See below, nn. 281 and 335.

²⁷⁷ See Cleaves 1949a, 499 (and A. von Gabain's review cited therein), 500ff. Cf. also Pelliot 1940/41, 3, n. 1 (Pelliot never reviewed Haenisch's translation). [u.w.]

translated with Chinese characters.' In a letter to me dated 15 December 2001, Prof. M.N. Orlovskaya has confirmed that 'the language of the SH cannot be related to any modern dialect.' Cf. also FSTYTIM and Kuz'menkov 1993a.

²²⁰ See Section Eight of the Introduction.

²²¹ Žamc., 82, uses the term *grubost'* which means 'coarseness, rudeness', by which he no doubt meant an unadorned directness of speech in contrast to the later literary style of the 17th century.

²²² Mo, 33. See also *ibid.*, 134.

²²³ Pe, 3, and EI, XXIII, 665a (see above, n. 198). Cf. also his statement in NHHO, 25, n. 2: 'l'Histoire secrète abonde en données légendaires souvent contradictoires.'

²²⁴ Wa, 7.

²²⁵ The number of poetic passages increases of course if the non-alliterated lines are regarded as actual boundaries, rather than a sort of 'caesura', between passages. There is also no agreement among translators about a number of lines which are regarded by some as being alliterative. The figures given here are, therefore, somewhat subjective and interpretative but, by and large, correct, I think. For a convenient listing of the poetic passages, see MNTÜK, 362-428.

²²⁶ Among them: Temüjin, with Bo'orču's help, recovers the eight light-bay geldings (§§ 90-93); Temüjin's flight from the Merkit, when Börte was left without a horse (§§ 98-102); Börte's rescue from the Merkit camp (§ 110); Qargil Šira's attempt on the life of five-year old Tolui (§ 214); Father Mönglik's picking up the hat of his son Teb Tenggeri when the latter was about to be killed.

²²⁷ Cf. P. Poucha in SM 6:1969, 24-32. It should be noted that some of the proverbial sayings in the SH are not alliterated but have a final rhyme as, e.g., § 277: *olon ayu'ul-i/gün ükü'ül-i*, and as a result were not recognized as such by Ligeti. See L², 251. Cf. Cl, 218. See also the end of § 126, where To'oril Qan's injunction to Temüjin is expressed in the same manner.

²²⁸ BDK, 'Introduction', 14.

²²⁹ In W. Heissig's re-edition of Ha, the poetic passages have been isolated and versified. In Pe and Mo, they have been marked by writing the alliterative syllables in bold type. In Li, they have been turned into good Hungarian poetry by the professional pen of Géza Képes. In his version (SHM), P. Kahn rendered the entire SH into poetry. Regrettably, Waley did not turn a single passage into English verse.

²³⁰ KMGE, 7-11. Cf. HEKM, 9-16; and Poppe 1934, 429ff.

²³¹ See PPET, 9ff., 229b (Index).

²³² See, e.g., Lörincz 1975; Jagchid 1978; Sárközi 1978; Kahn 1996.

²³³ See Kudiyarov 1986. Cf. also the earlier contribution by L.D. Šagdarov (Šagdarov 1973).

²³⁴ See Section Five of the Introduction, and above, nn. 186 and 187.

²³⁵ Vietze 1992. Cf. also *idem* 1995.

²³⁶ See also Šastina's remarks on the AT versification in SMCU, 8-9.

²³⁷ Such as MČÜD. They are discussed in the Commentary.

²³⁸ See Cérénsodnom 1986. Cf. also Jagchid 1978 where several of these maxims and aphorisms from both the SH and the AT are cited.

²³⁹ See the Bibliography under Gaadamba, as well as the volumes MNTSZA (esp. pp. 234-253) and MAAZDB (with D. Cérénsodnom), and Gaadamba's rich commentary in Fa. On the subject of folklore contacts of the Mongols and other nomadic peoples, cf. also Bira 1990a.

²⁴⁰ Li, 6. Cf. also Bira's remarks in MHW, 27-28. For a very personal view of early Mongolian historical resources and their interpretation, see Jackendoff 1986.

²⁴¹ Cf. Munkuev 1979, 15. On the topic of instruction and entertainment in the SH, see Kahn 1996. We must not overlook the fact that for the Mongols in the early 13th century, as for the early Turks, writing – a new and unfamiliar medium – was used for very definite purposes confined almost entirely to state and administrative matters. To compile such a long text as the *Činggis Qan-u ujaŋur* would have been a major undertaking and nothing less than a *raison d'état* would have sanctioned it and made it possible.

²⁴² Fichter 1982, 165. Cf. Alan Qo'a's prophetic words at the beginning of the SH (§ 21): 'When one understands that, the sign is clear: They are the sons of Heaven ... /When they become the rulers of all, /Then the common people will understand!'

²⁴³ See B. Pankratov in his 'Predislovie' to Y³, 14-15.

²⁴⁴ It is not clear whether Pozdneev obtained the ms. of Palladii's transcription and translation (two pages of which are reproduced in Y³ between p. 10 and 11) in 1878 in Peking together with the 'Palladius ms.' (see above, n. 148), or whether he received it early in 1880, after Palladii's death. See Pankratov, *op. cit.*, 15; Yakhontova 1993, 9.

²⁴⁵ See IPCLM, 29-30.

²⁴⁶ In lithographic form, with the title *Transcripciya paleograficeskogo teksta 'Yuan'-čao-mi-ši'*, St. Petersburg, n.d., 112 pages. Pp. 1-59 contain the transcription and Russian interlinear translation; pp. 61-90, the reconstructed Mongol text in Uighur script; and pp. 91-112, 26 notes to the text, which on p. 90 ends in the middle of § 104 (= R, line 2511) of the SH. The first page is reproduced in Aalto 1951, 13, and p. 61 is reproduced on p. 14. A copy of this extremely rare work was given by B. Vladimircov to Pelliot in 1924. It is in the 'Fond mongol' of the Section des manuscrits orientaux of the Bibliothèque nationale, Paris (call number Mongol 160). A copy of this lithograph is found in the Ulan Bator State Library (call number M 49^o Mon. P. 471). See Manaljaw 1975, 147-148. In 1988 I also checked the copy held in the library of the former LO (now SPb Filial) IVAN. The lithograph has no date of

²⁷⁸ See Ko. Cf. B. Pankratov's important review of Ko in *SNV* 29:1998, 66-104, as well as Haenisch's remarks in Haenisch 1961, 141, and *idem* 1975, 77. Cf. also H. Franke in *MS* 47:1999, 581; Krueger 1966, 28, s.a. 1941; and de Rachewiltz 1999b, 100-101.

²⁷⁹ See Al. Cf. Heissig 1943, 267 (b).

²⁸⁰ See Bö. Cf. *ibid.*, 266-267 (a); Mo, 1.

²⁸¹ See Ke². Cf. Heissig 1943, 267-268 (c). The text of Ke² is reproduced in Ke³, 211-391. See below, n. 335. (In Mo, xix, n. 16, for 'Kalgan' read 'Kouei-houa-tch'eng'). There are numerous revisions in the Ke² version of the *degedü bölög* (pp. 213-286 [= pp. 1-74]). K² is a complete translation but, like Al and Bö, without any notes or commentary.

²⁸² See Kob.

²⁸³ See Na². This edition, improved by Abe Takeo 有高雄 and Enoki Kazuo 榎一雄, contains a detailed table of contents/summary of events, a bibliography, an index and genealogical tables.

²⁸⁴ See Da¹. Largely based on Kozin's translation it incorporates several passages from the AT. See Section Five of the Introduction and Appendix Three.

²⁸⁵ See Ha. Cf. Cleaves 1949a, 500-534; T. Kobayashi in *TYGH* 32, 4:April 1950, 77-99.

²⁸⁶ See Pe, 121-196. Cf. Mostaert's remarks in Mo, 2-3.

²⁸⁷ See Te. Based on Ko and Ha.

²⁸⁸ See Mo, 277, 'Note supplémentaire.' [u.w.]

²⁸⁹ In *HJAS* 13:1950, 285-361; 14:1951, 329-403; 15:1952, 285-395.

²⁹⁰ See Hsieh. Hsieh Tsai-shan's 謝再善 translation was published in September 1951 in Peking and reprinted in November of the same year. See Mo, 277, 'Note supplémentaire.' [u.w.]

²⁹¹ See Mo. For a complete list of the sections and passages discussed by Mostaert, see Appendix Four.

²⁹² See Po.

²⁹³ See Da².

²⁹⁴ See Da³.

²⁹⁵ See Da⁴.

²⁹⁶ See Yao-Ja.

²⁹⁷ See Li. The poetic passages in the SH have been versified by G. Képes in this outstanding translation by the great Hungarian scholar. In the late 1960s, L. Hambis and L. Ligeti were planning a French translation which, unfortunately, did not materialize. An English version of the entire work was prepared by a team of translators at the Australian National University in 1960-62 but was never published.

²⁹⁸ See Iw.

²⁹⁹ See Kuo. Cf. H. Serruys in *MS* 24:1965, 477-480; N. Poppe in *CAJ* 11:1966, 234-235; M. Hashimoto in *TYGH* 52, 3:Dec. 1969, 85-95, and *MNT-MXS*, 47-58.

³⁰⁰ See Ka.

³⁰¹ See Mu.

³⁰² See Ra, and Section Nine of the Introduction.

³⁰³ This Italian translation of Ko, with an introduction by F. Maraini, was published by Longanesi & Co., Milano. Unfortunately, all the corrections to Ko by A. Mostaert (in Mo) have been ignored.

³⁰⁴ See Da⁵.

³⁰⁵ See Do¹.

³⁰⁶ The first edition was published in November 1978; the first reprint was issued in March 1979.

³⁰⁷ See Ja. This is a completely revised version of Yao-Ja of 1960-62.

³⁰⁸ Sultaniyauli Magauīya, tr., *Mongoldiñ kupiıya šeziresi*, Ölgıy. This translation is based on C. Damdinsürén's version.

³⁰⁹ See Do².

³¹⁰ See HH. A re-issue of Ha with the poetic passages in verse form and a 'Nachwort' instead of Haenisch's 'Erläuterungen', 'Register', and other lists (Ha, 149-184).

³¹¹ See Ba. Besides the text transcribed in preclassical Uighur script, Ba gives the parallel text in m.M.U.s., as well as in phonetic transcription (see above, n. 263).

³¹² See Cl. 'This work was completed in 1956 and set in type in 1957. For personal reasons it was set aside and not published until the present.' (*Ibid.*, iv. As a matter of fact, the final proofs of the 'Preface' are dated 9 October 1959; Cleaves continued to make changes to the translation and the two indices in the following years, as was to be expected.) In a letter to me of 7 March 1992, Cleaves wrote 'I may in due course publish a paper or two on certain problems in *The Secret History*, but Vol. II may never appear. It was my dear friend and 先生, William Hung, who was responsible for what happened. It is a long story with which Joseph Fletcher was thoroughly familiar. Because William had written a paper, as you know, on *The Secret History* [i.e. Hung 1951 - I.R.], he forbade me to publish in my "Introduction" anything that was contrary to his conclusions. That is why I did not go beyond in print what appears in the "Introduction", because I could not accept his theory of the date, etc., etc. What I have to say on that, as my students would tell you, is the same as what you yourself have stated [i.e. in de Rachewiltz 1965 - I.R.].' Originally, Cleaves was of the opinion that the SH had been written in the Year of the Rat 1240, whereas W. Hung believed it was written in 1264 (see Section Two of the Introduction); subsequently, Cleaves accepted the 1228 date, thus distancing himself even further from Hung's position. This made it impossible

to complete his 'Introduction.' As for the commentary which was to form the main portion of the second volume, Cleaves wrote to me on 29 August 1986: 'It is possible that I shall put together what I have in the way of a commentary on *The Secret History of the Mongols*, but, with the passage of time, so many articles and translations have appeared in so many languages that it would absorb most of my time to try to deal with all of them. In any case, your own commentary would fill a pressing need.' On 27 January 1992 he wrote: 'I have virtually decided not to try to complete the second volume of my translation of the *Secret History* ... There is much material to deal with – I have dozens of folders with references to much that has been published – that it would take me more years than I have to spare. I only wish that I had included all of the "Introduction" in Volume I. If the Harvard University Press does a third edition [the first edition is that, unpublished, of 1957 – I.R.], I shall make a few alterations.' In a letter of 17 March 1993, Cleaves wrote: 'As for my own Volume II of *The Secret History*, I concluded, when you told me that you were bringing out a second edition of your own, that it would be better for me to put the time that I have left into such articles as that of which [I] enclose an offprint, "The Postscript to the Table of Contents of the *Yüan shih*.'" The reason for Cleaves' decision to publish Volume I is given in his letter of 18 December 1990: 'I wish to thank you for your most interesting article on the words *qaǰaru inerü* in *The Secret History of the Mongols* which is, indeed, most convincing. I was deeply touched by the reference you made to my own translation of the text. You must have observed that not a single one of the several reviews was favourable, no one of which took the slightest note of the countless problems with which I dealt in the text as a whole, but only deploring the fact that I elected to use a somewhat archaic English as the vehicle of translation precisely because the language of the text itself is archaic. By translating into contemporary English you have produced a version which is far more palatable than mine. The one by Kahn, who knows no Mongolian, ... is, in the opinion of some, far more readable than mine, but you know as well as I that, for the most part, it paraphrases what I have. It was because he was about to publish his that Joe Fletcher insisted that I publish mine as it was without further ado. The Harvard-Yenching Institute had the publisher of Kahn's put his on hold until mine appeared.' The files to which Cleaves refers in his letter of 27 January 1992 are now kept at Gilford in New Hampshire. See Wright 1998, 284-288. I should add that in August 1960, at Harvard University, Cleaves told me that one other reason for the delay in the publication of his translation was the strong criticism of some of his colleagues at Harvard, who objected to the language and style of the translation. For reviews of his translation, cf. C.R. Bawden in the *TLS* of 24 June 1983, 669; W. Heissig in *HJAS* 44:1984, 587-590; J.R. Krueger in *JAS* 43:1984, 514-515.

³¹³ See SHM. This poetic version of the SH based on Cl and Ra omits several passages and cannot be regarded as a proper translation. On it, see above, n. 312.

³¹⁴ See Oz¹. This is the most important work on the SH ever published. See under 1997, and further on in the present section.

³¹⁵ See Ma.

³¹⁶ See Dor. Apparently this is based on an earlier (1980) version published by the Nei Meng-ku jen-min ch'u-pan-she 內蒙古人民出版社. [u.w.]

³¹⁷ See Ta. This very readable and reliable translation completely supersedes Ha and HH.

³¹⁸ See On; and under 1993 and 2001.

³¹⁹ See Namž. The accompanying Russian translation is a reproduction of Ko; the Buriat translation is based on it and on Damdinsürën's version.

³²⁰ See Da⁶.

³²¹ See Dar-Či. The Buriat version by G.G. Čimitov had already appeared in instalments in the journal *Baikal* in 1989. See Či. Together with the three translations (Kalmuck, Russian and Buriat) there is also a transcription of the Mongol text reproduced from Ko, 203-320.

³²² See Γa. This version is followed by a most valuable commentary.

³²³ See Fe.

³²⁴ See Če. This version is followed by a rich commentary.

³²⁵ This Folio edition is a recast by The Folio Society editor, Sue Bradbury, for the general reader of Onon's 1990 translation. It lacks any critical apparatus.

³²⁶ See Pan¹. Only 38 paragraphs are translated, and some of them only partially. No critical apparatus. See under 2000.

³²⁷ Yu Won-su, tr., *Monggol Pisa*, Seoul: Hyeon. [u.w.]

³²⁸ See Ev-Pop. An elegant translation in which most proper names are also rendered into French (the original forms are given in the 'Index des noms propres' [pp. 319-345]).

³²⁹ This edition was published by TEA, in the 'Collana TEA Storica', Milano. It is identical in contents with the 1973 edition.

³³⁰ See Oz². An important, revised version of the 1984-89 translation, with notes and a reproduction of the Chinese free summarized version.

³³¹ See Cè. Cf. above, n. 275; and Uspenskii 1993.

³³² Pak Won-gil, tr., *Monggol Pisa*, Yökchu I, Seoul: Tusol. [u.w.]

³³³ See Pan². In this newly edited and enlarged version by Yu. L. Krol' and E.A. Kuz'menkov 66 paragraphs are translated. See under 1993. As with all incomplete posthumous works, it must be used with caution. Cf. H. Franke in *MS* 47:1999, 581a-b.

³³⁴ This edition was also published by TEA, but in the 'Collana TEA Le Storie', Milano. It is identical in contents with the 1973 edition.

³³⁵ See Ke³. An interesting and useful volume. Besides the photo-reproduction of Ke² (pp. 211-391), it also contains an annotated transcription of Ke² in modern print with paragraph divisions (pp. 1-209), and a romanized transcription of the same (pp. 393-530).

³³⁶ Entitled *The Secret History of the Mongols. The Life and Times of Chinggis Khan* (Curzon Press, Richmond, Surrey), this version is different from the 1990 edition not only insofar as the language is concerned (an improvement on the earlier edition due to Prof. Gregor Benton's editing), but also in another important respect, viz., previous parenthetical matter has now become an integral part of the text and, in spite of the new square brackets, there is no longer any certainty as to what is the translation and what is Onon's commentary. Cf., for example, § 1 (1990 ed., 1): 'his origins were from (ie his ancestors being) Bōrte Chino (whose name means "wolf"). His wife Qo'ai-mara (means a beautiful doe)', and § 1 (2001 ed., 37): 'He was descended from Bōrte Chino, whose name means "greyish white wolf", and Qo'ai-mara, the wolf's spouse, whose name means beautiful doe.' The words 'whose name means "greyish white wolf"' and 'whose name means beautiful doe' are not in the original Mongol text, they are Onon's interpolations which should be either in parentheses/brackets, or in a footnote, or in the commentary. Because of this ambiguity, the 2001 edition (which Onon also calls a 'recast from my 1990 translation', *ibid.*, 17) cannot be used for reference purposes in the same way as the 1990 translation, which is, therefore, the only one I generally refer to in my Commentary.

³³⁷ See Yü. This, the most recent Chinese translation by a non-mongolist, is in simplified characters and for the general reader. The free summarized version of the SH is found on pp. 506-620.

³³⁸ Some trifling or unworthy publications have been left out. In preparing both lists (reconstructions of the Mongol text and translations of the same). I have also consulted various contributions, in particular those by N.S. Yakhontova, M. Taube and others in MO 1993. See below, n. 350. Two other translations of the SH are in preparation: one into Swedish by Staffan Rosén with the assistance of B. Sum'yaabaatar (p.c. of Dr. J.R. Krueger of 28 Jan. 2002), and the other into Spanish by Ivan Sandes (p.c. of Dr. P.D. Buell of 29 March 2002). No doubt more are in the making.

³³⁹ See Pa.

³⁴⁰ See Wei. The transcriptions of proper and geographical names are completely unreliable and § 278 is missing.

³⁴¹ See Wa. Waley's translation is partial and selective. In the 'Preface' (*ibid.*, 7), he writes: 'Of the *Secret History* I have translated only the parts founded on story-tellers' tales.'

³⁴² See Cé; and above, n. 275.

³⁴³ See RaBe. This translation has extensive annotations, but the author is not a mongolist.

³⁴⁴ See I. de Rachewiltz in AM 18:1973, 229-231; KCI, 935-954; and Appendix Six of the present work.

³⁴⁵ See above, n. 312; and Cl. xi.

³⁴⁶ In his letter of 26 March 1985, Cleaves wrote: 'As you must have observed from reading the reviews of my translation, the language which I used seems to be distasteful, if not difficult to read. I am not certain, nonetheless, that I would do anything different, even if I were to do it all over again. As you know, people do not now read aloud, as they were wont to do in years gone by. If my translation were read aloud with the proper cadences, it could, I think, change a mind or two. I have read passages aloud to audiences who appeared to enjoy it.'

³⁴⁷ See above, n. 312.

³⁴⁸ Cf., e.g., pp. 11, § 53; 22, § 75; 46, § 111; 199, § 257; 82, § 153; and 190, § 254 (which is incomprehensible without n. 39. By using square brackets as Cleaves does, I would turn the sentence in question into the following: 'I have given you [this] advice on what, thinking about it, we = the sons, younger brothers, the many common people and our [= my] bad self = understood [to be an important question].' Cf. Mo, 185).

³⁴⁹ See Cl. xiv. Cf. de Rachewiltz 1999b, 103-104 and n. 43.

³⁵⁰ See IEEC. 141-144; IS. 512a-b; BM. 166-169; Laufer 1907, 210-211; OML, xiii, 45-47; Haenisch 1944; Poppe 1950b, 66-69; Enoki 1950; Knieger 1966; GKBM, 122 et passim; Poppe 1975b, 155-157; Harayama 1978; YSHKS. 379-385; MNTNST; B. Serzav in *Mongolica* 1 (22):1990, 283-293; D. Tömörtogoo, L. Manlažav, *ibid.*, 294-304; MNTS, 544-587; Yakhontova 1993; Taube 1993; Cendina 1993; Bulag 1993; Isdorž 1994; Bazarova 1995; ISSMR; and the numerous references in the 'International Bibliography on Mongolian Studies' (I) in *Mongolica* 8 (29):1997, and 'World Mongol Studies' in *BIAMS*, 1992.1, 2 (9, 10). As for library catalogues, see, e.g., MAM, 182-195; CMKT, 1479-1480. The above list is by no means exhaustive, especially with regard to the Chinese and Japanese bibliographies on Yüan and Mongol studies which include publications on the SH (see below, n. 351); I have limited myself to the essential ones.

³⁵¹ From AA to ZDMG, and several of them (like *JSSYS*, *CKSYCTT*, *CKYSYC*, AA and other Japanese periodicals) include – occasionally or regularly – bibliographical surveys of publications on Mongol/Yüan studies. See, e.g., Yamada 1973 and Murakami 1983.

³⁵² Of special relevance are those of the ICM (International Congress of Mongolists, Ulan Bator: OUMÉIX), of the PIAC (Permanent International Altaistic Conference), and of the IAMS (International Association for Mongol Studies: BIAMS), but many other conferences and symposia on Mongol studies

and on the SH in particular have been held in Europe, Mongolia, China, Japan and Korea, and in most cases the proceedings have been, or are being, published; among the recent important ones, the A. Mostaert Symposium held at Leuven, Belgium, in August 1993, the proceedings of which were published in 1999 (AMMS).

³⁵³ See, e.g., SSA; SGOL; FIMN; SA; MS; NB; MNT, I; *Mongolica* 1(22), 1990; MNTS; MO 1993; TIM. This is particularly the case with the numerous *Festschriften* published in Japan in which so many articles on the SH have appeared over the years. Several of these (for the period 1900-50) are listed in BOM, 5-7 (arab. num.).

³⁵⁴ See Poppe 1944; Haenisch 1950.

³⁵⁵ See LSHM; JS; GHMBK and GHMBKZ. I leave aside L. Hambis' GLME which is a 'hybrid' work insofar as the language treated is partly that of the SH.

³⁵⁶ See M. Weiers' masterly work UGPM; D. Tömörtogoo's MXTXÜ; N. Orlovskaya's YMT; G. Doerfer's unpublished doctoral dissertation on the syntax of the SH (Doerfer 1954, and his important article on the subject, Doerfer 1955); the numerous articles and essays by Ozawa in the appendices of Oz', his CMSKK (entirely devoted to the language of the SH), as well as his other publications and those of mongolists from P. Aalto to H.-P. Vietze listed in the Bibliography and referred to in the Commentary of the present work. Further contributions are listed under individual authors in the 'International Bibliography on Mongolian Studies' (see above, n. 350).

³⁵⁷ See YAT.

³⁵⁸ Thus, the word for 'true' in the SH and the Middle Mongolian material may be correctly 'transcribed' *maqat*, but can equally be 'interpreted' as *mayad*, the regular form in Written Mongolian. The '*maqat*' reading is adopted, among others, by P. Pelliot, N. Poppe, L. Ligeti, A. Mostaert (in his early works), G. Kara and I. de Rachewiltz, while the '*mayad*' reading is adopted by A. Mostaert (in his later publications), F.W. Cleaves, S. Ozawa, and D. Tömörtogoo. The name Güyüg is transcribed as such by Cleaves and Ozawa, but as Güyük by Pelliot and Ligeti. For -w- and -', cf. *mawu(i)* 'bad' (Pelliot, Ligeti, D. Tömörtogoo) and *ma'u(i)* (Mostaert, Cleaves, Ozawa and de Rachewiltz). See the Commentary, § 1. Likewise, should one transcribe *büyü* 'is, are' (Pelliot, Ozawa), *büyü* (Ligeti), or *buyu* (Mostaert, de Rachewiltz)? See de Rachewiltz in AM 18:1973, 232; St, 1-2, n. 3. These, and related issues, require urgent attention on the part of mongolists and sino-mongolists. Cf. above, n. 210.

³⁵⁹ See HW. Cf. Cleaves 1949a, 499.

³⁶⁰ See RWMNT; R.; GHMBK, 281-570 (Ozawa had already published his index-vocabulary by sections in Oz', I-VI) and GHMBKZ, 351-400 (proper and geographical names); and KCI. R can still be used taking into account the Additions and Corrections listed in Appendix Six which supersede those

published in the *MSM* 1:Dec. 1985, 9-13. We also owe to Vietze and Gendeng Lubsang a complete word-index to the AT' (ATI) which appeared in 1992.

³⁶¹ See TH and its Mongolian version JYT. The Chinese edition has been reprinted in Hohhot in 1991.

³⁶² The team consists of D. Cérésodnom from Ulan Bator, G. Kara from Budapest and I. de Rachewiltz from Canberra.

³⁶³ They are marked [u.w.]. I regret that my ignorance of the Korean language has prevented me from having access to, and making full use of, the numerous contributions of our Korean colleagues.

³⁶⁴ Thus, unlike Cleaves, I have sometimes rendered the Mongolian demonstrative pronouns *ene* 'this' and *tere* 'that' with the English definite article 'the'; and I have regularly translated the numerals *qoyar* 'two' and *qurban* (= *yurban*) 'three' following two or three nouns in succession with the conjunction 'and.' Also, for the sake of English style, I have occasionally avoided repeating the same word several times and have paraphrased the original. In all these instances, however, I have given the literal translation in a footnote and/or in the Commentary. Nevertheless, for those who want to follow the Mongolian text word by word, Cleaves' translation is still indispensable.

³⁶⁵ Mongol words in the Commentary are, of course, written in italic type except when quoting passages from the Translation, in which case the font employed is the same as that of the Translation.

³⁶⁶ The transcription used in the present work follows the standard system of romanization of N. Poppe for Middle, Preclassical and Written Mongolian, which is followed by most mongolists, with occasional slight modifications. It is a somewhat improved version of the simplified system I used in R (where *č* and *ǰ* are written *c* and *j*; and *ši* is written *si*). In R, compound names are hyphenated, following Pe and L². Long vowels are noted only when they result from vowel contractions through the disappearance of an intervocalic consonant. See UGPM, 23. For Written Mongolian, please note that the suffixes which are not joined to the word they modify are also separated (by a hyphen) in the transcription. However, word-endings, including part of suffixes (such as the *-un* of *-r-un*), which are normally written separately according to orthographic rules, are not separated in the transcription from the word they belong to. In doing so, I have followed the system found in DO, III, 769-809: 'Index des mots du mongol écrit et du mongol ancien.'

³⁶⁷ In many cases, even if the possessive pronoun is not expressed in Mongolian, it is clearly implied from the context. Cf. Cl, 172, § 238 [13r] '... my daughter ... my fifth son': in both instances, 'my' is not actually expressed in the original. However, in some cases the ambiguity of the text is such that it requires the italic type (or brackets) in the translation.

³⁶⁸ Cf. the following verbs: *bara-*: Cl, § 78 'to destroy'; *da'uli-*: Cl, § 110 'to ravish'; § 187 'to spoil'; *muqutqa-*: Cl, § 196 'to make an end', § 198 'to destroy'; *tala-*: Cl, § 110 'to ravish', § 135 'to spoil'; *tala'ul-*: Cl, § 186 'to spoil', § 187 'to take', § 187 'to plunder.' Also, *turuq*: Cl, § 91 'prop', § 160 'support'; *aburaju ök-*: Cl, § 163 'to be saved' and 'to be delivered'; *horčïn*: Cl, §§ 145, 192, 195, 229 'round about'; *e'eren*: Cl, § 230 id.; etc. These so-called inconsistencies are mostly due to a too strict adherence to the Chinese interlinear gloss. The Ming translators, however, had no qualms about using various Chinese synonyms for the same Mongol word. It goes without saying that a regular Mongol expression like *Tatar irgen* can be rendered into English equally as 'the Tatar people' or 'the Tatars' according to the context.

³⁶⁹ Usually in direct discourse constructions of the type *jarliq bolurun ... ke'en jarliq bol(u)ba; ügülerün ... kē'esü (ke'e'esü, ügüle'esü) ...; ügüle ke'en ügülerün ... ke'ejü ilebe*. In these cases I have translated *ke'en* as 'so (or thus)' (so-and-so decreed, ordered, spoke), or (gave) 'the following' (order); and *kē'esü (ke'e'esü)* as 'Thereupon', or similar expressions, following in this Mostaert's renderings of the various forms of *mo. keme-* and *jarliq bol-* in his 'Introduction' to BE, I, 21-22, n. 72, and 23-24, rather than his more literal translations in Mo. In connection with the use of the common expression *jarliq (= jarliq) bol-* in the SH, I should point out that this calque of *tu. yarliq bol-*, lit. 'for an order (decree, command) to be', i.e. 'to be ordered' → 'to order', cannot be rendered consistently (as in Cl) with 'to make a decree.' In Mongolian, *jarliq bol-* means 'to issue an order, to order (an inferior)' as well as 'to say', in which case it is interchangeable with *ügüle-*. See §§ 233 and 234; and (within a single paragraph) §§ 255 and 270. This is confirmed by the Chinese interlinear glosses and the sectional summaries. Cf. HW, 86. For its usage in Uighur Turkic, see CBBMP, 40 (LXIII. 5); ED, 967a; and for *jarliq bol-* v. *ügüle-*, cf. the exact parallel with *tu. yarliq bol-* and *te- (ti-)* in works like CBBMP. What is interesting, however, is that Temüjin does not 'issue a decree' (*jarliq bol-*) before § 145 of the SH, i.e. not until after his sworn friend (*anda*) and rival Jamuqa has also been elected *qan* by his followers. In § 145, *jarliq bol-* and *ügüle-* are both used, and from then on they occur continuously and often interchangeably, *ügüle-* being more frequent until we reach the sections of the SH where Činggis Qan begins to issue directives and regulations for the reorganization of the army, making new appointments, etc., i.e. from § 202 onwards, when (as we would expect) the expression *jarliq bol-* becomes more prominent. The two meanings of this expression are found in Written Mongolian as well as in the modern dialects. Cf. Kow., 2307b; Les., 1038b; MKT, 1298a; MED, 170b; DO, 188a.

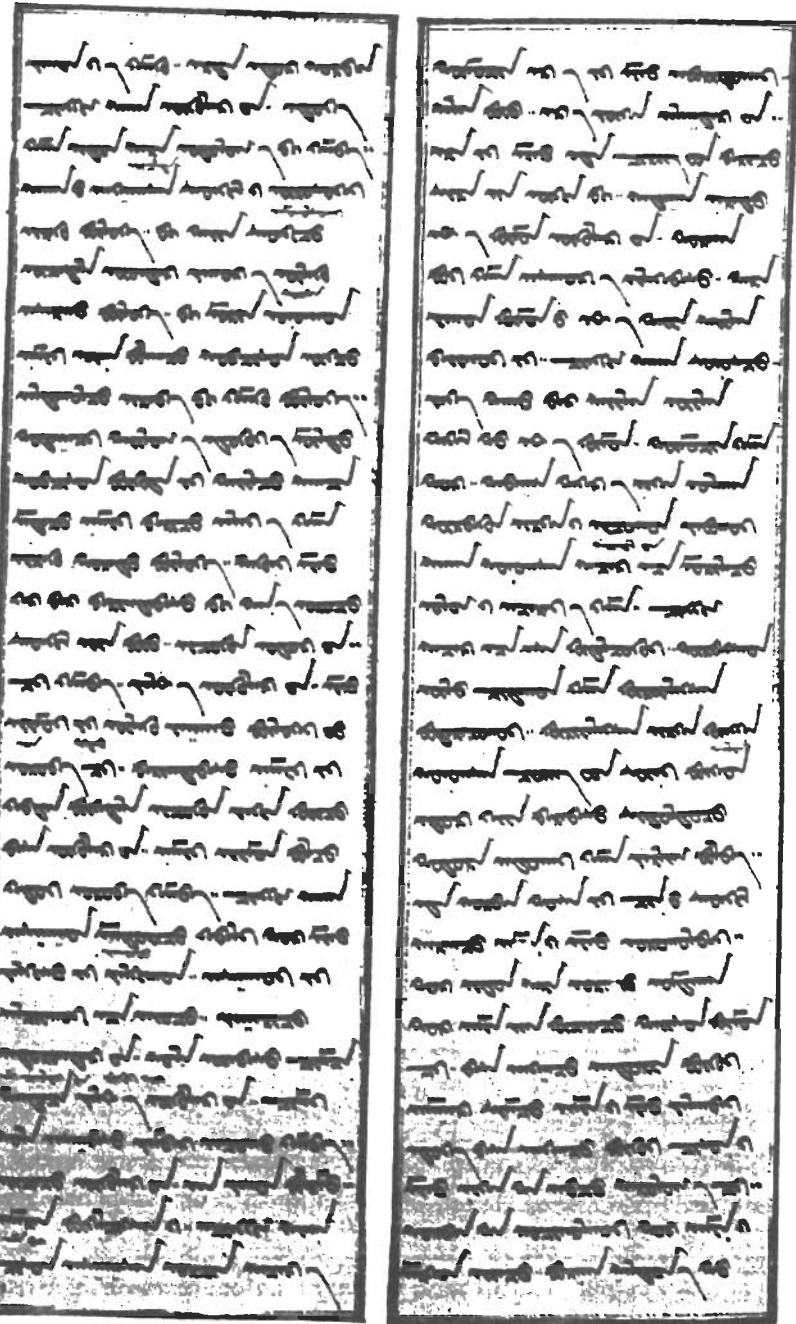
³⁷⁰ I.e., not only to Oz¹ and Oz², but also to GHMBK, GHMBKZ, CMSKK, and GH. Further references to Ozawa's articles are given in the Commentary.

³⁷¹ In the case of Mostaert's outstanding contribution, not all the information contained in Mo has been incorporated in the Commentary. For this reason (and because of the inadequacy of the 'Index des passages de l'*Histoire secrète des Mongols cités et traduits*' in Mo, 266-267), the reader is referred to Appendix Four which contains a complete paragraph-page reference list to Mo.

³⁷² See Appendix Six; and above, n. 366.

³⁷³ There is no form 'qahan' in Mongolian, only *qa'an (<qaγan>)* 'ph. *qa'an*. See the Commentary, § 1.

³⁷⁴ See, e.g., HCG, Mo, Cl, and Lattimore 1963b.



Pl. 2. Leaf (recto and verso) from the *Altan tobči*

SUMMARY OF CHAPTERS

(Figures in parentheses refer to the paragraphs of the *Secret History* in which an episode is related or first mentioned; figures in brackets are dates converted to the present era)

Chapter One: Genealogical account. The Mongol clans. Temüjin's birth and betrothal.

The mythical ancestors, the blue-grey wolf and fallow doe, settle on Mount Burqan Qaldun after crossing the Tenggis (? Lake Baikal). From them originate all the Mongol (Mongqol) clans (1). The story of Alan Qo'a and her five sons (17). The exploits of Bodončar Mungqaq (24). Growth of the Mongol clans and explanation of their names based on folk etymology (40). Qabul and Ambaqai become the chiefs (*qan*) of the Mongol clans (52). Capture of Ambaqai by the Tatars allied to the Jurchens (*Kitat*) of north China (53). Qabul's grandson Yisügei Ba'atur captures Hö'elün of the Olqunu'ut, the young bride of the Merkit Yeke Čiledü (54). Qabul's son Qutula succeeds Ambaqai as *qan* and fights the Tatars without success (57). Yisügei fights and defeats the Tatars, taking their chief Temüjin Üge prisoner. At that time Yisügei's first son from Hö'elün is born near a hill (Deli'ün Boldaq) by the Onan (= Onon) River and is given the name Temüjin (59). Three more sons and one daughter (Qasar, Qači'un, Temüge and Temülün) are born to Yisügei (60). When Temüjin was nine (= eight) years old, his father takes him to the Olqunu'ut people to find a bride for him. Temüjin is betrothed to Börte, the ten (= nine) years old daughter of Dei Sečen, and is left with his future in-laws (61). On his way home Yisügei meets some Tatars who recognize him and poison him (67). Before dying, back at his camp three days later, Yisügei instructs Mönglik, the son of his faithful retainer Čaraqa of the Qongqotat, to bring back Temüjin (68).

Chapter Two: Temüjin's boyhood and youth.

Temüjin returns home with Father Mōnglik (69). After Yisügei Ba'atur's death, his Tayiči'ut kinsmen (from Ambaqai's line) desert the widow, taking all Yisügei's subjects with them. Mother Hö'elün and her children – her own five and two from another wife of Yisügei – are thus left to fend for themselves (70). Hö'elün brings up her children. Their precarious life on the bank of the Onon (74). Temüjin and Qasar have a squabble with their step-brothers Bekter and Belgütei; they kill Bekter in cold blood (77). Hö'elün's 'lament' over their ghastly deed (78). The Tayiči'ut led by Tarqutai Kiriltuq suddenly reappear and kidnap Temüjin, but he outsmarts them and escapes with the help of a subject of the Tayiči'ut, Sorqan Šira of the Suldus, and his family (79). Thieves steal eight of the nine geldings belonging to Hö'elün when she and her children are camped at Köke Na'ur, a lake south of Burqan Qaldun. Temüjin retrieves them with the help of Bo'orču, a brave youth of the Arulat tribe (90). Temüjin marries Börte and brings her home (94). He sends his step-brother Belgütei to Bo'orču with the invitation to join him as a companion (*nökör*), which Bo'orču accepts (95). Temüjin, Qasar and Belgütei go to To'oril Qan of the Kereyit tribe, later known as Ong Qan (see Chapter Four), with a gift of a black sable coat which was Börte's wedding present. To'oril had formerly been Yisügei's sworn friend (*anda*). He promises Temüjin to help him reassemble the subjects who had deserted him (96). Jarči'udai of the Uriangqai gives his son Jelme to Temüjin to serve as his attendant (97). Soon after, when Temüjin and his family were camping near the source of the Kerülen River, the Three Merkit, i.e. Toqto'a, Dayir Usun and Qa'atai Darmala, attack them and capture Börte (whom they give to Yeke Čiledü's younger brother Čilger Bökö) and Belgütei's mother (Sučigil or Suĵigil) in revenge for Yisügei's earlier abduction of Hö'elün (98). Temüjin escapes and hides in the forest on Burqan Qaldun. The Merkit abandon the

search for him. Temüjin worships the mountain that has saved his life (102).

Chapter Three: Börte's rescue and election of Temüjin.

Temüjin turns to To'oril Qan for assistance in rescuing Börte. To'oril enlists the help of Temüjin's cousin Jamuqa of the Ĵadaran (104). Together they fall upon the Merkit encamped on the Selengge (= Selenga) River. The Merkit are defeated and Börte is rescued (107). The Merkit chiefs and Čilger Bökö escape (111). Belgütei's mother disappears and the Merkit remnants are exterminated (112). Temüjin thanks both To'oril Qan and Jamuqa. Mother Hö'elün adopts Kücü, a little boy found in the Merkit camp (114). Temüjin and Jamuqa renew their oath of *anda*-ship, but after eighteen months of close friendship – and because of Börte's intervention – they break up (116). Temüjin passes the Tayiči'ut camp at night. The Tayiči'ut move away and join Jamuqa, leaving behind a boy, Kōkōcü of the Besüt, who is also adopted by Hö'elün (119). Many clans led by their chiefs come and join Temüjin (120). One of them, Qorči of the Ba'arin, predicts a brilliant future for Temüjin (121). Temüjin is elected *qan* by Altan, Qučar and Sača Beki, the three senior clan members (from Qabul's line), who thereby renounce their legitimate claims to leadership in his favour. They give him the appellation of Činggis Qa'an (*read Činggis Qan*, 'Fierce Ruler') (123). Činggis Qan appoints several officers and puts Bo'orču and Jelme in charge of them, thus setting up a rudimentary civil and military administration (124). He informs both To'oril Qan and Jamuqa of his election as *qan*. To'oril Qan notifies his approval (126).

Chapter Four: Rivalry between clans and election of Jamuqa.

Jamuqa, informed of Činggis Qan's election as *qan*, accepts it (127). Soon after, Jamuqa's younger brother Taičar steals some horses from Joči Darmala of the Ĵalayir (who were Činggis' subjects); he is killed by Joči Darmala who retrieves the horses (128). The enraged Jamuqa with his Ĵadaran and

allied tribesmen – thirteen ‘camps’ (*güre’et*) amounting to 30,000 men altogether – attacks Činggis, whose forces (comprising also 30,000 men) are defeated at Dalan Baljut, near the sources of the Senggür (= Tsenkher) River. Jamuqa has the princes of the Činōs (allied to Činggis) boiled alive (129). However, other clans join Činggis’ camp (130). A big feast held on the banks of the Onon turns into a fight between Činggis’ men and his Jürkin kinsmen (also of Qabul’s line) when Būri Bökö, a cousin of Činggis, injures Belgūtei (131). Činggis and To’oril Qan join forces with the Jurchens of north China and fight the Tatars who are defeated (132). Činggis Qan is rewarded by the Jurchens with the title *ja’ut quri* (‘Commander of Hundreds’?), and To’oril with that of *ong* (= ch. *wang* ‘King’ or ‘Prince’), hence his new designation as Ong Qan (134). Mother Hö’elün adopts the infant Šigi(ken) Qutuqu found abandoned in the Tatars’ camp (135). The Jürkin raid Činggis’ base camp (*a’uruq*) at Lake Hariltu and are in turn attacked by Činggis who kills their two chiefs (who are also his cousins) Sača and Taiču (136). Gü’ün U’a of the Jalayir gives his two sons Muqali and Buqa to Činggis Qan. Hö’elün adopts Boroqul (Boro’ul), a little boy found in the Jürkin camp (137). She counts her adopted sons reared in her tent: Kūčü (Gūčü), Kōkōčü, Šigi(ken) Qutuqu and Boroqul (138). The origin of the Jürkin is explained (139). Činggis arranges the killing of Būri Bökö by Belgūtei at a wrestling match, thus eliminating another possible contender for leadership (140). Fearful of Činggis’ growing power, a number of clans ally themselves with tribes, such as the Naiman, Merkit and Oyirat, as well as the Tayiči’ut, that are hostile to him. They hold a meeting at Alqui Bulaq, near the confluence of the Argun and Gan rivers, and elect Jamuqa as *gür qan* (‘Universal Ruler’), thus forming a rival coalition against Činggis Qan and Ong Qan [1201] (141). The joint forces of Činggis Qan and Ong Qan move to meet those of Jamuqa and his allies. Jamuqa’s vanguard is spotted by Činggis’ vanguard at Mount Čiqurqu, near Lake Buir (142). The encounter takes place at Köyiten,

where the enemy’s rain-magic fails disastrously (143). The enemy leaders disperse; Ong Qan pursues Jamuqa while Činggis engages the Tayiči’ut on the Onon (144). Činggis is seriously wounded in the neck and his life is saved by Jelme (145). Sorqan Šira of the Suldus and Jırqo’adai of the Tayiči’ut voluntarily submit to Činggis. Jırqo’adai is renamed Jebe (146).

Chapter Five: More fights with the Tayiči’ut, the Tatar and the Naiman.

Činggis crushes the Tayiči’ut but their chief Tarqutai Kiriltuq escapes (148). Historical portrait of Ong Qan. Ong Qan’s younger brother Jaqa Gambu submits with other Kereyit clans (150). Ong Qan, attacked by the Naiman, is forced to flee to Central Asia. He is rescued by Činggis Qan. They spend the winter together at Quba Qaya (151). Jaqa Gambu plots against Ong Qan, but his supporters are arrested and humiliated by the latter. Jaqa Gambu flees to the Naiman (152). Činggis attacks the Tatars, and defeats them at Dalan Nemürges near the Qalqa River [1202]. Altan, Qučar and Dāritai are punished for unlawfully seizing booty (153). The Tatar male population is massacred. Belgūtei is punished for leaking the plan of the massacre (154). Činggis marries Yisügen and Yisüi, the two daughters of the Tatar chief Yeke Čeren (155). Yisüi’s former husband, who had escaped, is found and put to death (156). Ong Qan, who in the meantime had attacked the Merkit, defeats them but does not share the booty with Činggis (157). Činggis and Ong Qan jointly attack the Naiman and defeat their chief Buyuruq Qan at Lake Kišil Baš (158). At Jamuqa’s instigation Ong Qan deserts Činggis. A group of Naiman pursues Ong Qan and in a battle his son Senggüm is defeated (159). Ong Qan asks Činggis for help and Senggüm is rescued by the ‘four steeds’ (*dörben küli’üt*) Bo’orču, Muqali, Boroqul and Čila’un (163). In gratitude Ong Qan formally adopts Činggis as a son (164). Marriages to cement the friendship between the two families are thwarted by

Senggüm and the relationship between them turns sour as a result (165). With Ong Qan's acquiescence, Ĵamuqa and Senggüm, together with Altan and Qučar, hatch a plot to ambush Činggis, but he foils them thanks to timely advice from Father Mōnglik (166). Senggüm and the others then decide to capture Činggis in a surprise attack. The two herdsmen Badai and Kišiliq hear of the plan and, travelling by night, forewarn Činggis (169).

Chapter Six: Ong Qan and Ĵamuqa at war with Činggis Qan.

Činggis escapes at night with his men pursued by Ong Qan and Ĵamuqa. Ong Qan prepares the attack, but Ĵamuqa secretly informs Činggis of Ong Qan's plan and withdraws his troops (170). A great battle takes place at Qalaqaljit Elet, south of the Qalqa River. Both the Kereyit and the Mongols suffer considerable losses. Senggüm is wounded; so are Quyildar and Ögödei on Činggis' side (171). Činggis Qan moves to Dalan Nemürges and along the Qalqa River, counting his losses. Quyildar dies of his wounds (175). The Onggirat submit voluntarily. Činggis encamps with his 2,600 men at the Tünger Stream from where he sends a message to Ong Qan reminding him of their former relationship and of what both Yisügei and himself have done for him. On receiving it Ong Qan swears to be loyal and faithful to him (176). Činggis also sends messages to Ĵamuqa, Altan, Qučar, To'oril of the Söge'en and Senggüm, at the same time requesting an exchange of envoys. Senggüm replies belligerently (179). Činggis encamps at Lake Baljuna, south of the Qalqa River, where he is reunited with his younger brother Qasar who has escaped from Ong Qan's camp. A futile exchange of envoys takes place between Ong Qan and Činggis Qan, prompting the latter to attack the Kereyit by surprise (182). The Kereyit are utterly defeated at Jer Qabčiqai Pass, but Ong Qan and Senggüm manage to escape (185).

Chapter Seven: Conflict with the Naiman.

Distribution of the Kereyit people among the Mongols (186). Death of Ong Qan and Senggüm (188). Tayang Qan of the Naiman shows hostility towards the Mongols and decides to attack them (189). Činggis Qan is forewarned by Ala Quš Digit Quri of the Önggüt who refuses to ally himself with Ong Qan (190). Činggis prepares for a confrontation with the Naiman by reorganizing his army and the Guard (*kešik*) (191). He moves to the Sa'ari Steppe along the Kerulen River [1204]. The Mongols, whose horses are in poor condition and who are inferior in number, devise a clever stratagem to deceive the enemy (193). Tayang Qan is frightened by Ĵamuqa's description of Činggis Qan's army leaders. Ĵamuqa abandons him and again forewarns Činggis Qan (195). The Naiman are crushed at Naqu Qun. Tayang Qan dies. Ĵamuqa's allies submit to Činggis. Tayang's mother Gürbesü is taken as wife by Činggis (196). The Merkit led by Toqto'a and his sons are defeated in the Sa'ari Steppe [1204]. Qulan Qatun, the daughter of the Merkit chief Dayir Usun, undergoes a virginity test before being taken by Činggis as a wife (197).

Chapter Eight: Ĵamuqa's death and Činggis Qan's re-election.

Part of the Merkit population rebels against the Mongols. Toqto'a and his sons join forces with Tayang Qan's son Güčülük and the Naiman remnants. They are defeated by Činggis Qan at the Buqdurma source of the Erdiš (= Irtysh) River. Toqto'a is killed and the alliance falls apart. A further rebellion by the Merkit is also quashed (198). Činggis sends Sübe'etei Ba'atur in pursuit of Toqto'a's sons [1205] (199). Ĵamuqa is handed over to Činggis by his few companions, who are immediately executed for their treachery. Dramatic dialogue between Ĵamuqa and Činggis Qan. According to his wishes, Ĵamuqa is killed without shedding blood and is given a proper burial (200). Činggis is elected supreme leader at a great assembly at the sources of the Onon River [1206]. Hoisting of the white standard with nine tails (*tuq*). Činggis is

(again) given the title of *qan*. He appoints Muqali as *gui ong* (= ch. *kuo-wang* 'Prince of State'), and nominates the army's ninety-five commanders of a thousand (*minqat*). Ĵebe is sent in pursuit of Gūcūlūk (202). Činggis rewards his faithful companions with high offices in the new administration. Šigi Qutuqu is praised and put in charge of population records and legal affairs (203). The merits of Father Mōnglik, Bo'orču, Muqali and Ĵürčedei are also recalled, and distinctions and rewards conferred on them (204).

Chapter Nine: Further rewards and the reorganization of the civil and military administration.

More meritorious officials are rewarded and given honours and important offices: Qubilai of the Barulas, Qunan of the Geniges, Ĵelme, Tolun of the Qongqotat, Önggür, Boroqul (and his wife Altani who had saved the child Tolui's life), the female members of the *qan*'s family, Old Man Üsün, Quyildar (a posthumous award), Narin To'oril of the Negüs, Sorqan Šira, Badai, Kišiliq, Naya'a of the Ba'arin, Ĵebe, Sübe'etei, Degei, Gūcūgür and Mulqalqu (209). Reorganization of the Guard; the number of guards is raised to 10,000; appointment of their commanders (224). Service regulations and privileges of the guards (227).

Chapter Ten: Further military campaigns abroad and removal of Teb Tenggeri.

Činggis praises his guards and issues further regulations concerning their duties and privileges (230). Qubilai Noyan is sent on a campaign to subjugate the Qarluq tribes whose ruler Arslan Qan voluntarily submits to Činggis and is given the latter's daughter in marriage (235). Toqto'a's sons and the Merkit remnants are finally destroyed by Sübe'etei. Ĵebe deals with Gūcūlūk and the Naiman remnants in the same way (236). The *idu'ut* of the Uighurs submits and is given Činggis' daughter Al Altun in marriage (238). Činggis sends Ĵoči to subjugate the People of the Forest (*hoi-yin irgen*) and the tribes of the north-west [1207]. Quduqa Beki of the Oyirat submits

voluntarily. He and the Önggüt ruler are duly rewarded. Činggis praises Ĵoči for his successful campaign (239). The Qori Tumat kill Boroqul and take Qorči and Quduqa Beki prisoners. Dörbei Doqšin leads a punitive expedition, defeats the Tumat and rescues Qorči and Quduqa Beki (240). Činggis Qan apportions the conquered people among the members of his family (242). Činggis' brother Qasar is beaten and humiliated by Kōkōčü Teb Tenggeri and the other six sons of Father Mōnglik. Teb Tenggeri slanders Qasar. Činggis believes him and seizes Qasar for questioning. A dramatic family scene in which Qasar is freed, and Činggis reprimanded, by Mother Hö'elün (244). Teb Tenggeri, with the support of the Qongqotan and other clans, challenges Činggis' authority by humiliating Činggis' younger brother Temüge Otčigin, who complains to Činggis, rousing Börte's anger and indignation. Temüge, urged by Činggis to settle the matter, challenges Teb Tenggeri to a wrestling match. Teb Tenggeri is treacherously killed by three strong men outside the tent. A dangerous situation develops, but Činggis prevails (245). Teb Tenggeri's body is placed in a tent, but after three days it mysteriously disappears. Činggis explains the disappearance as due to Heaven's anger at Teb Tenggeri's actions, severely rebukes Father Mōnglik for having allowed them, and quickly moves camp. Decline in power of the Qongqotat (246).

Chapter Eleven: Campaigns in North China and Central Asia.

Činggis Qan sets forth against the Jurchen Chin state of north China [1211]. The Mongols seize several outposts and reach the central capital Ĵungdu (Peking). The Jurchen ruler submits and pays a heavy tribute. Činggis withdraws his army (247). The Mongols then attack the Tangut Hsi Hsia kingdom (Qašin) to the west. Their king also submits and pays tribute. Činggis returns to his camp in the Sa'ari Steppe (249). The Jurchens hamper the Mongol envoys to the Chin court. Činggis launches his second campaign against Chin [1214]. The Chin ruler leaves the capital. The Mongols capture and

loot Jungdu. The Jurchens submit again and the Chin ruler's son with a hundred companions is sent to Činggis as hostage. Činggis withdraws his troops. Qasar seizes the Chin's northern capital Beijing (present-day Ta-ting). Činggis returns to his main base camp in Mongolia (251). Činggis goes to war against the 'Sarta'ul people', i.e. the Khwārazmian empire, following the murder of his envoys at Otrar. Before he leaves, Yisüi Qatun questions him about the succession. After some squabbling between Činggis' sons, the choice falls on Ögödei (254). Činggis requests the military participation of the Tanguts (Hsi Hsia) in the campaign, but they refuse (256). The campaign begins [1219]. Jebe, Sübe'etei Ba'atur, Toqučar and Šigi Qutuqu are sent as vanguards. The Mongols gain a great victory over Jalaldin Soltan and Qan Melik (Jalāl al-Dīn and Amīn al-Mulk) after an initial defeat suffered by Šigi Qutuqu. They occupy many towns, including Semisgab (Samarkand), Buqar (Bukhara) and Khwārazm's capital Örünggeči (Urgenč/Gurganj). Činggis sends Čormaqan to conquer Baqat (Baghdad), ruled by the Qalibai Soltan, i.e. 'the Sultan Caliph' (257). Campaign of Dörbei Doqšin against the peoples between Baghdad and India (261). Sübe'etei's great campaign in the West (262). After the defeat of the Sarta'ul, Činggis appoints resident commissioners (*daruqačın*) in charge of the conquered towns. He puts two Muslims of Khwārazmian stock, Yalawači (Maḥmūd Yalavač) and his son Masqut (Mas'ūd Beg), in charge of the administration of the Central Asian towns and, later, of Kitat, i.e. the former Chin territories in north China (263). After seven years of warfare, Činggis Qan returns with much booty to his *ordos* in the Black Forest of the Tula River [1225] (264).

Chapter Twelve: Činggis' last campaign and death, and Ögödei's reforms and 'confession.'

Činggis Qan leads a punitive expedition against the Tangut kingdom of Hsi Hsia [1226]. On the way south he falls from his horse and becomes ill. The Hsi Hsia ruler and his minister

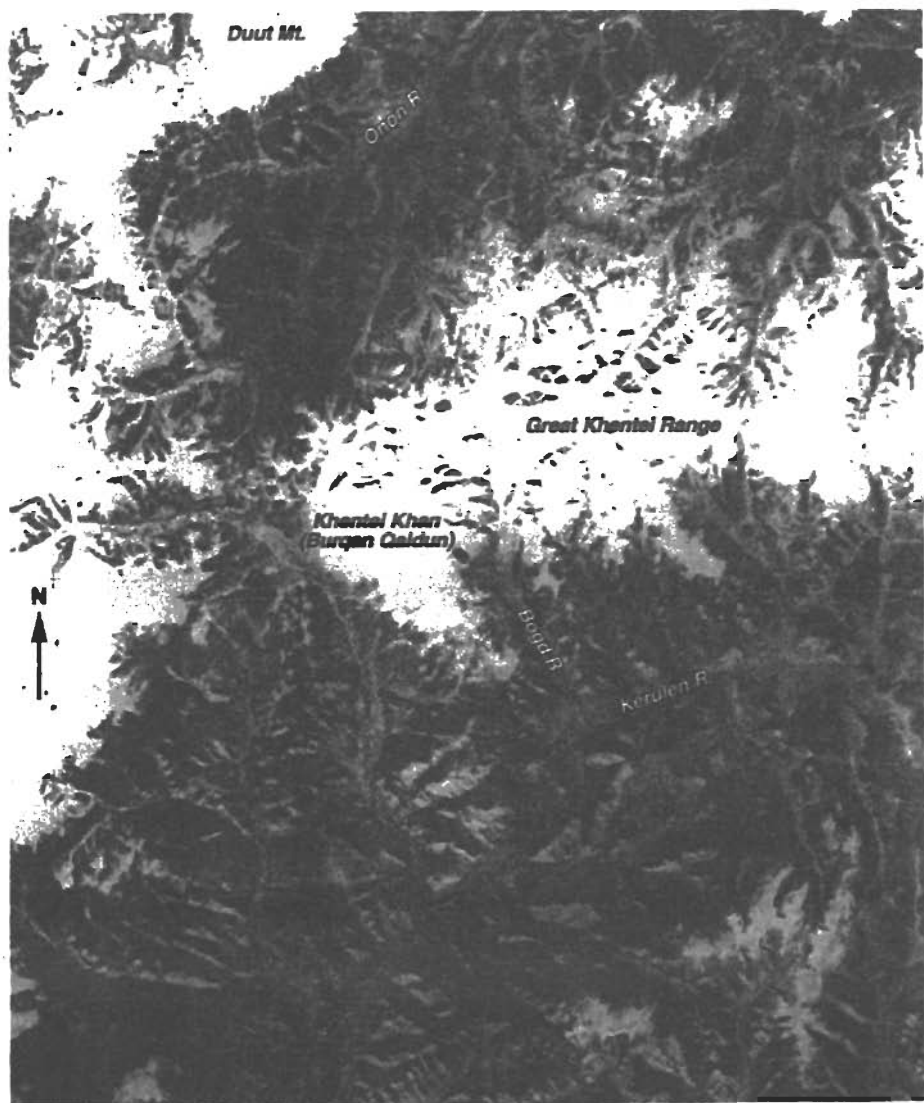
Aša Gambu act defiantly. Činggis defeats and captures Aša Gambu (265). The Mongols carry out the systematic destruction of Hsi Hsia. Činggis rewards Bo'orču and Muqali (266). The Tangut ruler comes in person to pay homage to Činggis with rich gifts. Činggis changes his name to Šidurqu ('Upright') and orders his execution (267). Činggis orders the complete destruction of his kingdom. Činggis dies [1227] and a large part of the Tangut population is given to Yisüi Qatun (268). At a great assembly convened at Köde'ü (Ködö'e) Aral on the Kerulen River, Činggis' third son Ögödei is elected *qan* [1228] (269). Ögödei Qa'an in consultation with his elder brother Ča'adai sends reinforcements in support of Čormaqan and Sübe'etei who are fighting in the West. They are led by the eldest sons of the imperial princes. They also decide to complete the conquest of the Chin kingdom in north China (270). Ögödei leads the expedition against Chin [1231]. Jebe is sent as vanguard. During the campaign, Ögödei falls ill and Tolui sacrifices himself to appease the angry land and water spirits and thus saves his brother's life. (272). After the destruction of Chin and the death of its ruler, who is renamed Se'üse ('Little Slave'), Ögödei appoints officials in charge of the conquered territory and, loaded with booty, returns to the north, settling at Qara Qorum (273). Ögödei appoints Čormaqan as commander of the garrison (*tammači*) in Baghdad. Sübe'etei Ba'atur returns from his great western expedition after subjugating numerous nations and tribes. Further appointments of resident commissioners and garrison commanders (274). The princes Batu, Büri and Güyük quarrel among themselves; their squabble is reported by Batu to Ögödei who restores order (275). Ögödei renews and amplifies Činggis' earlier regulations concerning the duties and privileges of the guards (278). Tax and other reforms are introduced: levies (in sheep) for the *qan* and for the poor; establishment of storehouses; allotment of grazing grounds; digging of wells in the desert; reorganization of the post-relay service. Ča'adai and the other princes approve these measures.

Further regulations regarding the management of post stations (279). Ögödei's eight-point self-criticism: four good deeds accomplished against four 'faults' committed during his reign (281). The colophon recording the place and date [? 1228] when the writing of the work was completed (282).

THE SECRET HISTORY OF THE MONGOLS
(YÜAN-CH'AO PI-SHIH)

Chapter and Paragraph Concordance

12- <i>chüan</i> text (Y ¹ , Y ²)		15- <i>chüan</i> text (Y ³)	
I	1-68	I	1-68
II	69-103	II	69-96
III	104-126	III	97-118
IV	127-147	IV	119-140
V	148-169	V	141-153
VI	170-185	VI	154-169
VII	186-197	VII	170-185
VIII	198-208	VIII	186-197
IX	209-229	IX	198-207
X	230-246	X	208-224
XI	247-264	XI	225-238
XII	265-282	XII	239-246
		XIII	247-264
		XIV	265-276
		XV	277-282



Pl. 10. The Khentai Range of northern Mongolia (aerial view)

THE SECRET HISTORY OF THE MONGOLS

CHAPTER ONE

- 1 The origins of Činggis Qa'an.
At the beginning there was a blue-grey¹ wolf, born with his destiny *ordained* by Heaven Above. His wife was a fallow doe. They came crossing the Tenggis.² After they had settled at the source of the Onan River on *Mount Burqan Qaldun*. Batačiqan was born to them.
- 2 The son of Batačiqan was Tamača; the son of Tamača, Qoričar Mergen; the son of Qoričar Mergen, A'ujam Boro'ul; the son of A'ujam Boro'ul, Sali Qača'u; the son of Sali Qača'u, Yeke Nidün; the son of Yeke Nidün, Sem Soči; the son of Sem Soči, Qarču.
- 3 The son of Qarču, Borjigidai Mergen, had as wife Mongqoljin Qo'a. The son of Borjigidai Mergen, Toroqoljin Bayan, had a wife *named* Boroqč'in Qo'a, a young lad³ *named* Boroldai Suyalbi, and two fine geldings, Dayir and Boro.⁴ Toroqoljin had two sons, Du'a Soqor and Dobun Mergen.
- 4 Du'a Soqor had a single eye in the middle of his forehead: with it he could see for a distance of three stages.⁵
- 5 One day Du'a Soqor went up Burqan Qaldun with his younger brother Dobun Mergen. Du'a Soqor looked out

¹ See the Commentary.

² Lit., 'the Sea' or (fig.) 'a large body of water' such as a great lake, possibly the Baikal.

³ I.e., a young manservant.

⁴ I.e., 'Dusky' and 'Grey.'

⁵ A 'stage' (*ne'üri*) is the distance between two nomadic camps.

from the top of Burqan Qaldun, and, as he did so,¹ he saw *in the distance* a band of people on the move who, following the course² of the Tünggelik Stream, were coming that way. He said, 'Among those people on the move who are coming this way, there is a fine girl in the front seat of a black covered cart.³ If she has not been given to another man, we shall ask her for you, my younger brother Dobun Mergen!' So saying, he sent his younger brother Dobun Mergen to have a look.

When Dobun Mergen reached those people, *he saw that* she was indeed a beautiful and charming girl, and of excellent reputation. Her name was Alan Qo'a and she had not yet been given to *any other* man.

As for that band of people, *the matter stood thus*. The daughter of Barqudai Mergen, lord of the Köl Barqujin Lowland, was a girl named Barqujin Qo'a, and she had been given *in marriage* to Qorilartai Mergen, a chief of the Qori Tumat. At Ariq Usun,⁴ in the land of the Qori Tumat, that girl named Alan Qo'a was born to Barqujin Qo'a, *wife* of Qorilartai Mergen.

As in their land the Qori Tumat had imposed bans on one another's sable, squirrel and wild game⁵ *hunting* grounds, and mutual relations were bad *as a result*, Qorilartai Mergen *separated from the Qori Tumat* and took the clan name Qorilar. Saying that the land of Burqan Qaldun was good, and that it was suitable for game hunting, he was *now* moving into *the territory* of the Uriangqai Burqan Bosqaqsan and Šinči Bayan, lords of Burqan Qaldun.⁶

¹ Lit., 'when he looked.'

² I.e., downstream.

³ I.e., a cart covered with black felt.

⁴ I.e., 'Clear Water (= River or Spring).'

⁵ I.e., mainly deer, antelopes and wild goats.

⁶ Translation uncertain. 'Burqan Bosqaqsan' may actually be a designation (lit., 'Who has erected the Burqan [?] image') of Šinči Bayan, and 'lords' (*ejet*) an honorific plural. See the Commentary.

This is how Dobun Mergen asked there and then for Alan Qo'a, daughter of Qorilartai Mergen of the Qori Tumat born at Ariq Usun, and how he took her as his wife.

After Alan Qo'a had come to Dobun Mergen, she bore him two sons who were named Bügünütei and Belgünütei.

Du'a Soqor, his elder brother, had four sons. Before long, the elder brother Du'a Soqor died. After Du'a Soqor's death his four sons no longer regarded their uncle Dobun Mergen as *a member* of the family but, looking down on him, they left him and moved away. They took the clan name Dörben and became the Dörben tribe.

After that, one day Dobun Mergen went out hunting on the Toqočağ Heights.¹ In the forest he met a man of the Uriangqai tribe who had killed a three-year-old deer and was roasting its ribs and entrails. Dobun Mergen said, 'Friend, share the quarry!'² 'I will give it to you,' said *the man*, and keeping for himself the main portion *of the animal* which has the lungs,³ and the skin, he gave all the meat of the three-year-old deer to Dobun Mergen.

Dobun Mergen went on, carrying the three-year-old deer on the back of his horse. On the way he met a poor man on foot who was leading his son *by the hand*. Dobun Mergen asked him, 'To which clan do you belong?' The man said, 'I am a man of the Ma'aliq Baya'ut, and I am in desperate straits. Give me some of the meat of that animal and I will give you this child of mine.' At these words Dobun Mergen cut off one thigh of the three-year-old deer and gave it to him, and he took the child to be a servant in his house.

Before long, Dobun Mergen died. After his death, Alan Qo'a, although she had no husband, bore three sons who

¹ Or 'Hills.'

² Lit., 'Friend, the roast!'

³ I.e., the head, trachea, lungs and heart.

were named Buqu Qatagi, Buqatu Salji and Bodončar Mungqaq.¹

18 Belgünütei and Bügünütei, the two sons born earlier to Dobun Mergen, said to each other, behind the back of their mother Alan Qo'a, 'Although this mother of ours is without brothers-in-law and male relatives, and without a husband, she has borne these three sons. In the house there is only the man of the Ma'aliq Baya'ut. Surely these three sons are his.' Their mother Alan Qo'a knew what they had been saying to each other behind her back.²

19 One day in spring, while she was cooking some dried lamb, she had her five sons Belgünütei, Bügünütei, Buqu Qatagi, Buqatu Salji and Bodončar Mungqaq sit in a row. She gave an arrow-shaft to each of them and said, 'Break it!' One by one they immediately broke the single arrow-shafts and threw them away. Then she tied five arrow-shafts into a bundle and gave it to them saying, 'Break it!' The five sons each took the five bound arrow-shafts in turn, but they were unable to break them.

20 Then their mother Alan Qo'a said, 'You, my sons Belgünütei and Bügünütei, are suspicious of me and said to each other, "These three sons that she has borne, of whom, of what *clan*, are they the sons?" And it is right
21 for you to be suspicious. Every night, a resplendent yellow man entered by the light of the smoke-hole or the door top of the tent, he rubbed my belly and his radiance penetrated my womb. When he departed, he crept out on a moonbeam or a ray of sun in the guise of a yellow dog.

How can you speak so rashly?

When one understands that, the sign is *clear*:

They are the sons of Heaven.

How can you speak, comparing them

¹ I.e., 'Bodončar the Fool (or Simpleton).'

² Lit., 'behind the back of their mother.'

To *ordinary* black-headed men?

When they become the rulers of all,

Then the common people will understand!

22 Further, Alan Qo'a addressed these words of admonition to her five sons: 'You, my five sons, were born of one womb. If, like the five arrow-shafts just now, each of you keeps to himself, then, like those single arrow-shafts, anybody will easily break you. If, like the bound arrow-shafts, you remain together and of one mind, how can anyone deal with you so easily?' Some time went by and their mother Alan Qo'a died.

23 After the death of their mother Alan Qo'a, the five brothers divided the livestock¹ among themselves. Belgünütei, Bügünütei, Buqu Qatagi and Buqatu Salji all took *their share*; to Bodončar no share was given, for they said that he was a fool and a half-wit, and they did not regard him as one of the family.

24 Bodončar, seeing that he was no longer counted as one of the family, said, 'Why should I stay here?' He got on a white horse with a black sore back and a mangy tail.² 'If I die, I die; if I live, I live!'³ he said and left riding fast downstream along the Onan River. He went on and when he reached Baljun Aral⁴ he built a grass hut⁵ and made his home there.

25 While he was living there, he once saw a grey female hawk eating a black grouse that it had caught. He made a snare with the hair of his white horse with the black sore
26 back and mangy tail, caught *the hawk* and reared it. When he had nothing to eat, he stalked the wild game which

¹ I.e., the family property.

² Lit., 'with a black stripe along the backbone, mid-back saddle-sores, and a hairless tail.'

³ Or: 'If he dies, I will die; if he lives, I will live!'

⁴ *Aral* means 'island' as well as 'peninsula.' See the Commentary.

⁵ Lit., 'a grass hut-tent.'

wolves had penned in on the cliffs. He shot and killed *the game*, and fed on it together with *the hawk*; they also gathered up and ate the food *left over* by the wolves. And so, feeding his own gullet and his hawk, he got through that year.¹

27 When spring came and the ducks *began* to arrive, he starved his hawk and let it loose. The ducks and wild geese which *the hawk had caught* he placed all about, so that

Every tree stump reeked with their stench,

Every dead tree with their foul smell.

28 From the northern side of *Mount Düyiren*, a band of people on the move came following the course of the Tüנגgelik Stream. After he had loosed his hawk in the day-time, Bodončar used to go to those people and drink kumis with them: at night he returned to his grass hut to sleep.

29 Those people asked Bodončar for his hawk, but he would not give it to them. Thus they got along together without the people asking Bodončar whose *son he was* and to which *clan he belonged*, and without Bodončar for his part asking them what people they were.

30 His elder brother Buqu Qatagi, saying that the younger brother Bodončar Mungqaq had left following the course of this Onan River, came in search of him. He asked those people who had moved down along the Tüנגgelik Stream about such-and-such a man with *such-and-such* a horse.

31 The people said, 'There is a man and a horse similar to *those* you ask about. He also has a hawk. Every day he comes to us, drinks kumis, then leaves. Where he spends the night no one really knows; but when the wind blows from the north-west, the fluff and feathers of the ducks and geese caught by his hawk are scattered and fly over here like swirling snow. He must live nearby. Now is about the time of his coming. Wait a little!'

¹ I.e., through that winter.

32 Within a short time a man came up along the Tüנגgelik Stream. When he arrived, it was indeed Bodončar. As soon as his elder brother Buqu Qatagi saw him, he recognized him; he led him away and set out, trotting off upstream along the Onan River.

33 Bodončar, who was trotting behind his elder brother Buqu Qatagi, said on the way, 'Elder brother, elder brother, it is right for a body to have a head, and for a coat to have a collar.'¹ His elder brother Buqu Qatagi did not attach any importance to these words of his. When he repeated the same words, his elder brother *again* ignored them and did not answer. Further along, Bodončar once more uttered the same words, to which his elder brother said, 'What kind of words are those you have just been repeating?'

35 Then Bodončar said, 'These people of a short while ago who are staying on the Tüנגgelik Stream make no distinction between great and small, bad and good, high and mean:² they are all equal. They are people easy to capture. Let us raid them!' His elder brother then said, 'Right. If this is so, as soon as we reach home let us consult with our brothers and raid those people!'

37 When they reached home, older and younger brothers discussed the matter together, then set out on their horses. They had Bodončar himself ride ahead as a scout.

38 Bodončar, as he was riding ahead reconnoitring, captured a woman who was in the middle of her pregnancy. He asked her, 'To which clan do you belong?' The woman said, 'I am an Adangqan Uriangqai of the Jarči'ut clan.'

39 The five brothers together robbed those people, and *in this way* got enough livestock, people to serve them, and a place to live.

¹ A saying, the meaning of which is that a group of people must have a chief to ensure proper leadership.

² Lit., 'head and hoof.'

40 The woman who was mid-way through pregnancy came to Bodončar and gave birth to a son. As he was the son of strangers, they named him Jajiradai. He was the ancestor of the Jadaran.¹ The son of that Jadaradai² was named Tügü'üdei. The son of Tügü'üdei was Būri Bulčiru. The son of Būri Bulčiru was Qara Qada'an. The son of Qara Qada'an was Jamuqa. These took the clan name Jadaran.

41 That woman also gave birth to a son by Bodončar. Since she was a captured woman, her son was named Ba'aridai. He was the ancestor of the Ba'arin.³ The son of Ba'aridai was Čiduqul Bökö, who had many wives and whose sons were born in great profusion.⁴ These took the clan name Menen Ba'arin.

42 From Belgünütei stemmed the Belgünüt clan; from Bügünütei, the Bügünüt; from Buqu Qatagi, the Qatagin; from Buqatu Salji, the Salji'ut; from Bodončar, the Borjigin.

43 From the wife that Bodončar himself had taken was born a son named Barim Ši'iratu Qabiči. Bodončar also took as concubine a housemaid of Qabiči Ba'atur's mother, who had come as dowry. She had a son by him named Je'üredei. At first Je'üredei could take part in the *Jügelü sacrifice in which meat is hung on a pole and offered to Heaven*.⁵ After Bodončar's death he was excluded from it⁶ because – so they said – the Adangqa Uriangqai man⁶ was constantly in the house and Je'üredei was probably his son. They made him take the clan name Je'üreyit and he became the ancestor of the Je'üret.

¹ These personal and clan names are explained, in popular etymology, from the word *jat* (*jad*) meaning 'foreign.'

² The 'Jadaradai' or 'man of the Jadaran clan' is, of course, Jajiradai.

³ *Bari* means 'to seize, capture, abduct' – another example of popular etymology to explain a clan name.

⁴ *Mene metü* – hence the association with the clan name Menen.

⁵ Lit., 'they excluded that Je'üredei from the *Jügelü*.'

⁶ Bodončar's son by his Adangqa Uriangqai wife, i.e. Jajiradai.

45 The son of Qabiči Ba'atur was Menen Tudun. The sons of Menen Tudun were Qači Külük, Qačin, Qači'u, Qačula, Qači'un, Qaraldai and Način Ba'atur.

46 The son of Qači Külük, Qaidu, was born of Mother Nomolun. The son of Qačin was named Noyagidai; because, by nature, he liked to act as a chief, *his descendants* took the clan name Noyakin. The son of Qači'u was named Barulatai. He had a big body and was a voracious eater; *therefore, his descendants* took the clan name Barulas. As the sons of Qačula were *also* voracious eaters, they were named Yeke Barula and Üčügen Barula;¹ they *too* had to take the clan name Barulas and it is these who became the Erdemtü Barula, the Tödö'en Barula and the other Barulas. The sons of Qaraldai did not observe seniority when they cooked² porridge; *therefore, their descendants* took the clan name Buda'at. The son of Qači'un was named Adarkidai; because he spread slanders among his elder and younger brothers, *his descendants* took the clan name Adargin. The sons of Način Ba'atur were named Uru'udai and Mangqutai; they took the clan names Uru'ut and Mangqut. Those *sons* of Način Ba'atur who were borne by the wife he himself had taken, were named Šiju'udai and Doqoladai.

47 The sons of Qaidu were Bai Šingqor Doqšin, Čaraqai Lingqu and Čaujin Öртеgei. The son of Bai Šingqor Doqšin was Tumbinai Sečen. The son of Čaraqai Lingqu was Senggüm Bilge; *his descendants*, [beginning with] Senggüm Bilge's son Ambaqai [Qa'an], took the clan name Tayiči'ut. From a sister-in-law of Čaraqai Lingqu who became his wife was born a son named Besütei. *His descendants* took the clan name Besüt. The sons of Čaujin Öртеgei and *their descendants* took the clan names Oronar, Qongqotan, Arulat, Sönit, Qabturqas and Geniges.

¹ I.e., 'Big Barula' and 'Small Barula.'

² Lit., 'stirred.'

48 The sons of Tumbinai Sečen were Qabul Qa'an and Sem Sečüle.¹ The son of Sem Sečüle was Bültečü Ba'atur.¹ Qabul Qa'an's sons were seven. The eldest was Ökin Barqaq; *then came* Bartan Ba'atur, Qutuqtu Mōnggür, Qutula Qa'an, Qulan, Qada'an and Tödö'en Otčigin. These were the seven.

49 The son of Ökin Barqaq was Qutuqtu Yürki.¹ Qutuqtu Yürki's sons were Seče Beki² and Taiču. These took the clan name Yürki.

50 These four were the sons of Bartan Ba'atur: Mōnggetü Kiyān, Nekün Taiši, Yisügei Ba'atur and Dāritai Otčigin. The son of Qutuqtu Mōnggür was Būri Bökö. It was he who, *with his sword*, split open Belgütei's shoulder at the feast held in the forest by the Onan.³

51 The sons of Qutula Qa'an were Joči, Girma'u and Altan. The son of Qulan Ba'atur was Yeke Čeren. He was the master of the two freemen Badai and Kišiliq.⁴ Both Qada'an and Tödö'en were without issue.

52 Qabul Qa'an ruled over all the Mongols. After Qabul Qa'an, although he had seven sons, Ambaqai Qa'an, the son of Senggüm Bilge, became the ruler of all the Mongols by Qabul Qa'an's will.

53 Ambaqai Qa'an gave his daughter *as wife* to the Ayiri'ut Buiru'ut Tatars who were living on the Urši'un River, between Lake Buyur and Lake Kölen. As he was taking his daughter to them in person, Ambaqai Qa'an was captured by Tatar Jüyin men. When they were on their way to deliver him to the Altan Qa'an of the Kitat, Ambaqai Qa'an *contrived* to send a message *using* as messenger Balaqači, a man of the Besüt. He said to him, 'Speak to Qutula, the middle one of the seven sons of Qabul Qa'an,

¹ For this (incorrect) name, see the Commentary.

² Written Sača Beki elsewhere in the text.

³ For this episode, see below, § 131.

⁴ See below, § 169.

and of¹ *my ten sons speak to Qada'an Taiši.*' And he sent saying, 'When you become² *qa'an* of all and lord of the people, *learn* from my *example* and beware of taking your daughter in person to *her betrothed*. I have been seized by the Tatars.

Until the nails of your five fingers
Are ground down,
Until your ten fingers are worn away,
Strive to revenge me!

54 At that time Yisügei Ba'atur was hunting with falcons along the Onan River when he met the Merkit Yeke Čiledü who was on his way *home*, taking with him a girl of the Olqunu'ut tribe to be his wife. Leaning forward to have a *better* look, he saw that she was an unusually beautiful young woman. He swiftly rode back *to his tent*, then returned leading his elder brother Nekün Taiši and his younger brother Dāritai Otčigin.

55 Čiledü became frightened at their coming. He had a fast dun mare; he struck his dun mare over the rump and galloped away over a hill. The three men rode after him. Čiledü rounded the spur of the hill and got back to his cart. There and then Lady Hö'elün said to him, 'Did you notice those three men? Their look is odd: they look as if they want *to take* your life. If only you are spared,

In the front seat *of every cart*
There are girls;
In every black cart
There are women.

If only you are spared, you will *always* find a girl or a woman *like me*. If her name is different, name her also Hö'elün. Save your life! Never forget to breathe my scent!' She took off her shirt and he, on horseback, seized it with

¹ Lit., 'among.'

² I.e., 'When either of you becomes...'

his outstretched *hand*. By this time the three *men* had rounded the spur of the hill and were drawing near. Čiledü struck his fast dun mare on the rump, rode swiftly away and fled upstream along the Onan River.

56 The three *men* rode after him, chased him across seven hills and came back. Yisügei Ba'atur took the halter and guided *the cart* of Lady Hö'elün; his elder brother, Nekün Taiši, led the way, and his younger brother, Dāritai Otčigin, rode alongside the shaft *of the cart*. As they were proceeding, Lady Hö'elün said, 'My good lord' Čiledü is one

Whose tuft has never blown
Against the wind,
Whose belly has never hungered
In the steppe.

But how is it now? How fares he, with his two plaits tossing sometimes over his back, sometimes over his breast, now forward, now backward?' So she spoke, and she went on wailing loudly

Until her voice stirred the waters of the Onan River,
Until it resounded throughout wood and valley.

Dāritai Otčigin, riding beside her, said,

'The one who held you in his arms
Has *already* crossed many ridges;
The one you bewail
Has *already* crossed many streams.
If you call him, and he looks back,
He will not see you;
If you look for his tracks,
His trail you will not find.

Be quiet!' — he warned her. Yisügei then took Lady Hö'elün into his tent. Such is the way in which Yisügei carried off Lady Hö'elün.

57 According to the message of Ambaqai Qa'an, which had nominated both Qada'an and Qutula, all the Mongols

and Tayiči'ut gathered in the Qorqonaq Valley by the Onan and made Qutula *qa'an*. The Mongols rejoiced, and in their rejoicing they danced and feasted. After raising Qutula as *qan*, they danced around the Leafy Tree of Qorqonaq until there was

A ditch up to their waist,
And dust up to their knees.

58 When Qutula became *qa'an*, he and Qada'an Taiši moved against the Tatar people. They fought thirteen times with the Tatar *chiefs* Kötön Baraqa and Jali Buqa, but were unable

To take revenge,
To requite the wrong
for the slaying of Ambaqai Qa'an.

59 Then Yisügei Ba'atur captured the Tatars Temüjin Üge, Qori Buqa, and other Tatars. At that time Lady Hö'elün was pregnant, and as she was *staying* at Deli'ün Boldaq¹ by the Onan, it was right there that Činggis Qa'an was born. At the time of his birth he was born clutching in his right hand a clot of blood the size of a knucklebone. Because he was born when the Tatar Temüjin Üge had been brought *captive*, for this *very* reason they gave him the name Temüjin.

60 Yisügei Ba'atur had these four sons born of Lady Hö'elün: Temüjin, Qasar, Qači'un and Temüge. One daughter was *also* born, named Temülün. When Temüjin was nine years old, Joči Qasar was seven, Qači'un Elči was five, Temüge Otčigin was three, and Temülün was *still* in the cradle. [From Yisügei Ba'atur's second wife, Mother Sučigil,² Bekter and Belgütei were born.]

61 When Temüjin was nine years old, Yisügei Ba'atur set out to go to the Olqunu'ut people, relatives of Mother Hö'elün, taking Temüjin with him and saying, 'I shall ask his maternal uncles for a girl *in marriage for him*.' On the

¹ Lit., 'elder brother', here a respectful term for 'husband.'

¹ I.e., 'Spleen Hill.'

² Or Sučigil.

way, between *Mount Čekčer* and *Mount Čiqurqu*, he met Dei Sečen of the Onggirat.

62 Dei Sečen said, '*Quda* Yisügei, in whose direction are you going, coming this way?' Yisügei Ba'atur said, 'I have come here on my way to the Olqunu'ut people, the maternal uncles of this my son, to ask for a girl in marriage for him.' Dei Sečen said, 'This son of yours is a boy

Who has fire in his eyes,

Who has light in his face.

63 '*Quda* Yisügei, I had a dream last night, I did. A white gerfalcon clasping both sun and moon in its claws flew to me and perched on my hand. I told the people about this dream of mine, saying, "Before, when I looked, I could only see the sun and the moon from afar; now this gerfalcon has brought them to me and has perched on my hand. He has alighted, all white. Just what sort of good thing does this show?" I had my dream, *quda* Yisügei, just as you were coming here bringing your son. I had a dream of good omen. What kind of dream is it? The august spirit of you, Kiyat people, has come in my dream¹ and has announced² your visit.

64 'With us, the Onggirat people, from old days,
To have the good looks of our granddaughters
And the beauty of our daughters is enough:
We do not strive for dominion.
For those of you who have become *qa'an*,
We have our daughters with beautiful cheeks
Ride on a large cart to which we harness
A black male camel.
We trot them off to the *qa'an*,
And seat them by him on the *qatun*'s seat.
We do not strive for dominion, nor for people.

¹ I.e., as an omen of good fortune for the Onggirat people.

² I.e., has foretold.

We lift our good-looking daughters,
We have them ride on a carriage with front seat;
We harness a dark male camel,
We lead them off to the *qa'an*,
And seat them on the throne, at his side.

From old days, the Onggirat people
Have the *qatuns* as shields,
Have their daughters as intercessors.
We live thanks to the good looks
Of our granddaughters
And the beauty of our daughters.
65 With our boys, when they seek a bride,
One¹ looks at the wealth of our camp;
With our girls, when they are sought as brides,
One² considers only their beauty.

Quda Yisügei, let us go to my tent. My daughter is still small, take a look at her, *quda!*' So said Dei Sečen, and having led him to his tent he made him dismount.

66 When Yisügei saw his daughter, he saw a girl
Who had light in her face,
Who had fire in her eyes.

He was pleased with her. She was ten years old, one year older than *Temüjin*, and her name was *Börte*. Yisügei spent the night there, and the following morning, when he requested his daughter for *Temüjin*, Dei Sečen said, 'If I gave her away after much asking on your part, you would respect me; if I gave her away without much asking, you would despise me. But the fate of a girl is not to grow old in the family in which she was born. I will give you my daughter, and you, for your part, leave your son here as my son-in-law.' So they both agreed and Yisügei Ba'atur said, 'I will leave my son as your son-in-law, but my son is afraid

¹ I.e., the family of the bride.

² I.e., the family of the bridegroom.

of dogs. *Quda*, don't let him be frightened by dogs!' Then he gave him his spare horse as a pledge and went off, leaving Temüjin as his son-in-law.

67 On the way back, Yisügei Ba'atur met some Tatars who were having a feast in the Šira Ke'er¹ by *Mount Čekčer*. As he was thirsty, he got off his horse and joined them at the feast. But those Tatars recognized him: 'Yisügei the Kiyān has come,' they said, and remembered their grievance for his former raid upon them. With the secret intent to harm, they gave him poison² mixing it with his food. On the way back, Yisügei Ba'atur felt ill. He went on, and when after
68 three days³ he reached his tent, being in a bad way, he⁴ said, 'I feel sick within me. Who is at hand?' When they told him that Mönglik, the son of Old Čaraqa of the Qongqotat, was close by, he called him, made him come and said to him, 'Mönglik my boy, I have young children. I left my son Temüjin to be a son-in-law and, as I was coming back, I was secretly harmed by Tatar people on the way. I feel sick within me. You take care of your younger brothers,⁵ the little ones that I leave behind, and of your widowed elder sister-in-law.⁵ Go quickly and bring back my son Temüjin, Mönglik my boy!' He spoke and passed away.

¹ I.e., 'Yellow Steppe (or Plain).'

² Or, possibly, 'they grievously injured him' – by mixing poison with his food.

³ Lit., 'three days and nights.'

⁴ Lit., 'Yisügei Ba'atur.'

⁵ For these figurative terms, see the Commentary. Cf. also below, § 272.

THE SECRET HISTORY OF THE MONGOLS

CHAPTER TWO

69 Heeding the words of Yisügei Ba'atur, Mönglik went and said to Dei Sečen, 'Elder brother Yisügei thinks constantly of Temüjin, his heart is aching. I came to get Temüjin.' Dei Sečen said, 'If my *quda* is longing for his son, let him go. But after he has seen him let him quickly come back.' And so Father Mönglik brought Temüjin back with him.

70 That spring, when Örbei and Soqatai, the wives of Ambaqai Qa'an, performed the *Qaǰaru Inerü sacrifice* to the ancestors, Lady Hö'elün also went, but as she arrived late she was left out of the sacrificial meal. Lady Hö'elün said to Örbei and Soqatai, 'You say to yourselves that Yisügei Ba'atur is dead, and as my sons are not grown yet, you deprive me of the share of the offerings to the ancestors, and of the sacrificial meat and drink that have been left over. Isn't this so? You have come to the point of eating under my very eyes without asking me to partake of the food, and of breaking camp without so much as awakening me!'¹

71 At these words the wives Örbei and Soqatai said,
 'You are one for whom the rule holds
 Not to be called and given food;
 You are one for whom the custom holds
 To eat if she chances upon food;
 You are one for whom the rule holds
 Not to be invited and given food;
 You are one for whom the custom holds
 To eat if food comes by her.

Is it because you say to yourself that Ambaqai Qa'an is dead, that we are being spoken to in this way, even by

¹ I.e., 'You would leave me o'

72 *one like you, Hö'elün? The best scheme for you, Tayiči'ut people, is: Leave these, mothers and children, in the camp and move on without taking them along!*

So they spoke, and the following day Tarqutai Kiriltuq of the Tayiči'ut, Tödö'en Gırte and the other Tayiči'ut began to move downstream along the Onan River. As they set out, leaving behind Lady Hö'elün, the mothers and the children, Old Čaraqa of the Qongqotat went after them and tried to stop them, but Tödö'en Gırte said,

'The deep water has dried up,
The shining stone is shattered.'

With this he moved off. Saying, 'Why do you hinder us?', Tödö'en Gırte from behind speared Old Čaraqa along the spine.

73 Old Čaraqa returned to his tent wounded, and was lying in great distress when Temüjin went to see him. Then Old Čaraqa of the Qongqotat said, 'The people gathered by your good² father, the people of all of us, they have taken with them and moved away. When I tried to stop them, this is how I was treated.' At that, Temüjin wept and went out.

After the Tayiči'ut had left Lady Hö'elün behind and moved away, she held the standard and, riding off all on her own, brought back half the people. But even those people who were brought back did not stay, and *they too* moved off following the Tayiči'ut.

74 The Tayiči'ut kinsmen³ had moved away, leaving the widowed Lady Hö'elün with her small sons, the mothers and the children, in the camp, but

Lady Hö'elün was born

A clever woman

And she nourished her small sons thus:

Pulling firmly her tall hat

¹ I.e., 'The situation is beyond repair – it's all over.'

² I.e., 'late.'

³ Lit., 'brothers.' See the Commentary.

Over her head,
Tying tightly her belt
To shorten her skirt,
Along the Onan River,
Running up and down,
She gathered crab apples and bird cherries,
Day and night she fed
Their *hungry* gullets.
Born brave, the noble mother¹
Nourished her sons who were favoured
With *Heaven's* good fortune.
With a pointed stick from a spruce
She dug for *roots* of the great burnet,
And *for those* of the silverweed,
And so she provided them with food.
The sons who were fed on wild garlic
And on wild onion by the noble mother,
In time became rulers;
The sons who were fed on wild lily *bulbs*
By the high-minded, noble mother
Became lawful and wise.
75 The hungry, nagging sons
Who were fed on wild leek
And on wild onion by the beautiful lady,
Became handsome² and good,
And grew up into fine men
Truly valiant and bold.
Saying to each other,
'Let us feed our mother!'
They sat on the bank of Mother Onan,
They prepared their hooks and fished
Mean and paltry³ fish;

¹ Lit., 'the lady mother.'

² Or 'full of vigour.' The meaning of the Mongolian term is not clear.

³ Lit., 'Maimed and injured.'

Bending needle into hook,
 They fished for salmon and grayling.
 They made seines and dragnets,
 And caught fingerlings:
 Then, with grateful heart,
 They fed their mother.

76 One day while Temüjin, Qasar, Bekter and Belgütei were sitting together *on the river bank* angling, a shiny dace came onto *the line*. Bekter and Belgütei snatched it away from Temüjin and Qasar. Temüjin and Qasar came home and said to the noble mother, 'A shiny dace bit our hook, but it was snatched away from us by our brothers Bekter and Belgütei.' Thereupon, the noble mother said, 'Why be so malicious? [Stop it!] Why do you, older brothers and younger brothers, behave in this way to each other? Just when

We have no friend but our shadow,
 We have no whip but our *horse's* tail,

and when we ask ourselves how to take vengeance for the outrage *committed* by our Tayiči'ut kinsmen, how can you be at odds with each other, like the five sons of Mother Alan¹ of old? Stop it!

77 Thereupon, Temüjin and Qasar, displeased *with their mother's words*, said, 'Once *already*, the other day, a lark we shot with a knob-headed arrow,² they snatched it away from us, just like that. And now, again, they have snatched *something* the same way. How can we live together with them?' So saying they flung open the *felt* door and went out.

At that time Bekter was sitting on a hillock, guarding their *nine horses*, the light-bay geldings. Temüjin, hiding from behind, and Qasar, hiding in front, were approaching and about to draw out their arrows when Bekter saw them

¹ I.e., Alan Qo'a; see above, §§ 18-22.

² *Qodoli*, i.e. an arrow with a round, blunt head. See the Commentary.

and said, 'Just when we cannot put up with the outrage of our Tayiči'ut kinsmen and ask ourselves who shall be able to take *vengeance* on them, why do you regard me as a lash in the eye, a thorn in the mouth? When

We have no friend but our shadow,
 We have no whip but our *horse's* tail,

how can you harbour such thoughts *towards me*? Anyway, do not destroy my hearth, pray do not make away with Belgütei!' So he said, and sat cross-legged, *waiting for their arrows*. Temüjin and Qasar, one from the front and one from the rear, shot at him at close range and went away.

78 When they came back and entered the tent, the noble mother understood *everything* from the looks of her two sons and said, 'You who have destroyed *life!*

From the warmth of my *womb*,
 When he broke forth fiercely,
 This one was born
 Clutching a black clot of blood.
 Like a Qasar¹ dog snapping at its own afterbirth;
 Like a panther assailing a cliff;
 Like a lion uncontrollable in its rage;
 Like a dragon-snake swallowing *its prey* alive;
 Like a gerfalcon that attacks its own shadow;
 Like a pike swallowing in silence;
 Like a camel *in rut* biting its foal's heel;
 Like a wolf *stalking its prey* under cover of a blizzard;
 Like a mandarin duck eating its chicks
 When it cannot manage them;
 Like a jackal ganging up *with its pack*
 When *one* threatens its den;
 Like a tiger never hesitant
 When seizing *its prey*;
 Like a brach attacking wildly,
 You have destroyed!

¹ I.e., Khazar.

Just when

We have no friend but our shadow,

We have no whip but our *horse's* tail,

and when, unable to put up with the outrage of our Tayiči'ut kinsmen, we ask ourselves who shall take vengeance on them, you behave [in this way] to each other, saying that you cannot live together!' Thus she spoke, and

Citing old sayings,

Quoting ancient words,

mightily reviled her sons.

79

Soon after this, Tarqutai Kiriltuq of the Tayiči'ut came at the head of his bodyguard and said,

'The *little rascals* have shed their down,

The snotty ones have grown up!'

Frightened, the mothers and the older and younger brothers barricaded themselves in the thick forest. Belgütei tore out trees and, *hauling them up together*, erected a palisade. While Qasar exchanged arrow shots, Qaçi'un, Temüge and Temülün were thrust between clefts in the cliff.

They were battling *in this fashion* when the Tayiči'ut shouted, 'Send out your elder brother Temüjin; we have no need for the rest of you!' Upon this shouting, they put Temüjin on a horse and made him escape. The Tayiči'ut saw him fleeing into the forest and went in pursuit, but *Temüjin managed* to steal into a thicket on the Tergüne Heights. The Tayiči'ut could not get in, so they kept watch round about the thicket.

80

Temüjin spent *three days and nights* in the thicket, then he said, 'I will get out.' As he moved on leading his horse *after him, his saddle worked itself loose, fell from the horse and was left behind. When he went back and looked, he saw that the saddle had loosened and remained behind even though the breast-strap was still attached and the saddle-girth was still fastened.* He said, 'The saddle-girth could of course have *loosened up*, but how could the breast-strap also

have worked itself loose? Is this a warning from Heaven?' He turned back and spent *three more days and nights there*.

When he started out again, a white rock the size of a tent fell at the opening of the thicket, blocking the opening. He said, 'Is this a warning from Heaven?' He turned back and spent three more *days and nights* there.

After having been already nine days and nights without food, he said, 'Why must I die so ignominiously? I will get out!' With his arrow-sharpening knife he cut the bushes = *so thick that* it was impossible to get out – around that white rock, the size of a tent, which had fallen and blocked the opening; he let his horse slip through and came out *of the thicket. But the Tayiči'ut were keeping watch; as soon as he emerged* they seized him and took him away.

81

After having taken Temüjin away, Tarqutai Kiriltuq gave the order to his people that he should spend one night in each *ayil*¹ in rotation. As this was happening, on the sixteenth of the first month of summer, the day of the Red Circle,² the Tayiči'ut held a feast on the bank of the Onan. At sunset they dispersed. Temüjin had been brought to this feast by³ a weak young man. After the people at the feast had dispersed, *Temüjin pulled the leash of his cangue*⁴ away from that *weakling*, hit him once on the head and ran away. Then, telling himself that if he lay down in the forest by the Onan he would be seen, he reclined on his back in the water's stream and, letting his cangue float with the current, he lay with *only* his face clear.

82

When the man who had let him escape called out in a loud voice, 'I let the prisoner escape!', the scattered Tayiči'ut gathered together again. In the moonlight, *which was as bright as daylight*, they searched the forest by the Onan.

¹ *Ayil*: a group of tents belonging to one family.

² I.e., 'of the full moon.'

³ I.e., 'in the charge of.'

⁴ *Buqa'u*: a heavy wooden board worn round the neck by prisoners.

Sorqan Šira of the Sulduş happened to pass by and he saw *Temüjin* lying in the stream. He said to him, 'It is just because you are so clever, and because

There is fire in your eyes,

There is light in your face,

that your *Tayiči'ut* kinsmen are so jealous. Lie just so; I shall not tell them.' And with these words he went off.

When *the Tayiči'ut* said, 'Let's go back and search once more!', Sorqan Šira said, 'Let's go back each on his own way and search, looking at the places which we have not yet looked at.' They agreed and made a search going back by the very same way.

As Sorqan Šira again passed by him, he said, 'Your kinsmen are approaching, sharpening their teeth.¹ Lie just so and be careful!' And with these words he went off.

83 When *the Tayiči'ut* said, 'Let's go back and search once more', Sorqan Šira again spoke and said, 'Tayiči'ut princes, you have lost a whole man in a shining and bright day; how shall we find him now in the dark night? Let's go back each by his own way and search once more, looking at the places which we have not yet looked at, then let us disperse. Tomorrow we shall *reassemble* and look for him *again*. Where could that man go, with a cangue?' They agreed and went back searching.

As Sorqan Šira again passed by *Temüjin*, he said to him, 'We decided that we will go home after this search and look for you tomorrow. Now wait until we have completely dispersed, then go and look for your mother and younger brothers. If someone sees you, don't tell him you were seen and reveal that it was I who saw you!' And with these

84 *Temüjin* waited until they had completely dispersed, then he thought to himself, 'The other day, when I was

made to spend the night *in each ayıl* in rotation, I spent one night in the tent of Sorqan Šira. His two sons, Čimbai and Čila'un, felt in their hearts very sorry for me, and seeing me at night they took my cangue, relieved me of it and enabled me to spend the night *resting*. Again now, when Sorqan Šira saw me, he passed by without telling *anyone*. Now those same *people* will surely save me.' So saying he went downstream along the Onan River looking for the tent of Sorqan Šira.

85 The sign by which one recognized the tent was that, after pouring out *mare's* milk, they used to churn their *kumis* all through the night until daybreak. As he went, listening for this sign, *Temüjin* heard the sound of the churner and arrived there. When he entered the tent, Sorqan Šira said, 'Didn't I tell you to go and look for your mother and younger brothers? Why did you come here?' But his two sons Čimbai and Čila'un said, 'When a sparrow-hawk causes a sparrow to take shelter into a bush, the bush saves *its* life. How can you speak to him in this way, now that he has come to us?' And, displeased at their father's words, they smashed open *Temüjin's* cangue, burnt it in the fire and put him into a cart loaded with wool which was *standing* behind *the tent*. They entrusted him to the care of their younger sister called Qada'an, who was told not to say *a word* to a living person.

86 On the third day *the Tayiči'ut* said to each other that someone had probably hidden him. They said, 'Let us hold a search among ourselves', and *began* searching one another. They searched Sorqan Šira's tent, his carts, *even* under the beds. They climbed onto the cart loaded with wool which was *standing* behind *the tent* and pulled out the wool near the *front* opening. They were reaching the back *of the cart* when Sorqan Šira said, 'Anyway, in such heat, how could one stand it amidst the wool?' The searchers then stepped down and went away.

¹ Lit., 'sharpening their mouths and teeth.'

87 After the searchers had left, Sorqan Šira said, 'You nearly had me blown to *the winds* like *hearth-ashes*.'¹ Now go, look for your mother and younger brothers!' He set *Temüjin* on a tawny barren mare with a white mouth, cooked him a lamb fattened on the milk of two ewes and provided him with a small and a large leather bucket containing *mare's milk*. He did not give him either saddle or steel for striking fire, but gave him a bow and two arrows. Having thus provided for him, he sent him *on his way*.²

88 So *Temüjin* set out and reached the place where they had *earlier* built the palisade and barricaded themselves. Following some tracks in the grass upstream along the Onan River – the Kimurqa Stream flowing into it from the west – he followed the tracks up along *this stream* and came upon *his own people* who were staying at the time at the Qorčuqui Hill of the Beder Promontory by the Kimurqa Stream.

89 Once they were reunited *there*, they left and set up camp at Kōkō Na'ur³ of *Mount Qara Jirügen*⁴ by the Senggür Stream, in the Gürelgü *Mountains* south of Burqan Qaldun. Here they stayed, killing marmots and field-mice for food.

90 One day *some* robbers came and stole the eight horses, the light-bay geldings, that were standing by the tent and made off with them before their very eyes. *Temüjin and his brothers* sighted *the robbers*, but being on foot fell behind.

Belgütei was then away marmot-hunting on⁵ a short-tailed, short-haired chestnut horse. He arrived on foot in the evening after *sunset*, leading *behind* him the short-tailed, short-haired chestnut horse, *which was so laden down with marmots* that it staggered. When he was told that robbers

¹ I.e., 'You nearly caused my ruin and that of my family.'

² For Tarqutai's own version of *Temüjin's* kidnapping, cf. below, § 149.

³ I.e., 'Blue Lake.'

⁴ I.e., 'Black Heart.'

⁵ Lit., 'riding.'

had stolen the light-bay geldings, Belgütei said, 'I will go after them!' Qasar said, 'You cannot cope with them, I will go after *them*!' *Temüjin* said, 'Neither of you can cope with them, I will go after them!' *Temüjin* got on the short-haired chestnut horse and went off in pursuit of the light-bay geldings, following the tracks *left* in the grass.

He spent three *days and* nights *tracking*, and in the early morning *of the fourth day* he met on the way a brisk lad milking mares in a large herd *of horses*. When *Temüjin* inquired about the light-bay geldings, the lad said, 'This morning, before sunrise, eight horses – light-bay geldings – were driven past here. I will show you their trail.' He made *Temüjin* leave the short-haired chestnut horse there, set him on a white horse with a black back,¹ and he himself rode a fast dun mare. And *without even* going to his tent, he put down his leather bucket and pail, concealing them in the grass.

'Friend', he said, 'you came to me being in great trouble, but men's troubles are the same *for all*. I will be your companion. My father is called Naqu Bayan.² I am his only son and my name is Bo'orču.'

They spent three *days and* nights following the trail of the light-bay geldings. Then, in the evening *of the fourth day*, just as the sun was setting on the hills, they came upon people in a circular camp. They saw the eight horses, the light-bay geldings, standing at the edge of that large camp, grazing.

Temüjin said, 'Friend, you stay here. As for me – the light-bay geldings are *those there* – I will go and drive them off!' Bo'orču said, 'I came with you as your companion. How can I stay *here*?' They raced in together and drove the light-bay geldings off.

¹ Lit., 'with a black stripe along the backbone.'

² I.e., 'Naqu the Rich.'

91 The men came after them in separate groups and *began* to pursue them. Away from the rest, one man on a white horse and holding a pole-lasso drew closer and caught up with them. Bo'orču said, 'Friend, give me the bow and arrows. I'll trade shots with him!' Temüjin said, 'I am afraid you'll come to harm because of me. I'll trade shots with him!' He swung around and they began to shoot arrows at each other. The man on the white horse stood up, aiming at him with his pole-lasso. His companions, who had *fallen* behind, caught up with him, but the sun sank, dusk came down and those men behind, overtaken by darkness, halted and were left behind *altogether*.

92 They rode all that night and then rode for three *more* days and nights before they reached *their destination*. Temüjin said, 'Friend, would I ever have got these horses of mine *back* without you? Let's share them. How many do you say you'll take?' Bo'orču said, 'I became your companion because you, a good friend, were in trouble and approached me, and I wished to be of help to a good friend. Am I *now* to take *the horses* as booty? My father is called Naqu Bayan. I am the only son of Naqu Bayan. The property of my father is ample for me. I won't take *the horses*. What sort of help would my help be? I won't take them.'

93 They arrived at the tent of Naqu Bayan. Naqu Bayan was all in tears for the loss of his son Bo'orču. When they suddenly arrived and he saw his son, he began both to wail and to scold. His son Bo'orču said, 'What is the matter? A good friend came to me in trouble, I became his companion and went with him. Now I have come *back*.' With this he rode off to fetch his leather bucket and pail which he had concealed in the grass. They killed a lamb fattened on the milk of two ewes and gave it to Temüjin as provision for the road; they also prepared a leather bucket *containing mare's milk* which they loaded on the horse. *In this way*, they provided for his journey. Then Naqu Bayan said, 'You two

young men *keep* seeing each other, never abandon each other!'

Temüjin left, and after travelling three days and three nights arrived at his tent on the Senggür Stream. Mother Hö'elün, Qasar and his younger brothers were worrying about him, but when they saw him they rejoiced.

94 Thereupon, Temüjin left with Belgütei downstream along the Kelüren River to look for Lady Börte, *the daughter* of Dei Sečen, from whom he had been separated since he had visited her at the age of nine.

Dei Sečen, the Onggirat, lived between *Mount Čekčer* and *Mount Čiqurqu*. When Dei Sečen saw Temüjin he was very glad. He said, 'I knew that your Tayiči'ut kinsmen were jealous of you, and I worried and despaired; and now at last I see you!' So saying he had him and Lady Börte united *as man and wife*, and then accompanied her *to her new home*.

Dei Sečen accompanied her and, as they approached *their destination* and were still on the way, he turned back at the Uraq Čöl Bend¹ of the Kelüren. His wife, the mother of Lady Börte, was called Čotan. Čotan escorted her daughter and took her to *Temüjin's home*, which at that time was on the Senggür Stream in the Gürelgü Mountains.

95 After *Temüjin* had sent Čotan home, he sent Belgütei to invite Bo'orču to join him as his companion. Bo'orču after receiving Belgütei did not say a word to his father, but

He jumped on his chestnut horse with the arched back,

He tucked his grey woollen cloak behind him and came with Belgütei. This is how they became *firm* companions after first *having* joined in friendship.

96 From the Senggür Stream they moved on and set up camp on the Bürgi Escarpment at the source of the Kelüren River.

¹ Lit., 'Corner', i.e. the dry ground or plain in the winding of a river. See the Commentary.

Čotan had brought a black sable coat as a wedding present for *Temüjin's* mother. *Temüjin*, *Qasar* and *Belgütei* took away that coat. In earlier days, *Ong Qan* of the *Kereyit* tribe and their father *Yisügei Qan* had declared themselves sworn friends.¹ *Temüjin* said, 'As he and my father have declared themselves sworn friends, *Ong Qan* is indeed like a father to me.'

Knowing that *Ong Qan* was staying in the Black Forest by the *Tu'ula River*, he went there. When he came to *Ong Qan*, *Temüjin* said, 'Since in earlier days you and my father declared yourselves sworn friends you are, indeed, like a father to me.² I took a wife, and I have brought the wedding gift to you.' Thereupon, he gave him the black sable coat. *Ong Qan* was very pleased. He said,

'In return for the black sable coat,
I shall bring together for you
Your divided people;
In return for the sable coat,
I shall unite for you
Your scattered people. *Just as*
The place of the kidneys must be in the back,
That of good faith must be in the breast!'

97 From there they returned home. While they were living on the *Bürgi Escarpment*, from *Burqan Qaldun* came *Old Jarči'udai*, a man of the *Uriangqai* tribe, carrying his *smith's* bellows on his back and leading his son called *Ĵelme*. *Jarči'udai* said, 'When you *people* were at *Deli'ün Boldaq* on the *Onan River* and you *Temüjin* were born, I gave you sable swaddling-clothes as a gift. I also gave you this son of mine *Ĵelme*, but since he was still small I took him back. Now let *Ĵelme*

Put on your saddle,
Open your door.'

¹ *Anda*. See the Commentary.

² See below, § 150.

So he spoke and handed him over to *Temüjin*.

98 They had set up camp on the *Bürgi Escarpment* at the source of the *Kelüren River*, when early one morning – the light was yellowish as day began to dawn – *Old Qo'aqčın*, who was serving in the tent of *Mother Hö'elün*, got up and said, 'Mother, mother, rise up quickly! The earth is shaking and one can hear the sound of trampling hoofs: will they be the dreadful *Taiči'ut* approaching? Mother, rise up quickly!'

99 Mother *Hö'elün* said, 'Quickly wake the sons!' Mother *Hö'elün* also rose in haste. *Temüjin* and the other sons rose in haste too. They grabbed their horses. *Temüjin* rode one horse, *Mother Hö'elün* rode one horse, *Qasar* rode one horse, *Qači'un* rode one horse, *Temüge Otčigin* rode one horse, *Belgütei* rode one horse, *Bo'orču* rode one horse, *Ĵelme* rode one horse. *Mother Hö'elün* put *Temülün* in front of her on the horse. One horse was harnessed as a spare horse. There was no horse left for *Lady Börte*.

100 While it was still early *Temüjin* and his brothers set out in the direction of *Mount Burqan*. *Old Qo'aqčın*, in order to hide *Lady Börte*,

Put her into a ragged black covered cart,
Harnessed to it an ox with dappled loins,

and moved upstream along the *Tenggelik¹ Stream*. As she was proceeding in the dim light – the day was breaking – some soldiers came riding at a trot towards her. They surrounded her and went up to her, and asked her who she was. *Old Qo'aqčın* said, 'I belong to *Temüjin*. I came to shear sheep at the big tent and now I am returning to my tent.' On this, they said, 'Is *Temüjin* at home? How far is his tent from here?' *Old Qo'aqčın* said, 'The tent – it is nearby; but whether *Temüjin* is there or not I did not notice. I arose and left from the back.'

¹ = *Tüנגgelik*.

101 The soldiers then trotted off. Old Qo'aqčïn struck the ox with the speckled loins so that they would move along faster, but the axletree of the cart broke in two. As the axletree was broken, they¹ decided to flee into the forest on foot, but at that very moment the same soldiers came trotting up. Forced to sit on one of the horses behind the rider was the mother of Belgütei, both feet dangling *in the air*. 'What are you carrying in this cart?', they said. Old Qo'aqčïn said, 'I am carrying wool.' The elders of the soldiers said to their younger brothers and sons, 'Dismount and have a look!' The younger brothers and sons dismounted and, having taken off the door of the closed cart, sure enough *they found* a lady sitting inside. They dragged her out of the cart and made her come down; then, making both her and Qo'aqčïn ride behind, they took them away. Following the tracks left in the grass they went after Temüjin in the direction of *Mount Burqan*.

102 In pursuit of Temüjin they circled Burqan Qaldun three times² but could not catch him. They made detours this way and that – the swallowing quagmires and the tangled woods made so impenetrable a forest that a gluttoned snake could not creep in – and although they were on his heels they were unable to catch him.

The Three Merkit were Toqto'a of the Uduyit Merkit, Dayir Usun of the U'as Merkit and Qa'atai Darmala of the Qa'at Merkit. Now these Three Merkit had come to take their revenge because Mother Hö'elün had formerly been abducted from Čiledü.³ The Merkit said to each other, 'We have now seized their women to take our revenge for Hö'elün! We have had our revenge!' So saying they descended from Burqan Qaldun and returned to their homes.

¹ I.e., Old Qo'aqčïn and Lady Börte.

² See the Commentary for this hyperbole.

³ See above, §§ 54-56.

103 Temüjin said to himself, 'Have these Three Merkit really returned home, or are they lying in ambush?' He sent Belgütei, Bo'orču and Jelme after the Three Merkit to spy on them for three days and nights, and having *thus made sure that* the Merkit had gone a long way off, Temüjin came down from *Mount Burqan* and, beating his breast, said, 'Because Mother Qo'aqčïn's

Hearing is *as keen as* a weasel's,
Her sight *as sharp as* an ermine's,
I escaped with my own body *whole*.
I climbed the Burqan
On a horse hobbled with the halter strap,
Following deer tracks;
A shelter of elm twigs
I made my home.
Thanks to Burqan Qaldun
I escaped with my life, a louse's *life*.
Fearing for my life, my only *life*,
I climbed the Qaldun
On *one* horse, following elk tracks;
A shelter of broken willow twigs
I made my home.
Thanks to Qaldun Burqan¹
My life, a grasshopper's *life*,
Was indeed shielded!

But I was greatly frightened. Every morning I will sacrifice to Burqan Qaldun, everyday I will pray to it: the offspring of my offspring shall be mindful *of this and do likewise!*' He spoke and facing the sun, hung his belt around his neck, put his hat over his hand, beat his breast with his fist, and nine times kneeling down towards the sun, he offered a libation and a prayer.

¹ = Burqan Qaldun.

THE SECRET HISTORY OF THE MONGOLS

CHAPTER THREE

104 Having thus spoken, Temüjin, with Qasar and Belgütei, went to To'oril Ong Qan of the Kereyit who was then staying in the Black Forest by the Tu'ula River. *Temüjin* said to him, 'The Three Merkit came, taking us by surprise; they seized my wife and carried her off. We have come *now* to ask you, O Qan my father, to rescue my wife and return her to me.'

To these words To'oril Ong Qan replied, 'Did I not speak with you last year? When you brought me the sable coat, you said, "Since in my father's time you *two* declared yourselves sworn friends, you are, indeed, like a father to me." When you put *the coat* on me, there and then I said,

"In return for the sable coat,
I shall unite for you
Your scattered people;
In return for the black sable coat,
I shall bring together for you
Your divided people. Let
The place of good faith be in the heart, *just as*
That of the kidneys must be in the back!"¹

Did I not say *this*? I shall now fulfil that promise and
In return for the sable coat,
Even to the complete destruction of the Merkit,
I shall rescue for you your Lady Börte.
In return for the black sable coat,
We shall crush all the Merkit,
We shall cause your wife Börte to return,
Bringing her back to you!

Send a message to younger brother *Ĵamuqa* who must now be in the *Qorqonaq Valley*. I shall set forth from here with two units of ten thousand¹ and form the right wing *of the army*. Younger brother *Ĵamuqa* should set forth with two units of ten thousand to form the left wing. Let *Ĵamuqa* decide on the time and place of our meeting!'

105 When Temüjin, Qasar and Belgütei came back from To'oril Qan's *camp* and arrived at their tent, Temüjin sent both Qasar and Belgütei to *Ĵamuqa* saying, 'Give my sworn friend *Ĵamuqa* this message: "When the Three Merkit came,

My bed was made empty.

You and I,

Are we not from one family?

How shall we take our revenge?

My breast is torn apart.

You and I,

Are we not of kindred blood?²

How shall we avenge this injury?"

He sent this message and these were the words he had them convey to his sworn friend *Ĵamuqa*. He also told them to report to *Ĵamuqa* the words spoken by To'oril Qan of the Kereyit: 'Remembering the help and good things done to me in former days by his father *Yisügei Qan*, I shall stand by *Temüjin*. I shall set forth with two units of ten thousand and I shall form the right wing. Send a message to younger brother *Ĵamuqa* that he should set forth with two units of ten thousand. As to the time and place of our meeting and joining *forces*, let younger brother *Ĵamuqa* decide!' After they had finished *delivering* this message, *Ĵamuqa* said, 'To know that my sworn friend Temüjin's

Bed has become empty,

Brought pain to my heart.

To know that his

¹ *Tümet*. See the Commentary.

² Lit., 'liver', i.e. close relatives.

¹ See above, § 96.

Breast was torn apart,
 Brought pain to my liver.
 Taking our revenge,
 Wiping out the Uduyit and U'as Merkit,
 We shall rescue our Lady Börte!
 Taking our vengeance,
 Crushing all the Qa'at Merkit,
 We shall rescue your¹ wife Börte,
 Causing her to return!

Now,

That Toqto'a, who takes fright
 When one strikes the saddle-flaps, for
 He takes it for the sound of the drum,
 He must be in the Bu'ura Steppe.²
 Dayir Usun, who on hearing
 The rattle of a loose quiver
 Deserts his own companions,
 He must now be at Talqun Aral,³
 Between the Orqon and the Selengge.
 Qa'atai Darmala, who when the saltwort
 Is carried by the wind,
 Quickly flees into a dark forest,
 He must now be in the Qaraji Steppe.

Now, by the shortest way

We shall cross the river Kilqo –
 May the sedge be in good growth!
 We shall bind our rafts with it,
 We shall enter their land.
 Descending on the smoke-hole
 Of that coward Toqto'a's tent,
 Its proud frame⁴ we shall smite,

¹ Lit., 'our.'

² I.e., 'He-Camel Steppe (or Plain).'

³ Lit., 'Talqun Island' – but here a peninsula. Cf. above, § 24, n. 4.

⁴ See the Commentary.

So it collapses;
 We shall kill his wives and children
 To the last one.
 Of his door the sacred frame,¹
 We shall smite so it shatters;
 We shall utterly destroy his people
 Till nothing will be left.²

106

Further, Jamuqa said, 'Speak to my sworn friend
 Temüjin and elder brother To'oril Qan, and say to them *on*
my behalf, "As for me,

I have consecrated² my standard
 Which is visible from afar;
 I have beaten my bellowing drum
 Covered with the hide of a black bull;
 I have mounted my swift black horse;
 I have put on my armour³
 And grasped my steel spear;
 I have placed on the bowstring my arrow with its nock
 Of wild peach bark.
I am ready, let us start
 And give battle to the Qa'at Merkit!"

Then say to them,

"My long⁴ standard, visible from afar,
 I have consecrated;⁵
 I have beaten my deep-sounding drum
 Covered with ox-hide;
 I have mounted my swift horse,
 The one with a black stripe along the backbone;⁶
 I have put on my leather-strapped breastplate,

¹ See the Commentary.

² Lit., 'sprinkled.'

³ Lit., 'my steel-hard dress.'

⁴ Because of the long streamers made of yak tails.

⁵ Lit., 'sprinkled.'

⁶ Cf. above. §§ 24, 25 and 90.

And grasped my hilted sword;
I have placed on the bowstring my nocked arrow.
I am ready, let us fight to the death
Against the Uduyit Merkit!"

Then say to them, "After elder brother To'oril Qan has set out and, passing by my sworn friend Temüjin on the southern side of Burqan Qaldun, comes *jointly with him*, we shall meet at Botoqan Bo'orji at the source of the Onan River. When I set out from here, upstream along the Onan River where¹ my sworn friend's people are – with one unit of ten thousand *taken* from his people² and I with one³ from here making two units of ten thousand – going up along the Onan River we shall join forces at the appointed meeting place in Botoqan Bo'orji." And he sent them off with this message.

107 Qasar and Belgütei came and reported these words of Ĵamuqa to Temüjin, who had them conveyed to To'oril Qan.

Upon receiving Ĵamuqa's message, To'oril Qan took the field, two units of ten thousand *altogether*. When To'oril Qan set out, as he was approaching in the direction of the Bürgi Escarpment of the Kelüren on the southern side of Burqan Qaldun, Temüjin, who was *then* on the Bürgi Escarpment *and therefore on To'oril's* path, made way for him and, moving upstream along the Tünggelik, set up camp on the Tana Stream⁴ on the southern side of Burqan Qaldun. Temüjin then advanced from there with his troops. When To'oril Qan with one unit of ten thousand and To'oril Qan's younger brother Ĵaqa Gambu with one unit of ten thousand – two units of ten thousand *in all* – halted at Ayil Qaraqana on the Kimurqa Stream, *Temüjin* joined them and set up camp there.

¹ Lit., 'here.'

² Lit., 'from the sworn friend's people.'

³ Lit., 'one unit of ten thousand.'

⁴ I.e., 'Big Pearl Stream.'

108

Temüjin, To'oril Qan and Ĵaqa Gambu came together and started off from there. When they arrived at Botoqan Bo'orji at the source of the Onan River, Ĵamuqa had *already* reached the meeting place three days before.

Ĵamuqa, seeing the troops of Temüjin, To'oril and Ĵaqa Gambu, took up position, ranging his two units of ten thousand troops *in battle order*. They – Temüjin, To'oril Qan and Ĵaqa Gambu – likewise ranged their troops *in battle order*. As soon as they came face to face and recognized each other, Ĵamuqa said, 'Did we not agree that we won't be late

At the appointed meeting,
Even if there be a blizzard;
At the gathering,
Even if there be rain?

Are we not Mongols, for whom a "yes" is *the same* as being bound by an oath? We did agree that

We shall reject from our ranks
Whoever is remiss in his "yes."

To the words of Ĵamuqa, To'oril Qan said, 'As we are three days late at the meeting place, it is up to younger brother Ĵamuqa to punish and lay blame!' In this way they exchanged words of reproach about the meeting.

109

Starting from Botoqan Bo'orjin they arrived at the river Kilqo. They made rafts and crossed it. In the Bu'ura Steppe,

Descending on the smoke-hole
Of Toqto'a Beki's tent,
Of his tent the proud frame
They did smite so it collapsed;
They plundered his wives and children
To the last one.
Of his door the sacred frame
They did smite so it shattered;

They utterly plundered his people
Till nothing *more* was left.¹

While Toqto'a Beki was asleep,² some fishermen, sable catchers and wild animal hunters who happened to be by the river Kilqo, left it and, travelling all through the night, brought the news of *the allies' approach* saying, 'The enemies are coming, pushing forward at full speed.' When they received this news, Toqto'a and Dayir Usun of the U'as Merkit joined together, went downstream along the Selengge and entered the Barqujin territory. Few in number and dispossessed of all but their bodies, they escaped by taking flight.³

110 At night the Merkit people fled in disarray down the Selengge River, but even in the night our troops were pressing hard after the hastily fleeing Merkit. As the pillaging and plundering went on, Temüjin moved among the people that were hurriedly escaping, calling, 'Börte, Börte!' And so he came upon her, for Lady Börte was among those fleeing people. She heard the voice of Temüjin and, recognizing it, she got off the cart and came running towards him. Although it was still night, Lady Börte and Qo'aqčın both recognized Temüjin's reins and tether and grabbed them. It was moonlight; he looked at them, recognized Lady Börte, and they fell into each other's arms. After this, that very night Temüjin sent a message to To'oril Qan and to sworn friend Jamuqa saying, 'I have found what I was looking for. Let us not travel all night; let us camp here!' He had this message delivered to them. As for the Merkit people who had been fleeing in disarray at night, while still scattering and on the run, they too stopped and spent the night right there.⁴

¹ See above, § 105.

² Lit., 'lying down.'

³ I.e., they barely escaped with their lives.

⁴ I.e., where they happened to be.

This is how Lady Börte was rescued from the Merkit tribe, and how she was reunited with *Temüjin*.

111 At the very beginning, Toqto'a Beki of the Uduyit Merkit, Dayir Usun of the U'as Merkit and Qa'atai Darmala of the *Qa'at Merkit*, those three Merkit with three hundred men, said, 'In former days Mother Hö'elün was abducted by Yisügei Ba'atur from Yeke Čiledü, the younger brother of Toqto'a Beki', and they set out to take revenge for that. It was at the time when Temüjin circled Burqan Qaldun three times that they captured Lady Börte.¹ They entrusted her to Čilger Bökö, the younger brother of Čiledü. As Čilger Bökö had been looking after her ever since, when he fled, deserting his own companions, he said,

'To feed on scraps of skin
Is the black crow's lot – yet
It was goose and crane
It aspired to eat.
I, brutal and base Čilger, who laid my hand
On the noble lady,
I have brought disaster
On all the Merkit.
Lowly, base Čilger,
I have come to the point
That I shall lose my black head.
To save my *one and* only life,
I wish to creep into dark gorges.
Who will act as a shield for me?
To feed on rats and mice
Is the buzzard's, that vile bird's lot – yet
It was swan and crane
It aspired to eat.
I, thieving and base Čilger, who took away
The favoured and fortunate lady,
I have brought disaster upon

¹ See above, §§ 54-56 and 100-102.

The whole of the Merkit.
Boastful, base Cilger,
I have come to the point
That I shall lose my shrivelled head.
To save my life, worth but a sheep's dropping,
I wish to creep into dreadful, dark gorges.
Who will be a shelter for my life
Which is worth but a sheep's dropping?'

Thus he spoke, and escaped, deserting his own companions.
112 They seized Qa'atai Darmala and brought him back,
They forced him to wear a cangue made of
a wooden board,

They took him straight to Qaldun Burqan.¹

Someone informed them that Belgütei's mother was
'in that ayil² over there.' Belgütei went there to fetch his
mother, but when he entered her tent by the right-hand door,
his mother, in a ragged sheepskin coat, went out by the left-
hand door. Outside she said to someone else, 'I am told that
my sons have become qans, but here I have been joined with
a base man. How can I now look my sons in the face?' So
she spoke and ran off, slipping away into a dense wood.
Belgütei Noyan immediately searched for her, but could not
find her. He then shot knob-headed arrows³ at any man of
Merkit stock, saying, 'Bring me my mother!' The three
hundred Merkit who had once circled Mount Burqan

Were exterminated, down to
The offspring of their offspring:
They were blown to the winds like hearth-ashes.⁴
Their remaining wives,
Those suitable to be embraced,⁵

¹ = Burqan Qaldun. Cf. above, § 103.

² See above, § 81, n. 1.

³ See above, § 77.

⁴ Cf. above, § 87.

⁵ I.e., to be taken as concubines.

Were embraced;
Those suitable to be let into the tent
Through the door and serve as slaves
Were let in through the door.

113 Temüjin, speaking gratefully to To'oril Qan and Jamu-
qa, said 'Being taken as a companion by my father the Qan
and sworn friend Jamuqa, and with my strength increased by
Heaven and Earth,

Called by Mighty Heaven,
Carried through by Mother Earth,
We emptied the breasts of the Merkit people
Who take their revenge as a man does,
And we tore their livers to pieces.
We emptied their beds¹
And we exterminated their relatives;
The women of theirs who remained
We surely took captive!

Thus we destroyed the Merkit people: let us now withdraw!

114 At the time when the Uduyt Merkit were fleeing in
haste, our soldiers found a little boy of five with fire in his
eyes who had been left behind in the camp and whose name
was Küçü. He had a sable cap, boots made from the skin of
a doe's forelegs, and a dress of otter skins cleared of hair
and sewn together. They took him and brought him to
Mother Hö'elün, and gave him to her as a present.

115 When Temüjin, To'oril Qan and Jamuqa, after joining
their forces

Had smashed the lock-carts,
Had captured the splendid women

of the Merkit, they withdrew from Talqun Aral, between the
Orqan² and Selengge rivers. Temüjin with Jamuqa, with-
drawing jointly, went in the direction of the Qorqonaq
Valley. On his way back, To'oril Qan passed by the

¹ I.e., of their wives.

² = Orqon (~ Orqan).

Hökörtü Valley on the northern side of Burqan Qaldun; *then* passing by Qača'uratu Subčit and Huliyatu Subčit,¹ where he hunted wild game, he withdrew in the direction of the Black Forest by the Tu'ula River.

116 Temüjin and Ĵamuqa got together and set up camp in the Qorqonaq Valley. Remembering how earlier on they became sworn friends, they said, 'Let us renew our mutual *pledge* of friendship, let us *now* love each other *again!*'

Earlier, when they had first become sworn friends, Temüjin was eleven years old. Ĵamuqa had given Temüjin a roebuck knucklebone, Temüjin *in return* had given him a copper knucklebone, *and so* they had become sworn friends. Having declared themselves sworn friends, they had played knucklebones together on the ice of the Onan River. There they had declared each other friends by oath *for the first time*.²

After that, in the spring, as they *practised* shooting with their firwood bows, Ĵamuqa *split and* stuck together the two horns of a two-year-old calf, bored holes in them, and gave *this* whistling arrowhead of his to Temüjin. In exchange Temüjin gave him a knob-headed arrow with a tip of juniper wood, and they became sworn friends *once more*.

This is how they declared themselves friends by oath for the second time.

117 They said to each other, 'Listening to the pronouncement of the old men of former ages which says:

"Sworn friends – *the two of them*

Share but a single life;

They do not abandon one another;

They are each a life's safeguard for the other."

We learn that such is the rule by which sworn friends love each other. Now, renewing once more our oath of friendship, we shall love each other.'

¹ I.e., 'The Pass with Spruces' and 'The Pass with Aspens.'

² This is the first mention of their former oath of friendship.

Temüjin girdled his sworn friend Ĵamuqa with the golden belt taken as loot from Toqto'a of the Merkit. He *also* gave sworn friend Ĵamuqa for a mount Toqto'a's yellowish white *mare* with a black tail and mane, *a mare* that had not foaled for several years. Ĵamuqa girdled his sworn friend Temüjin with the golden belt taken as loot from Dayir Usun of the U'as Merkit, and he gave Temüjin for a mount the kid-white *horse* with a horn,¹ also of Dayir Usun. At the Leafy Tree on the southern side of the Quldaqar Cliff in the Qorqonaq Valley they declared themselves sworn friends and loved each other; they enjoyed themselves revelling and feasting, and at night they slept together, *the two of them* alone under their blanket.

118 Temüjin and Ĵamuqa loved each other one year and half of the second year. *Then* one day they decided to move on from their present encampment. They broke camp and set out on the sixteenth of the first month of summer, the day of the Red Circle.²

Temüjin and Ĵamuqa went together in front of the carts, and as they proceeded Ĵamuqa said, 'Sworn friend, sworn friend Temüjin,

Let us camp near the mountain:

There will be enough shelter

For our horse-herders!

Let us camp near the river:

There will be enough food³

For our shepherds and lamb-herds!'

Temüjin could not understand these words of Ĵamuqa and remained silent. Falling behind, he waited for the carts in the middle of the moving camp – for it was a moving camp – *then* Temüjin said to Mother Hö'elün, 'Sworn friend Ĵamuqa said,

¹ I.e., an excrescence or callosity on its forehead in the shape of a horn.

² I.e., 'of the full moon.' Cf. above, § 81.

³ Lit., 'food for the gullet.'

“Let us camp near the mountain:
 There will be enough shelter
 For our horse-herders!
 Let us camp near the river:
 There will be enough food
 For our shepherds and lamb-herds!”

I couldn't understand these words of his, so I did not give him any answer and decided to come and ask you, mother.'

Before Mother Hö'elün could utter a sound, Lady Börte said, 'Sworn friend Ĵamuqa, so they say, grows *easily* tired of his friends. Now the time has come when he has grown tired of us. The words which sworn friend Ĵamuqa has spoken just now are, therefore, words alluding to us.¹ Let us not pitch camp, but while we are on the move, let us separate completely from him and move *further* on, travelling at night!' This, then, is what she said.

119 They *all* approved of the words of Lady Börte and without pitching camp they set off, travelling at night. As they proceeded, they passed the Tayiči'ut's *encampment* along the way. The Tayiči'ut, for their part, became frightened and that same night in great confusion actually moved to Ĵamuqa's side. In the camp of the Besüt *in the midst* of the Tayiči'ut, our *people* took a little boy by name of Kōkōčū who had been left behind in the camp. *When* they came back they gave him to Mother Hö'elün. Mother Hö'elün took him under her care.

120 They travelled all that night. At daybreak they saw Qači'un Toqura'un, Qaraqai Toqura'un and Qaraldai Toqura'un, the three Toqura'un brothers of the Ĵalayir tribe, drawing near *to join them* after having travelled throughout the night together. Then Qada'an Daldurqan of the Tarqut and his brothers – five Tarqut *in all* – also drew near. Then the son of Mōnggetū Kiyan, Önggür and the others, with their Čangši'ut and Baya'ut *followers* drew near too. From

¹ I.e., 'words that conceal a scheme against us.'

the Barulas came the brothers Qubilai and Qudus. From the Mangqut came the two brothers Ĵetei and Doqolqu Čerbi. The younger brother¹ of Bo'orču, Ögölen Čerbi,² left the Arulat and also came to join his elder brother³ Bo'orču. The younger brothers⁴ of Ĵelme, Ča'urqan and Sübe'etei Ba'atur, left the Uriangqan and came to join Ĵelme. From the Besüt also came the two brothers Degei and Kūčügür. From the Sulduš also came the brothers Čilgūtei, Taki and Tayiči'u-dai. Seče Domoq of the Ĵalayir also came with his two sons Arqai Qasar and Bala. From the Qongqotan also came Söyiketü Čerbi. Sükegei Ĵe'un, the son of Ĵegei Qongdaqor of the Sükeken, also came. Čaqa'an U'a of the Ne'ūs came too. There also came Kinggiyadai of the Olqunu'ut, Seči'ür from the Qorolas, and Moči Bedü'un from the Dörben. Since Butu of the İkires had made his way here as son-in-law,⁵ he also came. From the Noyakin came also Ĵungso, and from the Oronar also came Ĵirqo'an. From the Barulas came also Suqu Sečen with his son Qaračar. Then Qorči, Old Üsün and Kōkō Čos of the Ba'arin together with their Menen Ba'arin *followers* also came as one camp.

121 When Qorči came he said, 'As we were born from the same woman captured and taken as wife by the august Bodončar,

We are from the same womb,

We are from the one womb water

as Ĵamuqa. We would not have parted from him, but a *heavenly* sign appeared before my *very* eyes, revealing *the future to me*. There came a fallow cow. She circled Ĵamuqa and struck his tent-cart with her horns; *then* she butted him

¹ Here = 'cousin.' See the Commentary.

² Also written Ögölei, Ögöle and Ögele. For the title *čerbi*, see the Commentary.

³ Here = 'cousin.'

⁴ Here = 'cousins.'

⁵ Meaning Temüjin's brother-in-law. See the Commentary.

too, breaking one of her two horns. Being *thus left* with uneven horns, "Bring me my horn!" she kept saying, bellowing repeatedly at Ĵamuqa as she stood there, *hoofing up the ground and* raising more and more dust. Then a hornless and fallow ox lifted up the great shaft under the tent, harnessed it on to himself and pulled it after him. As he proceeded following Temüjin on the wide road, he kept bellowing, "Together Heaven and Earth have agreed: Temüjin shall be lord of the people!" and "I am drawing near carrying *the people* and bringing it to him." These *heavenly* signs appeared before my eyes; they revealed *the future to me*. Temüjin, if you become lord of the people, how will you please me for *this* augury?'

Temüjin said, 'If it is indeed given to me to rule over the people *as you say*, I will make you a leader of ten thousand.'

Qorči said, 'What kind of happiness is it for me, the man who *foretold* so many great affairs, *merely* to become the leader of ten thousand? Make me a leader of ten thousand, *but in addition* allow me to take freely beautiful and fine girls from among the people, and let me have thirty as wives. And again, whatever I say, heed me closely!'

122 The Geniges, with Qunan at their head, also came as one camp. Then came Dāritai Otčigin – also one camp. From the Ĵadaran came also Mulqalqu. And the Üñjin and the Saqayit came – also one camp. When *Temüjin* had parted company in this way from Ĵamuqa and had moved further on, setting up camp at Ayil Qaraqana by the Kimurqa Stream,¹ *there came*, also separating from Ĵamuqa, the sons of Sorqatu Ĵürki of the Ĵürkin, Sača Beki and Taiču – one camp; then the son of Nekün Taiši, Qučar Beki – one camp; and the son of Qutula Qan, Altan Otčigin – one camp. These, then, left Ĵamuqa and moved on, and when Temüjin set up camp at Ayil Qaraqana by the Kimurqa Stream, they

¹ See above, § 107.

joined camp with him. From there they went on, and camped at Kōkō Na'ur of *Mount Qara Ĵirügen* by the Senggür Stream in the Gürelgü *Mountains*.¹

123 Altan, Qučar and Sača Beki, all of them having agreed among themselves, said to Temüjin, 'We shall make you *qan*. When you, Temüjin, become *qan*, we

As vanguard shall speed
 After many foes: for you
 Fine-looking maidens and ladies *of rank*,
 Palatial tents, and from foreign people
 Ladies and maidens with beautiful cheeks,
 And geldings with fine croups
 At the trot we shall bring.
 When in a battue² we hunt the cunning
 Wild beasts, for you
 We shall go ahead and round them up.
 For you we shall drive the beasts of the steppe
 Until their bellies press together;
 For you we shall drive the beasts of the steep banks
 Until their thighs press together.
 In the days of war,
 If we disobey your commands,
 Deprive us of *all* our goods and belongings, and
 Our noble wives, and cast
 Our black heads on the ground!
 In the days of peace,
 If we violate your counsel,
 Cut us off from our retainers and possessions, and
 Our wives, and cast us
 Out into the wilderness!'
 Thus they pledged their word and in
 This way they swore the oath *of loyalty*,

¹ See above, § 89.

² = a circular battue, i.e. a hunt in which the game is driven towards a central point. See the Commentary, § 115.

and made Temüjin *qan*, naming him Činggis Qa'an.

124 Having become *qa'an*, Činggis ordered the younger brother¹ of Bo'orču, Ögölei Čerbi,² to carry a quiver, Qači'un Toqura'un to carry a quiver, and the two brothers Jetei and Doqolqu Čerbi *each* to carry a quiver.

Önggür, Söyiketü Čerbi and Qada'an Daldurqan *then* spoke, saying,

'We shall not let you go without
Your morning drinks;
We shall not neglect *your* drinks
In the evening!'

And so they became stewards. *Then* Degei spoke:

'In making broth
Of a two-year-old wether,
I shall not fail in the morning,
I shall not be remiss at night.
I shall tend pied sheep,
And shall fill the bottom of the cart with them.
I shall tend brown sheep,
And shall fill the sheep-fold with them.
I was a base and greedy man: *now*
I shall tend sheep,
And tripe shall I eat!'

So Degei tended the sheep. His younger brother, Güčügür³ spoke:

'I shall not let the linchpin slip
Off a lock-cart;
I shall not let an ~~axle-cart~~ collapse
On the road.

I shall manage the tent-carts!', he said. And Dödei Čerbi said, 'I shall be in charge of the domestics and servants in the tent!'

¹ Here = 'cousin.' See above, § 120.

² The Ögölen Čerbi of § 120 above.

³ The Kūčügür of § 120 above.

Qubilai, Čilgütei and Qarqai Toqura'un together with Qasar *were ordered* to carry swords. To them Činggis Qa'an said,

'Cut the neck of the braggart,¹
Cleave the breast of the arrogant!'

And he said, 'Let Belgütei and Qaraldai Toqura'un
Be in charge of the geldings,
Be *my* equeries!'

And he said, 'Tayiči'udai, Qutu Moriči² and Mulqalqu shall tend the herds of horses!'

And he said, 'Let Arqai Qasar, Taqai, Sükegei and Ča'urqan
Be my far-flying shafts,
Be my near-flying arrows!'³

Sübe'etei Ba'adur spoke:

'I shall be a rat,
And with the others
I shall hoard up *goods for you*;
I shall be a black crow,
And with the others
I shall gather *for you*
All that is *found* outside;
I shall be a felt covering,
And with the others
I shall try to make a *cover for you*;
I shall be a felt windbreak,
And with the others
I shall try to shelter you
From the wind on *your* tent!'

125

Thereupon, when Činggis Qa'an became *qan*, he said to Bo'orču and Jelme, 'You two,
When I had no friend but my shadow,
Became my shadows; and truly

¹ Plural in the text.

² I.e., 'Qutu the Horse-herder.'

³ A simile for trusted envoys.

Brought peace to my mind.
In my mind you shall dwell!

And he said,

'When I had no whip
But my horse's tail, you
Became my horse's tail; and truly
Brought peace to my heart.
In my breast you shall dwell!'

So he spoke, saying to them, 'You two, who stood by me from the beginning, will you not be at the head of all these here?'

Further, Činggis Qa'an said, 'When Heaven and Earth increased my strength and took me into their protection, you, the senior ones, who for my sake came over from sworn friend Ĵamuqa wishing to become companions, will you not be my lucky companions? I have appointed each of you to your respective office.'

126 He sent Daqai¹ and Sügegei² as envoys to To'oril Qan of the Kereyit with the message that Činggis Qa'an had been made *qan*. To'oril Qan sent them back with the following message: 'To make my son Temüjin *qan* is indeed right. How can the Mongols be without a *qan*? In future

Do not break this, your agreement,
Do not dissolve your bond,
Do not tear off your collar!'³

¹ The *Taki* of § 120 and *Taqai* of § 124 et passim.

² The *Sükegei* (*Je'ün*) of §§ 120 and 124 above.

³ I.e., 'Do not reject your leader.' Cf. above, § 33.

THE SECRET HISTORY OF THE MONGOLS

CHAPTER FOUR

127 Činggis Qa'an sent Arqai Qasar and Ča'urqan as envoys to Ĵamuqa. Ĵamuqa said, 'Give this message to Altan and Qučar: "Why did you, Altan and Qučar, cause a split between sworn friend Temüjin and myself,¹ by

Poking in the flanks,
Pricking the ribs

of the sworn friend?² Why did you not make sworn friend Temüjin *qan* when we were still together – without causing the sworn friend and me¹ to fall apart? Just what did you have in mind now, when you made him *qan*? You, Altan and Qučar, keep to the words you have spoken, put the sworn friend's mind at ease, be the good companions of my sworn friend!"' He sent them back with this message.

128 After that, when Taičar, a younger kinsman³ of Ĵamuqa, stayed at Ölegei Spring⁴ on the southern side of Mount Ĵalama, he went to steal the herd of horses of our Joči Darmala, who was staying in the Sa'ari Steppe.⁵

Taičar stole Joči Darmala's herd of horses and took them away. The same Joči Darmala, thus robbed of his herd, went alone in pursuit, his companions lacking the courage to go with him.

That night he arrived at the fringe of his herd. He approached crouching over the mane of his horse, shot and

¹ Lit., 'us.'

² I.e., with stinging and malicious words. For Altan and Qučar's role, see above, § 123.

³ Lit., 'younger brother.' See the Commentary, §§ 68 and 74.

⁴ Lit., 'Cradle Spring.'

⁵ I.e., 'Rump(-like) Steppe (or Plain).'

killed Taičar *with an arrow* that split apart his spine, then took his horses and returned.

129 Because his younger kinsman Taičar had been killed, Ĵamuqa, at the head of the Ĵadaran, and his allies making thirteen tribes and forming *altogether three* units of ten thousand, crossed the Ala'ut Turqa'ut' *Mountains* and moved against Činggis Qa'an. News of their approach was brought to Činggis Qa'an, who was then staying in the Gürelgü *Mountains*, by Mülke Totaq and Boroldai of the Ikires.

Informed of this, Činggis Qa'an with his thirteen camps formed also three units of ten thousand and set out against Ĵamuqa. They fought at Dalan Baljut.² Činggis Qa'an was repulsed there by Ĵamuqa and sought refuge in the Ĵerene Gorge by the Onon³ *River*. Ĵamuqa said, 'We have forced him to take refuge in the Ĵerene by the Onon', and, as he was about to return home, Ĵamuqa had the princes of the Činōs boiled *alive* in seventy cauldrons. Having cut off the head of Čaqa'an U'a of the Ne'ūs, he dragged it away *bound* to the tail of his horse.

130 Then, letting Ĵamuqa return home from there, Ĵürcedei of the Uru'ut at the head of the Uru'ut, and Quyuldar of the Mangqut at the head of the Mangqut deserted Ĵamuqa and came over to Činggis Qa'an. Father Mōnglik of the Qongqotat was then with Ĵamuqa. Father Mōnglik with his seven sons *also* deserted Ĵamuqa and joined Činggis Qa'an.

Because these tribes were coming in from Ĵamuqa's *side*, Činggis Qa'an rejoiced, saying to himself that the *whole* nation was coming over to him. Činggis Qa'an, Lady Hö'elün and Qasar, together with Sača Beki, Taiču and others of the Ĵürkin, *decided* to hold a feast in the forest by the Onan.

¹ I.e., 'Mottled Sentinels.'

² I.e., 'Seventy Marshes.'

³ = Onan (~ Onon).

In the course of feasting, one pitcher of *kumis* was first poured for Činggis Qa'an, Lady Hö'elün, Qasar, Sača Beki and others. As one pitcher was also poured *to the women* starting with Ebegei, the secondary wife of Sača Beki's father,¹ both Qoriĵin Qatun and Qu'určın Qatun said, 'Why didn't they pour first for me, but began with Ebegei?', and they thrashed the steward Šiki'ür. As he was being thrashed, the steward Šiki'ür said, 'What sort of thing is it, your thrashing me like this, *just* because Yisügei Ba'atur and Nekün Taiši are dead?' So he spoke and cried out loudly.

131 That feast had been arranged on our *side* by Belgütei. He was standing *outside the camp* keeping Činggis Qa'an's geldings.² From the Ĵürkin's *side* Büri Bökö had arranged the feast.

A man of the Qadagin tribe stole a tether from our horse station. *Belgütei* caught the thief, but Büri Bökö took that man under his protection. Now, Belgütei, when wrestling, used to remove his right sleeve and go on *fighting* bare-armed. *On this occasion*, Büri Bökö's sword split open his shoulder, which had been left exposed and bare.³ Although cut in this way, still Belgütei, thinking nothing of it, did not bother and let the blood flow. But Činggis Qa'an, sitting in the shade, saw *what happened* from the *place* of the feast. He stepped out and said, 'How can we be treated like this?' Belgütei said, 'The wound isn't *that bad* yet! On my account, I fear we may fall out with our kinsmen. There is nothing wrong with me, I am recovering. Elder brother, now that we have just grown friendly with our kinsmen, do not act, wait a little while!'

¹ Lit., 'the little mother of Sača Beki' – 'little mother' being the designation of a secondary wife or concubine.

² As Činggis' equerry. See above, § 124.

³ This is the episode referred to in § 50 above.

132 Although warned in this way by Belgütei, Činggis Qa'an did not comply: breaking off tree branches, pulling out the churners of the *kumis* leather bags and grabbing them, they started to beat each other. Činggis Qa'an and our men overcame the Jürkin and forcibly seized both Qorijin Qatun and Qu'určın Qatun. Later, however, on being told, 'We' want to make peace', they returned both Qorijin Qatun and Qu'určın Qatun to the Jürkin.

It was when messengers were still being sent from one side to the other to make peace that Činggis Qa'an learned the news that the Altan Qan of the Kitat people, because Megüjin Se'ültü and others of the Tatar would not enter into an agreement with him, had then sent word to Ongging Čingsang that he should array his troops without delay and set out against them. Thereupon, Ongging Čingsang had driven Megüjin Se'ültü and the other Tatars, together with their livestock, upstream along the Ulja, and was now approaching.

133 Having learned this news, Činggis Qa'an said, 'From old days, the Tatar people have been our mortal enemies, the people who have destroyed our fathers and forefathers.² Now, taking this opportunity, let us jointly attack them!' And he sent an envoy to deliver this message to To'oril Qan: 'It is reported that the Altan Qan's commander Ongging Čingsang has driven the Tatar Megüjin Se'ültü and other Tatars upstream along the Ulja and is now approaching. Let us jointly attack the Tatars who have destroyed our fathers and forefathers. To'oril Qan, my father, should come quickly!'

When this message was delivered, To'oril Qan said, 'The word my son has sent is right. Let us jointly attack!' Thereupon, on the third day, To'oril Qan, having assembled

¹ I.e., the Jürkin.

² See above, §§ 53 and 67.

his troops, set out with his army and quickly went to his assistance.

Činggis Qa'an and To'oril Qan sent a message to the Jürkin Sača Beki and Taiču, and to the other Jürkin: 'Now, taking this opportunity, let us jointly attack the Tatars who from of old have destroyed our fathers and forefathers. Together let us set forth against them!'

They sent the message and having waited for six days from the time it should have come to the Jürkin, Činggis Qa'an and To'oril Qan, unable to wait any longer, together set out with their troops. As they approached, moving downstream along the Ulja to launch the attack in conjunction with Ongging Čingsang, the Tatar Megüjin and the other Tatars built a stockade there, at Qusutu Šitü'en and Naratu Šitü'en¹ by the Ulja. Činggis Qa'an and To'oril Qan captured those who had barricaded themselves in this way, among them Megüjin Se'ültü from the stockade. They killed Megüjin Se'ültü on the spot; Činggis Qa'an then took as booty his silver cradle and his blanket decorated with big pearls.

134 Činggis Qa'an and To'oril Qan [went to meet Ongging Čingsang and] told him that they had killed Megüjin Se'ültü. Ongging Čingsang was very glad when he learned that Megüjin Se'ültü had been killed. He gave Činggis Qa'an the title *ja'ut quri*² and, at the same time, he gave the title of *ong*³ to To'oril of the Kereyit.⁴ The name Ong Qan thus originates from the time when it was first given to To'oril as a title by Ongging Čingsang.

Ongging Čingsang said, 'You have done a very great service to the Altan Qan by your joint attack on Megüjin Se'ültü and by killing him. I shall inform the Altan Qan of

¹ I.e., 'Birch Rampart' and 'Pine Rampart.'

² I.e., 'Commander of Hundreds (?).'

³ I.e., 'King' or 'Prince.'

⁴ Gereyit in the text.

this service of yours. Let the Altan Qan decide whether a title higher than the present one¹ should be further conferred on Činggis Qa'an – whether he should be given the title of *ĵautau*.² Rejoicing in this way, Ongging Čingsang withdrew from there.

On that occasion, Činggis Qa'an and Ong Qan plundered the Tatars and shared *the booty*, each taking *his part*; then they returned to their *own* encampments.³

135 At the time when our troops were plundering the camp at Naratu Šitü'en where the Tatars had halted and barricaded themselves, they happened to find in the camp a little boy who had been abandoned. Taking back the little boy, who had as *nose*-ring a golden loop and who wore a gold-stitched silken waistcoat lined with sable, Činggis Qa'an gave him as a present to Mother Hö'elün. Mother Hö'elün said, 'He must be the son of a man of rank; surely he is the offspring of a man of noble origins!' The Mother named him Šikiken Quduqu⁴ and brought him up as the younger brother of her five children and as her sixth child.

136 The base camp of Činggis Qa'an was at Lake Hariltu. From among those who had remained at the base camp, the Jürkin stripped fifty men of their clothing and killed ten men.

When those of us who were left at the base camp told Činggis Qa'an that they had been treated in that way by the Jürkin, Činggis Qa'an on hearing this news became very angry and said, 'How could we be treated in such a manner by the Jürkin? When we held a feast in the forest by the Onan they also thrashed the steward Šiki'ür, and it was they who also cut Belgütei's shoulder. We were told we should make peace, and gave them back both Qoriĵin Qatun and

¹ Lit., 'this.'

² I.e., 'Pacification Commissioner.'

³ Lit., 'they went back and set up camp.'

⁴ = Šigiken Qutuqu. See below, § 138, and the Commentary.

Qu'určın. After that, we said that we would set out and jointly attack the Tatars who, full of hatred and resentment, had from old destroyed our fathers and forefathers. Although we waited six days for the Jürkin, they failed us by not coming.¹ And now, by siding *in this way* with² the enemy, they *themselves* have also become our enemies!³ Having said this, Činggis Qa'an moved against the Jürkin.

When the Jürkin were staying at Dolo'an Bolda'ut³ of Ködö'e Aral⁴ on the Kelüren River, Činggis Qa'an plundered their people. Sača Beki and Taiču, being few in number and dispossessed of all but their bodies, escaped.⁵ He pursued them and, overtaking them at the Telētü Pass, he caught Sača Beki and Taiču.

After their capture, Činggis Qa'an said to Sača and Taiču, 'What did we agree upon in the old days?' Being so addressed, Sača and Taiču said, 'We did not keep to the words we spoke. Now make us comply with them!'⁶ And, admitting their oath, they held out their necks to *the sword*.

Making them to admit their oath and causing them to comply with their words, he executed them and cast off *their bodies* there and then.

137 Having disposed of Sača and Taiču he returned *to the Jürkin camp*. As he was about to move the Jürkin people away, the three sons of Telegetü Bayan of the Ĵalayir, Gü'ün U'a, Čila'un Qayıči and Ĵebke, were with these Jürkin at the time. Gü'ün U'a, with his two sons Muqali and Buqa, came to pay homage to Činggis Qa'an and said,

'Let these sons of mine be the slaves
Of your threshold;⁷

¹ See above, §§ 132 and 133.

² Lit., 'leaning on.'

³ I.e., 'Seven Solitary Hills.'

⁴ I.e., 'Barren Island', but see the Commentary.

⁵ Cf. above, § 109.

⁶ Lit., 'with our words.'

⁷ For this expression see the Cc

If they stray from your threshold,
Cut off their heel tendons!
Let them be the personal slaves
Of your door;¹
If they abandon your door,
Cut out their livers and
Cast them away!

So saying he handed them over to him.

Čila'un Qayiči with his two sons Tüngge² and Qaši also came to pay homage to Činggis Qa'an and spoke thus:

“Let them guard
Your golden threshold”, so saying,
I give you *these sons of mine*;
If they depart from your golden threshold,
Put an end to their lives and
Cast them away!

“Let them lift for you
The wide *felt* door”, so saying,
I give them to you;
If they desert your wide door,
Kick them in the pit of the stomach and
Cast them away!

Thus he spoke. Činggis Qa'an gave Ĵebke to Qasar. Ĵebke, bringing with him from the Ĵürkin camp a little boy called Boro'ul, paid homage to Mother Hö'elün and gave him to her.

138 Mother Hö'elün reared in her tent these four: the boy called Güčü³ found in the Merkit camp, the boy called Kököčü found in the Besüt camp among the Tayiči'ut, the boy called Šigiken Qutuqu found in the Tatar camp, and the boy called Bero'ul found in the Ĵürkin camp. Mother Hö'elün said, ‘Whom *but these foundlings* will I make

¹ For this expression see the Commentary.

² Called Tüge in §§ 202 and 225 below.

³ Written Küčü in § 114 above.

Eyes, for my sons to see in the day,
Ears, for my sons to hear at night?’

– and reared them in her tent.

139 As for the manner in which those Ĵürkin people came to be Ĵürkin, the eldest¹ among the seven sons of Qabul Qan was Ökin Barqaq, whose son was Sorqatu Ĵürki. <As they came to be Ĵürkin> Qabul Qan, saying that Ökin Barqaq was his eldest son,² chose *men for him* from among his own people and, having chosen them, gave him strong and mighty *men* who had

Gall in their livers,³
Thumbs good at shooting,
Lungs filled with courage,
Mouths full of fury,
And, all, men of skill.

Because they had fury and gall, and were proud and inflexible, that is the reason why they were called Ĵürkin.

Činggis Qa'an subjugated such a proud people and destroyed *all* those who were of the Ĵürkin clan. He⁴ made the tribe and its people his personal subjects.

140 One day Činggis Qa'an said, ‘Let us make Būri Bökö and Belgūtei wrestle with each other!’

Formerly, when Būri Bökö was *still* with the Ĵürkin, seizing Belgūtei with one hand and tripping him with one foot, Būri Bökö toppled him and held him down so that he could not move.⁵ Būri Bökö was the strongest man among his people.

Činggis Qa'an now made Belgūtei and Būri Bökö wrestle. Būri Bökö, the invincible, let himself be toppled. Belgūtei, unable to hold him down, grabbed his shoulders

¹ Lit., ‘the eldest brother.’

² Lit., ‘saying that he was the eldest brother of Qabul Qan's sons.’

³ I.e., who were brave and daring.

⁴ Lit., ‘Činggis Qa'an.’

⁵ There is no previous mention of this episode.

and straddled him. Belgütei glanced backwards and, when he caught sight of Činggis Qa'an's eye, the Qa'an bit his lower lip. Belgütei understood. He sat on top of *Büri Bökö* and, crossing the two *ends* of his collar, he pulled them towards himself, tightening *his grip*. As he did that, he pressed his knee on his spine and broke it.

Büri Bökö, his spine broken, said, 'I would not have been defeated by Belgütei, but fearing the Qa'an, I took a fall on purpose. I hesitated, so I lost my life.' Thus he spoke and died.

After Belgütei had pulled and broken his spine, he dragged *Büri Bökö* away, cast him off and left.

Of the seven sons of Qabul Qan, Ökin Barqaq was the eldest; the next one was Bartan Ba'atur, whose son was Yisügei Ba'atur. The next one after him¹ was Qutuqtu Mönqler,² whose son was Büri. Overstepping *the line* of the sons of Bartan Ba'atur which was nearest above him *in order of seniority*, he became a companion of the proud sons of Barqaq. Because of this, Büri Bökö, the strongest man among his people, perished, his spine broken by Belgütei.

141 After that, in the Year of the Hen (1201), the Qadagin and the Salji'ut united, and the following³ tribes gathered at Alqui Spring:⁴ the Qadagin led by Buqu Čorogi of the Qadagin, and *the Salji'ut* led by Čirgidai Ba'atur of the Šalji'ut; the Dörben, who had made peace with the Tatar, led by Qaji'un Beki of the Dörben, and *the Tatar* led by Jalin Buqa of the Alči Tatar; the Ikires led by Tüge Maqa of the Ikires; *the Onggirat* led by Terge Emel, Alqui and others of the Onggirat; *the Qorolas* led by Čonaq Čaqa'an⁵ and

¹ I.e., after Bartan Ba'atur.

² The Qutuqtu Mönqgür of §§ 48 and 50 above.

³ Lit., 'these.'

⁴ Lit., 'Sarsaparilla Spring.'

⁵ ? Čo'oq Čaqa'an, ? Čo'os Čaqa'an. See the Commentary also for the other names in this section.

others of the Qorolas; *also* Buyiruč Qan of the Gücü'üt Naiman from the Naiman; Qutu, the son of Toqto'a Beki of the Merkit; Quduqa Beki of the Oyirat; and, from the Tayiči'ut, Tarqutai Kiriltuq, Qodun Örceng, A'uču Ba'atur and other Tayiči'ut. Saying, 'Let us raise Jamuqa the Jajirat as *qan*', they jointly hacked the backs of a stallion and a mare and together swore an oath of friendship.

From there they moved downstream along the Ergüne River, and on the large promontory of the peninsula where the Kan River flows into the Ergüne, there they raised Jamuqa as *gür qan*.¹ After raising him as *gür qan*, they decided to set out to attack Činggis Qa'an and Ong Qan.

Word of this – that they had decided to attack – was sent by Qoridai of the Qorolas to Činggis Qa'an, when he² was staying in the Gürelgü Mountains.

When he received this news, Činggis Qa'an passed it³ on to Ong Qan. As soon as Ong Qan received the news, he⁴ set his army in motion and speedily arrived at Činggis Qa'an's camp.

142 After getting Ong Qan to come, Činggis Qa'an and Ong Qan decided to move jointly against Jamuqa. They set out downstream along the Kelüren River. Činggis Qa'an sent Altan, Qučar and Dāritai as vanguard; Ong Qan *for his part* sent as vanguards Senggüm, Jaqa Gambu and Bilge Beki. Patrols were also dispatched ahead of these vanguards: at Enegen Güiletü⁵ they set up an observation post; beyond that, at *Mount Čekčer*, they set up *another* observation post; and beyond that, at *Mount Čiqurqu*, they set up *a further* observation post.

¹ I.e., 'Universal Ruler.'

² I.e., Činggis Qa'an.

³ Lit., 'this news.'

⁴ Lit., 'Ong Qan.'

⁵ I.e., 'Having a Single Apricot Tree (?).'

Altan, Qučar, Senggüm and the others of our vanguard arrived at Utkiya. While they were deciding whether to camp *there*, a man from the observation *post* which had been set up at Čiqurqu came riding in haste and brought the news that the enemy was approaching.

When this news came, without setting up camp they went towards the enemy in order to gain information. They met and gained the information: when they asked *the enemy patrol* who they were, it turned out to be Ĵamuqa's vanguard consisting of A'uču Ba'atur of the Mongols, Buyiruč Qan of the Naiman, Qutu, the son of Toqto'a Beki of the Merkit, and Quduqa Beki of the Oyirat. These four had been going towards us as Ĵamuqa's vanguard.

Our vanguard shouted at them, and they shouted back, but it was already getting late. Saying, 'Tomorrow we'll fight!', our men withdrew and spent the night together with the main body of the army.

143 Next day the troops were sent forward and when they met, at Köyiten,¹ they battled. As they pressed on each other downhill and uphill, and reformed their ranks, those very same Buyiruč Qan and Quduqa, knowing how to produce a rainstorm by magic, started to conjure it² up, but the magic storm rolled back and it was right upon themselves that it² fell. Unable to proceed, they tumbled into ravines. Saying to each other, 'We are not loved by Heaven!', they scattered.

144 Buyiruč Qan of the Naiman separated from the rest and went towards Uluq Taq³ on the southern side of the Altai Mountains. Qutu, the son of Toqto'a of the Merkit, went towards the Selenge River. Quduqa Beki of the Oyirat went towards the Siŕgis River, making for the forest. A'uču Ba'atur of the Tayiči'ut went towards the Onan River.

¹ I.e., 'Cold.'

² Lit., 'the magic storm.'

³ I.e., 'Great Mountain' (tu.).

Ĵamuqa plundered the very people who had elected him qan; then he¹ moved homewards following the course of the Ergüne. As they were dispersing in this way, Ong Qan pursued Ĵamuqa downstream along the Ergüne while Činggis Qa'an pursued A'uču Ba'atur of the Tayiči'ut in the direction of the Onan.

As soon as A'uču Ba'atur reached his own people, he had them moved along with him in haste. The Tayiči'ut A'uču Ba'atur and Qodun Örceng arrayed their troops at Ülengüt Turas² on the other side of the Onan, and stood in battle order ready to fight.³

Činggis Qa'an came up and fought with the Tayiči'ut. They battled to and fro incessantly until evening came; then, in the same place where they had been fighting, they passed the night right next to each other. When people⁴ arrived, fleeing in disarray, they set up a circular camp and also passed the night in the same spot, alongside their troops.

145 In that battle Činggis Qa'an was wounded in a vein of the neck. He could not stop the bleeding and was in a great plight. He waited till sundown, then he pitched camp just there where the two armies had encamped right next to each other.

Ĵelme sucked and sucked the blood which clogged Činggis Qa'an's wound and his mouth was all smeared with blood. Still, Ĵelme, not trusting other people, stayed there and looked after him. Until the middle of the night he swallowed down or spat out mouthfuls of the clogging blood.

When midnight had passed Činggis Qa'an revived and said, 'The blood has dried up completely; I am thirsty.' Then Ĵelme took off his hat, boots and clothes – everything

¹ Lit., 'Ĵamuqa.'

² For this reading see the Commentary.

³ Lit., 'saying, "We shall fight!".'

⁴ I.e., the refugees.

– and stark naked but for his pants, he ran into the midst of the enemy who had settled right next to them. He jumped on to a cart of the people who had set up a circular camp over there. He searched for kumis, but was unable to find any because those people had fled in disarray and had turned the mares loose without milking them.

As he could not find kumis, he took from one of their carts a large covered bucket of curds and carried it back. In the time between his going and coming back he was not seen by anyone. Heaven indeed protected him!

Having brought the covered bucket of curds, the same Jelme, all by himself, searched for water, brought it back, and having mixed it with the curds got the Qa'an to drink it.

Three times, resting in between, the Qa'an drank, then he spoke: 'The eyes within me have cleared up.' He spoke and sat up: it was daybreak and growing light. He looked and saw that, all about the place where he was sitting, the wound-clogging blood that Jelme had kept on sucking and had spat about had formed small puddles. When he saw it, Činggis Qa'an said, 'What is this? Couldn't you have spat farther away?' Jelme then said, 'When you were in a great plight, had I gone farther away I would have feared being separated from you. As I was in haste, I swallowed what I could swallow and spat out what I could spit out; I was in a plight myself and quite a lot went also into my stomach!'

Činggis Qa'an again spoke: 'When I was in this state, lying down, why did you run naked into their camp? Had you been caught, wouldn't you have revealed that I was like this?' Jelme said, 'My thought, as I went naked, was that if somehow I got caught, I would have said, "I wanted to submit to you, but they¹ found out and, seizing me, decided to kill me. They removed my clothes – everything – only my pants had not yet been removed when I suddenly managed to escape and have just come in haste to join you."

¹ I.e., Činggis Qa'an's people.

They would have regarded me as sincere, they would have given me clothes and looked after me. Then, I would have jumped on a horse and while they were astonished watching me flee, in that brief moment I would have surely got back! So thinking, and because I wished to get back in time to satisfy the Qa'an's craving for drink caused by his parching thirst, thinking this and without so much as blinking an eye I went there.'

Činggis Qa'an said, 'What can I say now? In former days, when the Three Merkit came and thrice circled Mount Burqan, you saved my life for the first time.¹ Now, once more, you restored me to life when, with your mouth, you sucked the clotting blood from my wound. And, yet again, when I was in a great plight with a parching thirst, disregarding your life, you went amidst the enemy without so much as blinking an eye; you quenched my thirst and restored life to me. These three services of yours will stay in my heart!' Thus the Qa'an spoke.

146 When it had grown light, it turned out that the enemy troops who were bivouacking right next to us had dispersed during the night; only the people who had set up the circular camp had not moved from the place where they had encamped because they would not have been able to get away.

Činggis Qa'an moved from the place where he had spent the night in order to bring back² the people who had fled. As he was bringing back the fugitives, Činggis Qa'an himself heard a woman in a red coat who, standing on top of a ridge, was wailing loudly, crying 'Temüjin!' He sent a man to enquire whose wife was the woman who was crying like that. The man went and, having asked her, that woman said, 'I am the daughter of Sorqan Šira and my name is

¹ This event is not recorded in § 102 above.

² I.e., to recapture.

Qada'an.¹ The soldiers here captured my husband and were going to kill him. As my husband was being killed, I cried and wailed and called on Temüjin to save my husband.' So she said, and the man returned and reported these words to Činggis Qa'an.

Hearing these words, Činggis Qa'an rode at a trot and reached her; he² dismounted near Qada'an and they embraced each other, but her husband had already been killed by our soldiers.

After Činggis Qa'an had brought back those people, he camped on the spot for the night with his great army. He invited Qada'an to come to him and had her sit by his side.

The following day, Sorqan Šira and Jebe, who had been retainers of Tödöge of the Tayiči'ut, also arrived – the two of them. Činggis Qa'an said to Sorqan Šira, 'It was indeed a good service of you, father and sons,

To throw to the ground
The heavy wood on my neck,
To remove the wooden cangue
That was on my collar.

Why, then, did you delay coming to me?'

Sorqan Šira said, 'At heart I felt full confidence in you, but how could I make haste? Had I hurried and come to you earlier, my Tayiči'ut masters would have blown to the winds, like hearth-ashes,³ my wife and children, and the cattle and provisions I had left behind. Because of this I did not hurry, but now that the Tayiči'ut have been defeated we came in haste to join our Qa'an.' When he had finished speaking, Činggis Qa'an said, 'You did right!'

147

Again Činggis Qa'an spoke, saying 'When we fought at Köyiten and, pressing on each other, were reforming our ranks, from the top of those ridges an arrow came. Who,

¹ She is mentioned in § 85 above.

² Lit., 'Činggis Qa'an.'

³ Cf. above, §§ 87 and 112.

from the top of the mountain, shot an arrow so as to sever the neckbone of my tawny war horse with the white mouth?'

To these words Jebe said, 'I shot the arrow from the top of the mountain. If now I am put to death by the Qa'an, I shall be left to rot on a piece of earth the size of the palm of a hand, but if I be favoured,

For the Qa'an I will charge forward
So as to rend the deep water,
So as to crumble the shining stone.
For him I will charge forward
So as to split the blue stone
In the place which I am told to reach,
So as to crush the black stone
At the time when I am told to attack.'

Činggis Qa'an said, 'A man who used to be an enemy, when it comes to his former killings and hostile actions "conceals his person and hides his tongue" – he is afraid. As for this one, however, he does not hide his killings and hostile actions; on the contrary, he makes them known. He is a man to have as a companion. He is named Jirqo'adai, but because he shot an arrow at the neckbone of my tawny war horse with the white mouth, I shall call him Jebe¹ and I will use him as my jebe arrow.' He named him Jebe and said, 'Keep by my side!'

This is the way in which Jebe came from the Tayiči'ut and became a companion of Činggis Qa'an.

¹ Jebe means 'weapon', but it also designated a particular type of arrow.

THE SECRET HISTORY OF THE MONGOLS

CHAPTER FIVE

148 When, on that occasion, Činggis Qa'an plundered the Tayiči'ut, he wiped out the men of Tayiči'ut lineage, such as the Tayiči'ut A'uču Ba'atur, Qoton Örceng¹ and Qudu'udar – he blew them to *the winds* like *hearth-ashes*, even to the offspring of their offspring. Činggis Qa'an carried away the people of their tribe, and spent the winter at Quba Qaya.²

149 Old Širgü'etü of the Ničügüt Ba'arin tribe, together with his sons Alaq and Naya'a, seized Tarqutai Kiriltuq, chief of the Tayiči'ut, who was *hiding* in the woods, because he was a mortal enemy of Činggis Qa'an. As Tarqutai could not mount a horse,³ they made him ride in a cart.

As Old Širgü'etü and his sons Alaq and Naya'a were proceeding *thus*, holding *down* Tarqutai Kiriltuq, the sons and younger brothers of Tarqutai Kiriltuq said, 'Let us take him away *from them!*' They approached and overtook them. When his⁴ sons and younger brothers caught up, Old Širgü'etü got onto the cart and, sitting astride Tarqutai, who was lying on his back and unable to stand up, drew a knife and said, 'Your sons and younger brothers have come to take you away. Even if I do not kill you, telling *myself* that I am laying hands on my lord,⁵ they will surely kill me saying that I did lay hands on my lord. And if I do kill you, I shall of course be killed all the same. *So*, at the very moment I die, I shall die taking *you as my death-companion.*'⁶

¹ The Qodun Örceng of § 141 above.

² I.e., 'Reddish Rock' (tu.)

³ Because of his corpulence. The epithet Tarqutai means 'Fat.'

⁴ I.e., Tarqutai's.

⁵ Lit., 'qan.'

⁶ Lit., 'pillow.' See the Commentary.

Thus saying he straddled him and was about to cut his throat with his big knife, when Tarqutai Kiriltuq, calling loudly to his younger brothers and sons, said, 'Širgü'etü is killing me. Once he has killed me, what will you achieve by taking away my dead and lifeless body? Draw back at once before he kills me! Temüjin will not kill me. When Temüjin was still little, because

He had fire in his eyes,

He had a light in his face,

and because he had been abandoned in a camp without a master,¹ I went *there* to get him and brought him *back home with me:*

Saying that if I taught him

He would be likely to learn,

I kept teaching and instructing him just as if

He was a two or three-year-old new colt

I had been training.²

Had I wanted to make him die,

Would I not have been able to kill him?

They say that at present

He is becoming thoughtful *in his actions*,

That his mind is clear.³

Temüjin will not cause me to die. You, my sons and younger brothers, quickly turn back at once lest Širgü'etü kills me.' So he cried out loudly.

Tarqutai's sons and younger brothers conferred among themselves: 'We came to save father's life. Once Širgü'etü has deprived him of his life, what can we do with his empty, lifeless body? Better to turn back at once before he kills him!' So saying, back they turned. Alaq and Naya'a, the sons of Old Širgü'etü who had withdrawn on their arrival,⁴

¹ Because his father Yisügei Ba'atur was dead at the time.

² This is Tarqutai's justification of the episode told in § 79ff.

³ Lit., 'opening.'

⁴ I.e., when Tarqutai's sons and brothers had come up and overtaken them.

now returned. Širgü'etü, having waited for them to come back, moved on *together with his sons*.

As they proceeded on their way, on reaching the Qutuqul Bend¹ Naya'a then said, 'If we arrive holding this Tarqutai *captive*, Činggis Qa'an will say *of us* that we came having laid hands on our rightful lord. Činggis Qa'an will say of us, "How trustworthy a people are these who come having laid hands on their rightful lord? How can they still be companions to us? They are people who are not *worthy of companionship*. People who lay hands on their rightful lord must be cut down!" Shall we *not* be cut down? Better to free Tarqutai and send him away from here, and go *to Činggis Qa'an* saying, "We, possessing only our bodies, have come to offer our services to Činggis Qa'an." We shall say, "We had seized Tarqutai and were on our way *here*, but we could not do away with our rightful lord. Saying *to ourselves*, 'How can we make him die before our *very eyes?*', we freed him and sent him away, and we have come respectfully to offer our services."'

So he spoke and the father and sons, having approved these words of Naya'a, set Tarqutai Kiriltuq free and sent him away from Quduqul Bend.

When this same Old Širgü'etü arrived with his sons Alaq and Naya'a, Činggis Qa'an asked why they had come. Old Širgü'etü told Činggis Qa'an, 'We seized Tarqutai Kiriltuq and were on our way *here*, but then saying *to ourselves*, "How can we make our rightful lord die before our *very eyes?*", we could not do away with him. We set him free and sent him off, and came to Činggis Qa'an to offer our services.'

At that, Činggis Qa'an said, 'If you had come having laid hands on your lord Tarqutai, you and your offspring would have been cut down as people who had laid hands on their rightful lord. Your thought that you could not do away

¹ Qutuqul = Quduqul below. See the Commentary.

with your rightful lord is correct.' So saying, he showed favour to Naya'a.

150 After that, when Činggis Qa'an was at Dersüt,¹ Jaqa Gambu of the Kereyit came to join him as a companion.² When he arrived, the Merkit were approaching to fight. Činggis Qa'an, Jaqa Gambu and other *chiefs* engaged them and drove them back. Then, *Jaqa Gambu made the* Tümen Tübege and the Olon Dongqayit, *two* scattered tribes of the Kereyit, also come and submit to Činggis Qa'an.

As for Ong Qa'an³ of the Kereyit, previously – in the time of Yisügei Qa'an³ – because they were living together very harmoniously, he and Yisügei Qan had declared themselves sworn friends.

The manner in which they had declared themselves sworn friends *was as follows*:

Because Ong Qan had killed the younger brothers of his father Qurčaqus Buyuruq Qan, he had become a rebel towards his paternal uncle Gür Qan and was forced to sneak away through the Qara'un Gorge⁴ *to escape from him*. With *only* a hundred men he got out *of the gorge* and joined⁵ Yisügei Qan. Prompted by his coming to him, Yisügei Qan moved his own army into the field and, driving Gür Qan toward Qašin, he took Ong Qan's people and returned them to him. This is why they became sworn friends.

151 After that, when Ong Qan's younger brother Erke Qara was *about* to be killed by his elder brother Ong Qan, he escaped and submitted to Inanča Qan of the Naiman. Inanča Qan dispatched his troops, but Ong Qan in his wanderings had *already* passed three cities and had made his way to

¹ = Dersüt? The text has Tersüt. See the Commentary.

² I.e., as a *nökör*.

³ For Qa'an read Qan. See the Commentary.

⁴ Lit., 'Dark Gorge.'

⁵ Lit., 'came to.'

the *gür qan* of the Qara Kidat.¹ From there, having rebelled against the *gür qan*, he passed through the cities of the Uyiquit and the Tangqut.² He fed himself *on the way* by milking five goats, muzzling *their kids*,³ and by bleeding his camel.

While in *these* straits, he came to Lake Güse'ür. Činggis Qa'an, on account of Ong Qan and Yisügei Qan having formerly declared themselves sworn friends, sent to him as envoys Taqai Ba'atur and Sükegei Je'un; *then*, from the source of the Kelüren River, Činggis Qa'an went in person to meet him. Because Ong Qan had arrived starved and exhausted, Činggis Qa'an raised taxes for him, brought him into the camp and took care of him.

That winter, in an orderly way they moved to *new pastures* and Činggis Qa'an wintered at Quba Qaya.

152 Then Ong Qan's younger brothers and the chiefs said among themselves,

'Our elder brother the Qan
Has a miserable nature; he goes on
Harbouring a rotten liver.⁴

He has destroyed his brothers and has even submitted to the Qara Kidat – and he makes his people suffer. Now, what shall we do with him? To speak of his early days, when he was seven years old the Merkit carried him off; they gave him a kidskin coat with black spots to wear, and in the Bu'ura Steppe by the Selengge River he pounded *grain* in a Merkit's mortar. But his father Qurčaquq Buyuruq Qan raided the Merkit and there and then rescued his son. And again, when he was thirteen years old, Ajai Qan of the Tatar carried him off together with his mother. When *Ajai Qan*

¹ ~ Qara Kitat. Cf. below, §§ 248 and 266.

² ~ Ui'ut and Tang'ut, i.e. the Uighurs and the Tanguts. Cf. below, § 152.

³ In order to prevent them from suckling the she-goat too often. See the Commentary.

⁴ I.e., he has a foul character.

made him look after his camels, he took with him a shepherd of Ajai Qan and fled back home. After that, he fled again for fear of the Naiman and went to the *gür qan* of the Qara Kidat on the Čui River, in the country of the Sarta'ul. Then, in less than a year, he rebelled and left once more. He skirted the country of the Ui'ut and the Tang'ut.¹ Reduced to straits as he went on, he fed himself by milking five goats, muzzling *their kids*, and by bleeding his camel. He had only a blind yellowish-white horse with a black tail and mane. Being in *these* straits, he came to his son Temüjin, who raised taxes and indeed took care of him. Now, forgetting that he kept himself alive like this thanks to his son Temüjin, he goes on harbouring a rotten liver.² What shall we do *with him*?³

So they said among themselves, and their words were reported by Altun Aşuq to Ong Qan. Altun Aşuq said, 'I too did take part in this scheme, but I could not do away with you, my Qan.' Then Ong Qan had his younger brothers and chiefs arrested: El Qutur, Qulbari, Alin Taiši and the others who had thus conspired. From *among* his younger brothers, *only* Jaqa Gambu escaped and submitted to the Naiman.

Ong Qan had them brought in fetters into his tent and said to them, 'What did we pledge to each other when we passed by the country of the Ui'ut and the Tang'ut? How could I think like you?'⁴ So saying, spitting in their faces, he had them freed from their fetters. After they had been spat on by the *Qan himself*, the people who were in the tent all rose and spat on them.

¹ See above, § 151 and n. 2.

² I.e., an evil mind (= evil intentions).

³ A rhetorical question implying that they should kill him, as evident from what follows.

⁴ I.e., 'I could never think of you as you did with regard to me!' – implying that, were that so, he would execute them.

153 After having spent that winter (1201-1202) at *Quba Qaya*, in the autumn of the Year of the Dog (1202), Činggis Qa'an engaged these Tatars in battle at Dalan Nemürges:¹ the Ča'a'an Tatar,² Alči Tatar, Duta'ut [Tatar] and Aruqai Tatar. Before fighting, Činggis Qa'an jointly³ issued the following decree: 'If we overcome the enemy, we shall not stop for booty. When the victory is complete, that booty will surely be ours, and we will share it among ourselves. If we are forced by the enemy to retreat, let us turn back to the point where we began the attack. Those men who do not turn back to the point where we began the attack shall be cut down!' So he decreed with them.

They fought at Dalan Nemürges and drove off the Tatars. After they had overcome them, they forced them to rejoin their⁴ tribe on the Ulqui Šilügeljit River and thoroughly plundered them. There and then they destroyed these important people: the Ča'an Tatar,⁵ Alči Tatar, Duta'ut Tatar and Aruqai Tatar.

As for the words of the decree that had been jointly issued, since Altan, Qučar and Dāritai – all three – had not complied with them and had stopped for booty, Činggis Qa'an, saying that they had not complied with these words, sent Jebe and Qubilai to take away from them the herds of horses and the goods they had acquired as booty – everything they had seized.

154 Having destroyed and thoroughly plundered the Tatars, Činggis Qa'an held a great council with his kinsmen in a single tent to decide what to do with the Tatar tribesmen. Together they decided as follows:

¹ I.e., 'Seventy Felt Cloaks.'

² = Čaqān Tatar. See the Commentary.

³ I.e., in concert with the other army commanders, such as Altan, Qučar and Dāritai.

⁴ I.e., the Tatar.

⁵ = Čaqān Tatar. See the Commentary.

'From olden days the Tatar people
Have destroyed our fathers and forefathers;
To avenge our fathers and forefathers,
And requite the wrong, for them
We shall measure the Tatars against the linchpin
of a cart,
And kill them to the last one,
We shall utterly slay them.¹
The rest we shall enslave:
Some here, some there, dividing them among
ourselves!'

The council being concluded, as they emerged from the tent, the Tatar Yeke Čeren asked Belgütei what decision they had made. Belgütei said, 'We have decided to measure you all against the linchpin of a cart and slay you.'

At these words of Belgütei, Yeke Čeren issued a proclamation to his Tatars, and they raised a barricade. As our soldiers tried to surround and attack the Tatars that had barricaded themselves in, they suffered great losses. After much trouble, when they forced the barricaded Tatars into submission and were about to slay them to the last man by measuring them against the linchpin of a cart, the Tatars said among themselves, 'Let everyone put a knife in his sleeve and let us die each taking an enemy with us as a death-companion!'² And again we suffered great losses. In this way the Tatars were finally measured against the linchpin of a cart and exterminated.

Then Činggis Qa'an issued this order: 'Because Belgütei divulged the decision we took together with our kinsmen at the great council, our soldiers suffered great losses. From now on Belgütei shall not join us in great councils; until the council ends, he shall handle those who are outside and, having dealt with them, he shall judge

¹ Only those taller than the linchpin would be killed.

² See above, § 149.

litigations and those guilty of theft and falsehood.¹ When the council is over and after we have drunk the ceremonial wine, *only* then shall Belgütei and Da'arитай² join us!' So he ordered.

155 Then, on that occasion, Činggis Qa'an took *as wife* Yisügen Qatun, daughter of the Tatar Yeke Čeren. Being loved by him, Yisügen Qatun said, 'If it pleases the Qa'an, he will take care of me, regarding me as a human being and a person *worth keeping*.³ But my elder sister, who is called Yisüi, is superior to me: she *is more* suitable for a ruler. Recently, a bridegroom for her was taken *into our family* as a son-in-law. I wonder now where she has gone in *all* this confusion.'

On these words Činggis Qa'an said, 'If your elder sister is better than you, let us make a search for her! But if your elder sister comes *to hand*, will you yield *your place* to her?' Yisügen Qatun said, 'If it pleases the Qa'an, as soon as I see my elder sister I shall yield to her.'

On this promise, Činggis Qa'an issued the order and had a search made. Our soldiers came across her as she was going into a wood together with the bridegroom to whom she had been given. Her husband fled. They then brought back Yisüi Qatun.

When Yisügen Qatun saw her elder sister, keeping the promise she had made earlier, she rose and let her sit in the place she had occupied. She herself took a lower seat.

Since she turned out to be as Yisügen Qatun had said, Činggis Qa'an was pleased with her; he married Yisüi Qatun and placed her in the rank of his principal wives.

156 After having completely ravaged the Tatars, one day Činggis Qa'an sat outside drinking in company. He was sitting between both Yisüi Qatun and Yisügen Qatun, and

¹ See the Commentary.

² I.e., Dāritai.

³ I.e., not as something to use and discard.

was drinking with them, when Yisüi Qatun heaved a deep sigh. Then Činggis Qa'an, having thought it over, summoned Bo'orču, Muqali and other chiefs, and said, 'You! make all these people who have been assembled *here* – and no others – stand in groups of related families, and separate from the rest any man in a group which is not his own.' So he ordered.

As the people were standing thus in groups of related families, a handsome and alert young man stood apart from all the groups.² When they said, 'To which clan do you belong?', that man said, 'I am the bridegroom to whom was given the daughter of the Tatar Yeke Čeren called Yisüi. When we were plundered by the enemy, I took fright and fled. I came *hither* because things seemed to have settled down now and I kept telling myself, "How can I be recognized among *so many people*?"'

When these words were reported to Činggis Qa'an, he ordered: 'All the same, he has been living as an outcast, with hostile intentions; what has he come to spy upon now? Those like him we have measured against the linchpin of a cart and exterminated. Why hesitate? Cast him out of my sight!' He was cut down immediately.

157 When, in that same Year of the Dog (1202), Činggis Qa'an rode against the Tatars, Ong Qan rode against the Merkit. Pursuing Toqto'a Beki in the direction of the Barqujin Lowland, Ong Qan killed Tögüs Beki, the eldest son of Toqto'a, seized Toqto'a's two daughters Qutuqtai and Ča'alun and his wives,³ and plundered his two sons Qutu and Čila'un together with their people, but of all the booty he gave not one thing to Činggis Qa'an.

¹ I.e., 'You Bo'orču, Muqali and the other chiefs.'

² Because he was a Tatar, and all the adult male Tatar prisoners had been killed (§ 154).

³ The text has Ča'arun for Ča'alun. One should, perhaps, read: 'seized Toqto'a's two wives Qutuqtai and Ča'alun.' See the Commentary.

158 After that, Činggis Qa'an and Ong Qan rode against Buyirūq Qan of the Gücügüt *clan* of the Naiman. They reached Soqoq Usun¹ by the Uluq Taq² where *Buyirūq Qan was staying at the time.*

Unable to engage in combat, Buyirūq Qan went off, crossing the *Altai Mountains*. They pursued Buyirūq Qan from Soqoq Usun and, forcing him to cross the Altai, they chased him along the Ürünggü *River* downstream at Qum Šinggir.³

While this was going on, a chief called Yedi Tubluq, who was patrolling for *Buyirūq Qan*, was pursued by our patrol. As he was about to flee up the mountain *side*, his saddle-strap broke and he was captured on the spot. Pursuing Buyirūq Qan down along the Ürünggü *River*, they overtook him at Lake Kišil Baš,⁴ and there they finished him off.

159 As Činggis Qa'an and Ong Qan were returning from that place, the *great* warrior Kōkse'ü Sabraq of the Naiman arrayed his troops at the Bayidaraq Confluence and prepared to fight them. Činggis Qa'an and Ong Qan likewise decided to fight and arrayed their troops; however, when they arrived it was *already* getting late. They said, 'We shall fight in the morning!', and passed the night in *battle* order. Then Ong Qan had fires lit in the place where he was stationed and that same night moved upstream along the Qara Se'ül⁵ *River*.

160 Ĵamuqa then moved on together with Ong Qan and, as they went, Ĵamuqa said to Ong Qan, 'My sworn friend Temüjin for a long time has been sending envoys to the Naiman, and now he has not come with us.

Qan, Qan, I am the skylark
That stays in one place;

¹ I.e., 'Soqoq Water (= River).'

² A mountain already mentioned in § 144 above. Cf. below, § 177.

³ Lit., 'of Qum Šinggir (tu. "Sand Promontory").'

⁴ I.e., 'Red Head' (tu.).

⁵ I.e., 'Black Tail.'

My sworn friend is
The migratory lark.

He must have gone over to the Naiman and has remained behind with the intention of submitting to them.'

At these words of Ĵamuqa, Gūrin Ba'atur of the Ubčiq' said, 'How can you speak so deceitfully, backbiting and slandering your upright brother?'

161 Činggis Qa'an had spent the night at that same place. Early next morning, at daybreak, he wanted to fight, but when he looked across to Ong Qan's position, he found that he was no longer there. Saying, 'They certainly treat us like burnt offerings at the sacrifice for the dead,'¹ Činggis Qa'an also moved out from there. He crossed the river at the Eder Altai Confluence and, being on the move, proceeded further, setting up camp in the Sa'ari Steppe.

Thereafter, Činggis Qa'an and Qasar, having realised the difficulties of the Naiman, no longer counted them as people to be reckoned with.

162 Kōkse'ü Sabraq went in pursuit of Ong Qan. He captured the wife of his son Senggüm together with all his people. He captured also half the people and livestock of Ong Qan which were at Telegetü Pass,⁴ and returned home.

At the time of that engagement, Qutu and Čila'un, the two sons of Toqto'a of the Merkit who were also there, separated from Ong Qan and, taking their own people with them, moved downstream along the Selengge River to join their father.

163 After being pillaged by Kōkse'ü Sabraq,⁵ Ong Qan sent an envoy to Činggis Qa'an. Through the envoy he sent this

¹ The text has Ubčiqtai, but this is probably a mistake for Ubčiritei. See the Commentary.

² Here 'brother' = 'cousin.'

³ I.e., like something that is no longer useful and can be discarded.

⁴ The Telētü Pass of § 136 above.

⁵ = Kōkse'ü Sabraq.

message: 'I have been robbed by the Naiman of my people and my wife. I send *this envoy* to request from you, my son, your "four steeds."¹ Let them rescue my people for me!'

Činggis Qa'an then sent Bo'orču, Muqali, Boroqul² and Čila'un Ba'atur, these 'four steeds' of his, and arrayed his troops. Before the 'four steeds' arrived, Senggüm had just joined battle with *Kökse'ü Sabraq* at Hula'an Qut;³ his horse had been shot in the thigh by an arrow and he *himself* was about to be captured.

At that moment those 'four steeds' arrived and saved him, and they recovered his people and his wife for him – all of them. Ong Qan then said, 'Formerly his good father⁴ had saved *my* people who had been lost like this; now, once more, his son, by sending his "four steeds", has rescued my lost people for me. As to my repaying *these* favours, let *only* the protection⁵ of Heaven and Earth decide *how*, and in *what measure!*'

164 Ong Qan said further, 'My sworn friend Yisügei Ba'atur once rescued my lost people for me; *his* son Temüjin has again rescued for me my people who had gone away. When these two, father and son, gathered the lost people and returned them to me, for whose sake did they take the trouble of gathering and returning them? As for myself, now

I have grown old, and having grown old,
When I shall ascend to the heights –
I have grown ancient, and having grown ancient,
When I shall ascend to the cliffs –
Who will govern all my people?

¹ I.e., the 'four stalwarts.' See the Commentary.

² = Boro'ul. See above, § 137.

³ I.e., 'Red Cliffs.'

⁴ I.e., Činggis Qan's late father.

⁵ I.e., the protecting powers.

My younger brothers lack *force of* character; there is only Senggüm, my one son, but it is as if he did not exist. If I make *my* son Temüjin the elder brother of Senggüm, I shall have two sons and my mind will be at rest.' Having said *this*, Ong Qan and Činggis Qa'an met together in the Black Forest by the Tu'ula River and declared themselves father and son. The reason why they declared themselves father and son was because in early days Ong Qan had declared himself a sworn friend of *Činggis Qa'an's* father Yisügei Qan, and *by virtue of this fact* Činggis Qa'an said that *Ong Qan* was like a father to *him*. Such was the reason why they declared themselves father and son.¹ They made *the following* promises to each other:

'When we attack the enemy hosts,
We shall attack together as one;
When we chase the cunning wild beasts,
We shall also chase them together as one!'

So they declared. Činggis Qa'an and Ong Qan also promised each other, saying, 'Out of jealousy for us two –

Should a snake with *venomous* teeth
Provoke discord *between us*,
Let us not succumb to his provocations.
By talking *only* mouth to mouth²
We shall believe *each other!*
Should a snake with *venomous* fangs
Spread slander about us,
Let us not accept his slander.
By explaining *only* face to face³
We shall believe *each other!*'

And, pledging their word, they lived together in mutual affection.

¹ See above, § 96.

² Lit., 'by teeth and mouth.'

³ Lit., 'by mouth and tongue.'

165 'On top of affection let there be more affection!', Činggis Qa'an thought; and requesting the younger sister of Senggüm, Ča'ur Beki, for *his son* Joči he said, 'I shall give in exchange our *daughter* Qojin Beki to Senggüm's son Tusaqa.'

When *this* request was made, Senggüm, then, imagining himself *to be very* important, said, 'If a kinswoman of ours goes to them, she would have to stand by the door and only face towards the back of the tent; but if a kinswoman of theirs comes to us, she would sit in the back of the tent and face towards the door.'¹ So, imagining himself *to be very* important, he spoke disparagingly of us; he was not pleased *with our proposition* and would not give Ča'ur Beki.

Because of these words, Činggis Qa'an in his heart lost affection for Ong Qan and Nilqa Senggüm.

166 Ĵamuqa realised that Činggis Qa'an had in this way lost his affection for them. In the spring of the Year of the Pig (1203), Ĵamuqa, Altan and Qučar, Ebügejin and Noyakin of the Qardakin² tribe, To'oril of the Söge'en tribe and Qači'un Beki, all these, having come to an understanding, set out and went to Nilqa Senggüm at Berke Elet,³ on the northern side of the Ĵeje'er Heights.

Slandering Činggis Qa'an, Ĵamuqa spoke: 'My sworn friend Temüjin has messengers *sent* with secret communications to Tayang Qan of the Naiman. His mouth is saying "father" and "son", but his behaviour is *quite* otherwise. Are you going to trust him? If you do not *take him* by surprise *and strike* at him, what will become of you? If you

¹ The place of honour was, and still is, at the back of the tent facing the door. The least honourable place is next to the door *facing* the back of the tent. Senggüm says that Ča'ur Beki would be treated like a servant in Joči's tent, whereas Qojin Beki would expect to be treated like a lady in Tusaqa's tent.

² Almost certainly a mistake for Qarta'an. See the Commentary.

³ I.e., 'Difficult Sands.'

move against my sworn friend Temüjin, I will join you *and attack* his flank!'

Altan and Qučar said, 'As for the sons of Mother Hö'elün, for you,

We shall kill the elder brother,

And do away with the younger brother!'

Ebügejin and Noyakin – the *two* Qarta'at – said, 'For you,

We shall seize his hands,

And grasp his feet!'

To'oril said, 'The best plan is to go *ahead* and capture Temüjin's people. If his people are taken away *from him* and he is *left* without them, what can he do?'

Qači'un Beki said, 'Prince Nilqa Senggüm, whatever you decide I shall go with you,

To the farthest limit,

To the bottom of the deep!'

167 Having been told these words, Nilqa Senggüm reported to his father Ong Qan those *very* words through Sayiqan Töde'en.

When he was told this,¹ Ong Qan said, 'How can you think such *things* about my son Temüjin? Until now we had him as our support, and if now we harbour such evil intentions towards my son, we shall not be loved by Heaven. Ĵamuqa has a glib tongue. Is he right in what he says? Is he correct?''² He was displeased and sent back Sayiqan Töde'en.

Senggüm sent another *message* saying, 'When *any* man with a mouth and a tongue *says these things*,³ how can one not believe him?' He sent messages twice, *three* times, but could not *convince Ong Qan*. *Finally*, he went to him in person and said, 'Even *now*, at a time when you are *still* so

¹ Lit., 'these very words.'

² A rhetorical question implying that he is untrustworthy.

³ I.e., it is common knowledge. See the Commentary.

lively *and well*, *Temüjin* has not the slightest regard for us. Truly, when you, his father the Qan, *will have reached the age when men*

Choke on the white *milk*,

And are stifled by the black *meat*,

will he let us govern your people – *the people* that your father Qurčaqus Buyuruq Qan gathered laboriously in such great number? How will he let anyone govern it?

At these words, Ong Qan said, 'How can I do away with my child, my son? Because until now he has been our support, is it right to harbour evil intentions against him? We shall not be loved by Heaven.'

At these words, his son Nilqa Senggüm became angry; he pushed off the tent-door and left. But Ong Qan, concerned about *losing* the affection of his son Senggüm, called him back and said to him, 'Who knows whether we shall be loved by Heaven after all? You say, "How shall we do away with the son?"¹ Just do what you can – it is for you to decide!'

168 Senggüm then spoke with the others and said, 'Those same *people* requested our Ča'ur Beki. Now, having fixed a day, let us invite them to come and dine at the betrothal feast and, there and then, seize them!' They *all* agreed and made a compact with *Ong Qan to that effect*.

They sent word to *Činggis Qa'an*: 'We shall provide Ča'ur Beki. Come and dine at the betrothal feast!' Činggis Qa'an, being *so* invited, drew near with ten men. On the way he spent the night in Father Mönqlik's tent. Then Father Mönqlik said, 'When we requested Ča'ur Beki, those same *people* despised us and would not provide her. How is it that *now*, on the contrary, they invite you to dine at the betrothal feast? Why do people who think themselves *so* important invite you, and contradicting themselves, *now* say,

"We shall provide her"? Are they right? Are they correct?' Son, you must proceed with caution. Let us send a *message* giving as an excuse that it is spring, our herds are lean, and we *must fatten* our horses *first*.'

Činggis Qa'an did not proceed, but sent Buqatai and Kiratai telling them to dine at the betrothal feast *in his place*; then from the tent of Father Mönqlik he returned home.

When Buqatai and Kiratai arrived, *Senggüm and the others* said, 'We have been found out. Early tomorrow we shall surround and capture them!'

169 Having thus pledged their word that they would surround and capture them, Altan's younger cousin, Yeke Čeren, said when he came home, 'We have decided to capture Temüjin early tomorrow. What sort of a reward might be expected by someone who delivers a message with this news to Temüjin?'²

When he spoke in this way, his wife Alaq It said, 'What is this idle talk of yours? *Some people here* might take it seriously!' As they were so conversing, their horse-herder Badai came to bring in the milk; he *overheard* this conversation and withdrew.

After leaving *the tent* Badai reported to his companion, the horse-herder Kišiliq, the words Yeke Čeren had spoken. Kišiliq said, 'I too shall go and find out *the truth of it*', and went to *Yeke Čeren's* tent. *Yeke Čeren's* son, Narin Ke'en, was sitting outside, sharpening his arrows. He said, 'Whatever were we talking about a short while ago? We should have had our tongues taken out! Whose mouth can we *now stop from repeating it*'?

Having spoken thus, Narin Ke'en also told Kišiliq, his horse-herder, 'Fetch and bring in³ the white Merkit horse

¹ I.e., they are not trustworthy. See above, § 167, n. 2.

² I.e., the reward was certain to be handsome.

³ From the pasture.

¹ I.e., with Temüjin.

and the bay with the white muzzle, and tether them: tonight, towards daybreak, we'll ride out to attack.' So he said.

Kišiliq left and told Badai, 'I have checked what you said a short while ago. It is true. Now the two of us will go and take the news to Temüjin.' Having both agreed, they brought in the white Merkit horse and the bay with the white muzzle, and tethered them. That very evening, in their travel-tent they killed one of their lambs and cooked it with their bedboards as fuel. Then they mounted on the white Merkit horse and the bay with the white muzzle that were tethered ready, and set off into the night.

That night they reached Činggis Qan's camp. From the back of his tent Badai and Kišiliq reported the words spoken by Yeke Čeren, and what his son Narin Ke'en had said when he was sitting, sharpening his arrows: 'Fetch and tether the two geldings, the white Merkit horse and the bay with the white muzzle' – all the words that had been said they reported for Činggis Qan to know. Badai and Kišiliq also spoke, saying, 'If Činggis Qa'an favours us with his trust, he will not hesitate to act: they have pledged to surround and capture you.'

THE SECRET HISTORY OF THE MONGOLS

CHAPTER SIX

170 On this intelligence Činggis Qa'an believed the words of Badai and Kišiliq; that same night he informed the trusted men who were at his side and, abandoning his baggage to lighten his train, set out and fled in the night.

Proceeding by way of the northern side of Ma'u' Heights, he left behind Jelme Qo'a of the Uriangqat, for he trusted him, as his rearguard on the northern side of Ma'u Heights. He set up patrols and moved on. As he continued his advance, at noon of the following day he reached Qalaqaljit Sands, where he halted to rest and eat, waiting for the sun to set.

While they rested and ate, Čigidei and Yadir, the horseherders of Alčidai, led their geldings to pasture, some here and some there, on the fresh grass. As they moved about, they saw the dust raised by the enemy coming in pursuit, passing by Hula'an Burqat² on the southern side of Ma'u Heights. 'The enemy has arrived,' they said and came back driving the geldings before them.

When they were told that the enemy had arrived, they all looked out and observing the dust raised by the enemy passing by Hula'an Burqat on the southern side of Ma'u Heights, they said, 'That is Ong Qan coming in hot pursuit'. Then Činggis Qa'an, having seen the dust, had his geldings brought in,³ loaded them, and rode off with his followers. If on that occasion these two herdsmen had not noticed the enemy's approach, he would have been caught unprepared.

¹ Written Mau for Ma'u ('Evil') throughout. See the Commentary.

² I.e., 'Red Willows.'

³ From the pastures.

As they approached, Ĵamuqa was advancing together with Ong Qan. While they advanced Ong Qan there and then asked Ĵamuqa, 'Who are those with son Temüjin who are likely to fight?' To his question Ĵamuqa said, 'There are his people called the Uru'ut and the Mangqut; those people of his do indeed *know how to fight*:

Every time they turn about,
Their battle array holds;
Every time they wheel round, too,
Their ranks hold.

Those people are accustomed to swords and spears from childhood. They have black and multicoloured standards – they are the people of whom we must be wary!

On these words Ong Qan said, 'If this is so, Qadaq, *the leader of our brave Ĵirgin*, shall meet them: we shall send our brave Ĵirgin to the attack. We shall have Aĉiq Širun of the Tümen Tübegen attack *next* in support of the Ĵirgin. The brave Olon Dongqayit we shall send to attack in support of the Tümen Tübegen. Qori Šilemün Taiši in support of the Olon Dongqayit shall attack at the head of *my* – the Ong-qan's – thousand bodyguards. In support of the thousand bodyguards we, the main body *of the army*, shall move to the attack.' Ong Qan also said, 'Younger brother Ĵamuqa, you set our troops in battle array!'

At these words Ĵamuqa drew apart and told his companions, 'Ong Qan tells me to set these troops of his in battle array, but I have never been able to fight against *my sworn friend*. For Ong Qan to say that I *should* set these troops in battle array *means that he is less capable than I am*. Not much of a companion, is he! Let us send word to *my sworn friend* to be on his guard.'

So Ĵamuqa secretly sent the following message to Činggis Qa'an: 'Ong Qan asked me, "Who are those with son Temüjin who are likely to fight?" To his question I said, "I rate first the Uru'ut and the Mangqut." Thus I spoke, and at these words of mine those same Ĵirgin were

ordered to the forefront as vanguard. Aĉiq Širun of the Tümen Tübegen was appointed to support the Ĵirgin. [The Olon Dongqayit were appointed to support the Tümen Tübegen.] Qori Šilemün Taiši, leader of the thousand bodyguards of Ong Qan, was appointed to support the Olon Dongqayit. For his¹ support, they decided that the main body of Ong Qan's own army should stand *in readiness*. Ong Qan also told me: "Younger brother Ĵamuqa, you set these troops *of mine* in battle array!", saying that he relied on me. From this I realized that he is not much of a companion. How can I set his troops in battle array *for him*? I have never been able to fight against *my* sworn friend, and Ong Qan is less capable than me. Sworn friend, do not be afraid; be on your guard!' That was the message he sent.

171 When Činggis Qa'an received this news he said, 'Uncle Ĵürĉedei of the Uru'ut, let us make you the vanguard; what do you say?' Before Ĵürĉedei could utter a word, Quyildar Šeĉen of the Mangqut said, 'I shall fight in front of *my* sworn friend! As for how one shall afterwards take care of my orphaned children, *my* sworn friend will decide.' Ĵürĉedei *then* said, 'Let us, Uru'ut and Mangqut, fight as vanguard in front of Činggis Qa'an!'

So saying, Ĵürĉedei and Quyildar arranged themselves in battle order in front of Činggis Qa'an with their Uru'ut and Mangqut *troops*. As they stood *thus*, the enemy arrived with the Ĵirgin as vanguard. When they came *forward*, the Uru'ut and the Mangqut rushed against them and overcame the Ĵirgin. As they advanced, crushing them, Aĉiq Širun of the Tümen Tübegen charged *ahead*.² In the attack, Aĉiq Širun stabbed Quyildar and brought him off *his horse*. The Mangqut turned back and *stood guard* over Quyildar.

¹ I.e., Qori Šilemün Taiši's.

² In support of the Ĵirgin who were being overcome by the Uru'ut and the Mangqut.

Jürčedei then went on the attack with his Uru'ut troops and overcame the Tümen Tübege. As he advanced, crushing them and driving them back, the Olon Dongqayit charged against him, but Jürčedei crushed also the Dongqayit. After overcoming them, as he went forward, Qori Šilemün Taiši attacked him with the thousand bodyguards. When Jürčedei had also repulsed and defeated Qori Šilemün Taiši and was pressing ahead, Senggüm, without permission from Ong Qan, began to charge against him, but was shot by an arrow in one of his bright red cheeks. Senggüm fell there and then from his horse. When Senggüm fell all the Kereyit turned back and stood guard over him.

Having defeated them, when the setting sun touched the hilltops our troops withdrew, taking back with them Quyildar who had fallen from his horse wounded.

Činggis Qa'an and our men moved away from Ong Qan – from the place where they had fought each other. They set out in the evening and spent the night some distance from there.

172 They spent the night standing in battle order. At daybreak, when they held a roll-call, Öködei,¹ Boroqul and Bo'orču were not there. Činggis Qa'an said, 'Bo'orču and Boroqul as true friends have remained behind with Öködei. How could they part from each other, whether living or dying?'

When night came, our men, having brought in their geldings,² spent the night in readiness. Saying, 'If the enemy pursues us we shall fight,' Činggis Qa'an arranged the troops in battle order.

When the day grew light, they beheld a man approaching from the rear. As he came closer, it was Bo'orču.

¹ = Ögödei.

² From the pastures.

When he arrived Činggis Qa'an beat his breast and said, 'Let Eternal Heaven decide what should be!'

Bo'orču said, 'When we went on the attack my horse was shot by an arrow and fell under me. I ran away on foot and as I was going like this, those same Kereyit, having turned back, stood guard over Senggüm; in the fighting's lull, I noticed a pack-horse standing there whose pack had slipped on its side. I cut off its pack, got on the pack-saddle and came away. Following the tracks left by our men when they withdrew from the battlefield, I went on, found them and here I am.'

173 Then, a moment later, another man approached. He advanced and drew closer, his feet dangling under him; yet, when one looked, it seemed like a single person riding. When he came up and drew to a halt, it was Boroqul mounted double behind Öködei with blood trickling from the corners of his mouth.

Öködei had been hit by an arrow in the neck vein; as the blood was clotting, Boroqul had sucked the wound-clogging blood, letting it trickle from the corners of the mouth: that's how he came.

When Činggis Qa'an saw this, tears fell from his eyes and his heart was pained. He speedily ordered a fire to be prepared, had the wound cauterized, and drink sought for Öködei and given to him. 'If the enemy comes after us, we shall fight him!', he said.

Boroqul said, 'The dust raised by the enemy has shifted in the opposite direction towards Hula'an Burqat on the southern side of Ma'u Heights = rising in a long trail, the dust has moved away in the opposite direction.'

At these words of Boroqul, Činggis Qa'an said, 'Had he come after us, we would have fought him; but if we are now witnessing the enemy take flight, we shall regroup our troops and fight him later!' So saying, he departed. After

¹ I.e., as if someone else was riding.

he left, he moved upstream along the Ulqui Šilügeljit *River* and came into Dalan Nemürges.

174 Then, from the rear,¹ Qada'an Daldurqan came up, leaving *behind* his wife and children. When he arrived, Qada'an Daldurqan reported Ong Qan's words saying, 'When Ong Qan's son Senggüm was shot in *one of his* bright red cheeks by an *uĉumaq* arrow and fell from his horse, and the *Kereyit* turned back and stood guard over him, *Ong Qan* then said:

"When it would have been better
Not to stir him up,
We did stir him up;
When it would have been better
Not to provoke him,
We did provoke him – *thus*, alas,
We have been the cause of their driving
A nail into my son's cheek.

But having arrived in time *to save my son's* life, let us *now* together rush *against them!*" Thus he spoke and Aĉiq Širun said to him, "Qan, Qan, desist! Pleading for a son who was yet to come, we made magic strips and uttered *the prayer Abui babui* – we prayed, pleading for him. So at last *your* son Senggüm was born, let us take care of him! Most of the Mongols are on our side, with Ĵamuqa, and with Altan and Quĉar. As for the Mongols who have rebelled *against us* and who left with Temüĵin, where can they go? They are those

Who have *but* a horse as a mount,
Who have *but* a tree as a shelter.

If they do not come *and join us of their own accord*, we shall go *out*, wrap them up like dry horse dung in a skirt, and bring them here!" To these words of Aĉiq Širun, Ong Qan said, "Correct! If this is so, I fear my son may be exhausted. Take care of my son, and do not shake him

¹ I.e., after Činggis Qan – to join him.

while you carry him!" Having said this he withdrew from the battlefield and returned *home*'. So spoke *Qada'an Daldurqan*.

175 Then Činggis Qa'an departed from Dalan Nemürges following the course of the Qalqa *River* downstream, and counted his forces. When numbered, there were two thousand six hundred *men*. With one thousand three hundred *men* Činggis Qa'an moved along the western bank of the Qalqa *while* the Uru'ut and Mangqut moved with one thousand three hundred *men* along the eastern bank of the Qalqa.

They were moving on in this way, hunting for provisions as they went, when Quyildar, whose wounds had not yet healed,¹ without paying heed to a warning by Činggis Qa'an rushed after the game. He had a relapse and died. Činggis Qa'an then buried him at Keltegei Qada, at the Or Bend² of the Qalqa.

176 Činggis Qa'an, knowing that just where the Qalqa *River* flows into Lake Buyur there stayed the Onggirat *chief* Terge Emel and others, sent Ĵürĉedei to them with the Uru'ut *troops*. When he sent him off he said, 'If they say that the Onggirat, from olden days,

Live thanks to the good looks
Of their granddaughters
And the beauty
Of their daughters,³

they will certainly submit to us. If they say that they will oppose us, we shall fight them!'

Because he had been sent with this message, *the Onggirat* submitted to Ĵürĉedei. As they had submitted *peacefully*, Činggis Qa'an did not touch anything of theirs.

¹ See above, § 171.

² Or 'at the slanting cliff of the Or Bend of the Qalqa.' See the Commentary.

³ Cf. above, § 64.

177 Then, after having obtained the Onggirat's submission, Činggis Qa'an departed and, pitching camp east of Tüngge Stream, he gave Arqai Qasar and Sügegei Je'un a verbal message to be delivered to *Ong Qan*, saying, 'Tell this to my father the Qan: "We have pitched camp east of Tüngge Stream; the grass is good and our geldings have gained strength."' He *further* said, 'My father the Qan, out of what grievance did you frighten me? If you must frighten me, why don't you frighten me in such a way *at least* as to let your poor sons and poor daughters-in-law sleep to their heart's content?'

Bringing down the couch on which they sat
According to their rank,
Scattering the smoke that rose upwards
From their tents,

Why have you frightened them so? My father the Qan,
Have you been stung
By someone standing at the side?
Have you been stirred up
By someone coming between us?²

My father the Qan, what did we agree upon, the two of us?
At Hula'anu'ut Bolda'ut of Jorqal Qun did we not say to each other that

Should a snake with *venomous* teeth
Provoke discord *between us*,
Let us not succumb to his provocations.
By explaining *only* mouth to mouth³
We shall believe *each other!*⁴

¹ In view of Ong Qan's adoption of Činggis Qa'an as his son (see above, § 164), by 'poor sons' and 'poor daughters-in-law' are meant Činggis' own brothers and sisters-in-law. If Činggis is to be blamed for something, why should they be involved too?

² Cf. above, § 127, and below, § 201.

³ Lit., 'by teeth and mouth.'

⁴ Cf. above, § 164. For Hula'anu'ut Bolda'ut of Jorqal Qun ('Red Hills of Deer [?] Cliff'), see the Commentary.

Did we not agree to this? And now, my father the Qan, when you parted from me, did you explain mouth to mouth?¹

Should a snake with *venomous* fangs
Spread slander about us,
Let us not give in to his slander
By explaining *only* face to face²
We shall believe *each other!*³

Did we not agree to this? And now, my father the Qan, when you separated from me, did you explain face to face? My father the Qan, even if I *and my followers* are few in number, I gave you no cause to seek for a more numerous group; even if I am bad, I gave you no cause to seek for someone better. If a two-shaft cart breaks the second shaft, the ox cannot pull it. Like that, was I not *also* your other shaft? If a two-wheel cart breaks the second wheel, it cannot move. Like that, was I not *also* your other wheel? If we speak of former days, after your father Qurčaqus Buyirūq Qan you became *qan* because you were the eldest of forty sons. When you became *qan* you killed your two younger brothers Tai Temür Taiši and Buqa Temür; when your younger brother Erke Qara was about to be killed *too*, he escaped, saving his life, and submitted to Inanča Bilge Qan of the Naiman. Because you had become the murderer of your younger brothers, your paternal uncle Gür Qan moved against you. When he came *upon you*, you saved your life by fleeing with a hundred men; you escaped following the Selenge River downstream and sneaked away through the Qara'un Gorge.⁴ Then, when you got out of there, you gave your daughter Huja'ur Üjin *in marriage*

¹ Lit., 'by teeth and mouth.'

² Lit., 'by mouth and tongue.'

³ Cf. above, § 164.

⁴ Cf. above, § 150.

to Toqto'a of the Merkit to please him.¹ Having got out from the Qara'un Gorge you came to my father Yisügei Qan and there and then said to him: "Rescue my people for me from my uncle Gür Qan." Approached by you in that manner, my father Yisügei Qan took with him Qunan and Baqaji from the Tayiçi'ut. Saying, "I shall rescue your people for you," he arrayed his troops and set out. He pursued Gür Qan, who was at Qurban Telesüt, and twenty or thirty of his men towards Qašin; he rescued your people for you. From there you came to the Black Forest by the Tu'ula River and you, my father the Qan, became a sworn friend of Yisügei Qan. Then, Ong Qan my father, you gratefully said, "As for the favour of this good action of yours, I will repay your favour *even* to the children of your children – let *only* the protection of Heaven Above and Earth decide *how*, and *in what measure!*"² You spoke *thus* and were grateful.

'After that Erke Qara³ requested troops from Inanča Bilge Qan of the Naiman and moved against you. When he came *upon you*, you saved your life by abandoning your own people and, fleeing with a few men, you went to the *gür qan* of the Qara Kidat on the Čui River, in the country of the Sarta'ul. In less than a year you rebelled against the *gür qan* and departed once more. Reduced to straits as you went through the country of the Ui'ut and the Tang'ut,⁴ you fed yourself by milking five goats, muzzling *their kids*; you fed yourself *also* by bleeding your camel, and came to me with *only* a blind yellowish-white horse with a black tail and *mane*. When I learned that you, my father the Qan, had arrived in such straits, remembering that you and my father Yisügei Qan had formerly declared yourselves sworn friends, I sent as envoys Taqai and Sükegei to meet you;

¹ I.e., to establish friendly relations with the Merkit.

² Cf. § 163 ad fin.

³ Written Erge Qara. Cf. § 151.

⁴ Cf. above, §§ 151 and 152.

furthermore, from the Bürgi Escarpment on the Kelüren River, I in person went to receive you, and we met at Lake Güse'ür. Since you had arrived in *such* straits, I levied taxes and gave them to you. Because of your former declaration of sworn friendship with my father, the two of us declared ourselves father and son at the Black Forest by the Tu'ula: is that not the reason *why we did it?*¹

'That winter I brought you into *my* camp and took care of you. When winter was over and summer had passed, in the autumn I rode against Toqto'a Beki of the Merkit. I fought with him at Mürüče Se'ül by the Qadiqliq² Ridge. I pursued Toqto'a Beki in the direction of the Barqujin Lowland. I plundered the Merkit: I seized their many herds of horses and palatial tents, their grainstores – all – and gave it to *you*, my father the Qan. Your hunger I did not allow to last until noon, your leanness I did not allow to last until the middle of the month.

'Then we pursued Buyuruq Qan the Gücügür and forced him to cross the Altai from Soqoq Usun by the Uluq Taq; and, going along the Ürünggü River downstream, we finished him off³ at Lake Kičil⁴ Baš.

'As we were returning from that place, Kökse'ü Sabraq of the Naiman had arrayed his troops at the Bayidaraq Confluence and was ready for battle. But, as evening fell, we said, "We shall fight early tomorrow!", and spent the night in *battle* order. Then you, my father the Qan, had fires lit in the place where you were stationed and in the night moved up along the Qara Se'ül River. When I looked out early *next* morning, you were no longer in your position; you had moved out. I said, "They certainly treat us like burnt offerings *at the sacrifice for the dead*," and I moved

¹ See above, § 151.

² = Qadingliq. For these localities see the Commentary.

³ Cf. above, § 158.

⁴ = Kišil.

out too. Crossing *the river* at the Eder Altai Confluence, I came *back* and pitched camp in the Sa'ari Steppe.¹

'Then Kōkse'ü Sabraq pursued you and seized the wife and people of Senggüm – all of them. He captured *also* half the people and livestock belonging to² you, *my* father the Qan, which were at Telegetü Pass. Qudu³ and Čila'un, the sons of Toqto'a of the Merkit, and their people were with you, but at the time of that engagement they deserted you and left, moving into the Barqujin *Lowland* to join their father. Then you, my father the Qan, sent a message saying, "I have been robbed of my people by Kōkse'ü Sabraq of the Naiman; my son, send me your 'four steeds.'"⁴ Not thinking the way you do, I there and then sent you Bo'orču, Muqali, Boroqul and Čila'un Ba'atur, these "four steeds" of mine, and arrayed my troops. Before my "four steeds" *arrived*, Senggüm had just joined battle with Kōkse'ü Sabraq at Hula'an Qut; his horse had been shot in the thigh by an arrow and he *himself* was about to be captured. At that moment, my "four steeds" arrived and saved Senggüm, and they recovered *also* his wife together with his people for him – all of them. Thereupon you, my father the Qan, gratefully said, "My son Temüjin, by sending his 'four steeds', has rescued my lost people for me."⁵

'Now, my father the Qan, out of what grievance do you reprimand me? To *explain* the nature of *this* grievance, send me *your* messengers. When you send them, send Qulbari Quri and Idürgen.⁶ If you do not send both *of them*, send me *at least* the latter.'

178 To these words, Ong Qan said, 'Oh! Sinful *that I am!*
By abandoning my son

¹ Cf. above, §§ 159, 161.

² Lit., 'of.'

³ I.e., Qutu. Cf. §§ 141, 142, 144, 157, 162.

⁴ See above, § 163.

⁵ Cf. above, §§ 162-163.

⁶ Called Itürgen in § 184 below.

I abandoned the norm;
By parting from him
I parted from *my* duty.'

Pained in his heart, Ong Qan said, 'Now, if I think evil when I see *my* son, let *my* blood be shed like this!' And, taking the oath, he pricked the ball of his little finger with his arrow-notching knife, let the blood trickle and poured it into a small birch-bark casket. He sent it *by the messenger* saying, 'Give *this* to my son.'

179 Činggis Qa'an also sent the following verbal message to sworn friend Jamuqa: 'Because you cannot bear the sight *of me*, you caused a rift between my father the Qan and me. *In the past*, the first of us to rise could drink of the blue cup of *my* father the Qan. As I got up first and drank of it you were jealous. Now you may drain the blue cup of *my* father the Qan, but how much more will you *be able* to consume?'

Činggis Qa'an also sent the following verbal message to Altan and Qučar: 'When you rejected me, you two, did you say that you would leave me, *breaking with me* openly, or did you say that you would leave me after you had consulted *only* among yourselves? Qučar, when I said that, of *all of* us, you as the son of Nekün Taiši should become *qan*, you declined. When I said that you, Altan, should then become *qan* and govern us like your father Qutula Qan had been governing us, you too declined. And when I said, "You, Sača and Taiču, become the *qans*," because they were the sons of Bartan Ba'atur¹ from the senior line, I was unable to *obtain their consent*. Because my urging you to become *qan* had no effect, when I was told by you to be the *qan* I governed *the people*. Had you become *qan*, when as vanguard I would have been sent speeding after many foes, *then*, with Heaven's protection, while plundering the enemy people,

¹ An error for Barqaq Ba'atur. See the Commentary.

Maidens and ladies with beautiful cheeks,
 And geldings with fine croups, for you
 I would have brought.
When ordered to go ahead and round up
 Wild beasts *in a battue*, for you
 I would have driven the beasts of the cliffs
 Until their forelegs pressed together.
 For you I would have driven the beasts of the
 steep banks
 Until their thighs pressed together.
 For you I would have driven **the** beasts of
 the steppe
 Until their bellies pressed together.¹

'Now, be the good companions of my father the Qan, for I fear *people* might say that you grow *easily* tired of your friends. Don't let it be said that your achievements were only *due to* the support of *me*, the *ča'ut quri*.² And do not let anyone settle at the source of the Three Rivers!³ He sent this message.

180 Činggis Qa'an also sent the following verbal message to younger brother To'oril: 'The reason for calling you "younger brother" is *this*: Once Oqda Bo'ol⁴ was brought as captive by Tumbinai and Čaraqai Lingqu. Oqda Bo'ol's son was Sübegei Bo'ol. Sübegei Bo'ol's son was Kököčü Kirsā'an. Kököčü Kirsā'an's son was Yegei Qongtaqar.⁵ You, To'oril, are Yegei Qongtaqar's son. You constantly flatter *Ong Qan* saying, "I will give you people" – whose people? Altan and Qučar are surely not going to let anyone rule my people! The reason for my calling you "younger brother" is that you are

¹ Cf. above, § 123.

² = *ja'ut quri*. Cf. above, § 134.

³ I.e., the Onon, the Tūla and the Kerulen. The 'source' of the three rivers is the area of Mount Burqan Qaldun.

⁴ I.e., 'Oqda the Slave.'

⁵ = Jegei Qongdaqor. See above, § 120.

The threshold slave
 Of my great-great-grandfather,
 The personal door slave
 Of my great-grandfather.¹

Such is my message for you.'

181 Činggis Qa'an also sent the following verbal message to his sworn friend Senggüm: 'Although I was a son born clothed and you were a son born naked,² our father the Qan looked after both of us equally; but you, sworn friend Senggüm, drove me out because you were jealous that I might come between you and our father. Now do not pain our father the Qan's heart. Evening and morning, coming in and going out, always be of comfort to him. Do not distress or rend the heart of our father the Qan by saying, without giving up your earlier intentions and while our father the Qan is still alive, that you will become *qan*!' And he also sent this message: 'Sworn friend Senggüm, send me your messengers. When you send them, send me Bilge Beki and Tödö'en. [If you do not send both of them,] send at least the latter. When you send messengers to me, father the Qan, send two messengers; sworn friend Senggüm, you also send two messengers; sworn friend Jāmuqa, you also send two messengers; Altan, you also send two messengers; Qučar, you also send two messengers; Ačiq Širun, you also send two messengers; Qači'un, you also send two messengers!' And he had these messages conveyed by word of mouth through Arqai Qasar and Sügei Je'un.

When the messages were delivered in this way, Senggüm said, 'When did he ever say "our father the Qan"? Didn't he rather say "the old murderer"? When did he ever call me "sworn friend"? Didn't he rather say that I am like "Toqto'a the shaman wearing the tail of a Sartaq sheep"³? I

¹ Cf. §§ 137 and 211.

² I.e., 'I am the adopted son and you the natural son (of Ong Qan).'

³ I.e., somebody to laugh at. See the Commentary for this saying.

do understand the scheme behind these words *of his*: they are the words **that** precede a fight. You Bilge Beki and Tödö'en raise the war standard and fatten the geldings; there is no *time for* hesitation!

And so Arqai Qasar returned from Ong Qan, but because the wife and children of Sügegei Ĵe'un were there with To'oril,¹ Sügegei Ĵe'un did not have the courage to go with Arqai and stayed behind. When Arqai arrived he reported these words *of Senggüm* to Činggis Qa'an.

182 Činggis Qa'an then left and pitched camp at Lake Baljuna. When he was about to encamp, he met right there the Qorulas of Čo'os Čaqān.² These Qorulas submitted to him without fighting.

From Alaquš Digit Quri of the Önggüt came Asan³ the Sartaq. He had a white camel and was driving a thousand wethers along the Ergüne River downstream in order to buy *pelts of* sables and squirrels. As he drew in to water *his wethers at Lake Baljuna* he met Činggis Qa'an.

183 Činggis Qa'an was also watering *his animals* at the same Lake Baljuna when Qasar, leaving *behind* his wife and his three sons Yegü, Yisüngge and Tuqu with Ong Qan, departed with his companions – few in number and dispossessed of all but their bodies. Saying, 'I will join my elder brother,' he searched for Činggis Qa'an. He climbed the ridges of Qara'un Ĵidun,⁴ but he could not find him *there*; being in *dire* straits he ate hides and sinews and went on, *eventually* joining Činggis Qa'an at Lake Baljuna.

Činggis Qa'an received Qasar and rejoiced. They agreed to send messengers to Ong Qan. Through Qali'udar of the Ĵe'üret and Čaqurqan⁵ of the Uriangqai Činggis

¹ This To'oril is Sügegei's brother mentioned in § 180 above.

² Cf. § 141. See the Commentary.

³ = Hasan.

⁴ I.e., 'Dark (or Black) Ridge.'

⁵ = Ča'urqan. See above, § 120.

Qa'an sent a message. He told Qali'udar and Čaqurqan, 'Tell my father the Qan that these are the words of Qasar,' saying:

'I watched for my elder brother
But lost sight of him;
I searched for his tracks
But could not find his trail;¹
I called him but my voice
He did not hear.
I now lie gazing at the stars
I with a clod of earth as my pillow.

My wife and sons are with you, my father the Qan. If, hopefully, I get from you someone I can trust, I will come back to my father the Qan. Tell him that Qasar sent this message!' He also said to them, 'We shall follow close behind you and meet at Arqal Geügi² on the Kelüren River. You must come there!'

Having agreed on the time and place of meeting, Činggis Qa'an forthwith sent Qali'udar and Čaqurqan on their mission. He sent Ĵürcedei and Arqai ahead to reconnoitre, and at once set forth from Lake Baljuna together with the army. They rode out and arrived at Arqal Geügi on the Kelüren River.

184 Qali'udar and Čaqurqan reached Ong Qan and gave him the verbal message sent from here,³ saying, 'It is Qasar's message.' Ong Qan had set up his golden tent of thin woollen cloth and was feasting, not suspecting anything. Upon the words of Qali'udar and Čaqurqan, Ong Qan said, 'If it is so, let Qasar come!' He then said, 'I shall give Itürgen in trust.'⁴ And he sent him with them.

¹ Cf. above, § 56.

² I.e., 'Dry Dung Hook.' See the Commentary.

³ I.e., from Lake Baljuna, by Činggis Qa'an.

⁴ I.e., as guarantor, as requested by Qasar.

And so they came, and as they were reaching the appointed place at Arqal Geügi, the envoy Itürgen seeing the signs of a multitude *in the distance*, turned back and fled. Qali'udar's horse being *swifter*, Qali'udar caught up with him, but did not venture to *seize him*; *instead*, going *now* in front of him, *now* behind him, he kept on obstructing *his way*. Čaqurqan's horse was *slower*; at an arrow's shot from the rear,¹ he hit Itürgen's gold-saddled black gelding on the tip of its rump, so that it sat *on its haunches*. Qali'udar and Čaqurqan then took Itürgen captive and brought him to Činggis Qa'an. Not speaking to Itürgen, Činggis Qa'an said, 'Take him to Qasar; let Qasar decide *how to deal with him!*' They took him to Qasar who, without saying a word to him, cut Itürgen down and cast away *his body* there and then.

185 Qali'udar and Čaqurqan said to Činggis Qa'an, 'Ong Qan is off his guard; he has pitched his golden tent and is feasting. Let us quickly move *forward from here* and, travelling through the night, let us attack him by surprise and surround him!'

Činggis Qa'an approved these words and sent Jürčedei and Arqai ahead to reconnoitre. They travelled through the night and having reached *Ong Qan's camp*, which was at the Ĵer Gorge pass of Ĵeje'er Heights, they surrounded it.

They fought for three nights and three days, but *our men* stood *firm*, surrounding *the Kereyit*, who on the third day were exhausted and surrendered. Ong Qan and Senggüm escaped during the night – how *they did so* was *not known*. One who fought *longer than the others* was Qadaq Ba'atur of *the Ĵirgin*. When he came out to surrender, Qadaq Ba'atur said, 'We fought three nights and three days. I said to myself, "How can I let my rightful lord² be seized and killed before my eyes?" Unable to forsake

¹ Lit., 'from the furthest point an arrow would reach from behind.'

² Lit., 'qan.' Cf. above, § 149.

him, I struggled and kept on fighting so that he could escape and save his life. Now, if I shall be made to die, I shall die, but if Činggis Qa'an favours me, I will serve him.'

Činggis Qa'an approved Qadaq Ba'atur's words, saying, 'Is he not a *true* fighting man who says that he is unable to forsake his rightful lord and lets him escape, saving his life? He is a man worthy to be one's companion.' And favouring him, he did not have him killed. 'Because Quyildar *lost his life*,¹ Qadaq Ba'atur and one hundred Ĵirgin must serve Quyildar's wife and children. If boys are born to them, they must in turn serve Quyildar's *descendants* to the offspring of *his* offspring. If girls are born to them, their parents must not betroth them according to their own wishes, for *their daughters* must be servants and attend to Quyildar's wife and children.' He gave this order favouring *Qadaq Ba'atur*.

Because Quyildar Sečen had opened his mouth *and spoken first*, even before *Jürčedei*², Činggis Qa'an favoured him with the following order: 'On account of Quyildar's service, Quyildar's *descendants* to the offspring of *his* offspring shall receive the bounty *granted* to orphans.'

¹ See above, § 175.

² See above, § 171.

THE SECRET HISTORY OF THE MONGOLS

CHAPTER SEVEN

186 Thus Činggis Qa'an crushed and despoiled the Kereyit people, distributing them on all sides. He gave Taqai Ba'atur of the Suldus one hundred Ĵirgin in reward for his services. Further, Činggis Qa'an ordered as follows: Ong Qan's younger brother Jaqa Gambu had two daughters. The elder one, Ibaqa Beki, Činggis Qa'an took for himself. The younger one, Sorqatani Beki, he gave to Tolui. For that reason, saying that Jaqa Gambu and the personal subjects belonging to him should be kept together and be regarded like the second shaft of a cart for himself, he showed favour to Jaqa Gambu and did not take his people away from him.

187 Činggis Qa'an also gave the following order: 'Because of Badai's and Kišiliq's service, they shall have Ong Qan's golden tent just as it stands, with his golden bowls and vessels, together with the people who looked after them, and the Ongqojit Kereyit as their bodyguards. You, Badai and Kišiliq, enjoy the privilege of being freemen to the offspring of your offspring, allowed to carry quivers and drink the ceremonial wine!

When swiftly pursuing many foes,

If you get booty,

What you get you shall take away.

When in a battue

You slaughter wild beasts,

What you slaughter you shall take away.'

He further ordered: 'Because of the vital service performed by Badai and Kišiliq, and under the protection of Eternal Heaven, I crushed the Kereyit people and, indeed, gained the high throne. In future, the offspring of my offspring who will occupy this throne of mine must

successively remember those two who performed such service!' So he ordered.

When the Mongols subjugated the Kereyit people, they distributed them among each other so that nobody went short. They distributed the Tümen Tübe'en¹ and they all took of them until they had plenty. They despoiled the Olon Dongqayit in less than a day. As for the brave Ĵirgin who used to strip the blood-stained clothing and possessions from the enemy, they divided and apportioned them, but could not give some to everybody. Having in this way annihilated the Kereyit people, Činggis Qa'an spent that winter at Abji'a Ködeger.²

188 Ong Qan and Senggüm escaped with their bare lives³ and went away, unwilling to submit to Činggis Qa'an. Ong Qan, who was suffering from thirst, was going to drink at Nekün Usun⁴ of Didik Saqal⁵ when he came across the Naiman patrolman Qori Sübeči. Qori Sübeči seized Ong Qan and although the latter declared, 'I am Ong Qan', Qori Sübeči did not recognise him and, disbelieving him, slew him on the spot.

Senggüm did not go to Nekün Usun of Didik Saqal, but bypassed it and entered the Čöl.⁶ While searching for water, he⁷ dismounted and stalked some wild asses that were standing there, plagued by gadflies. Senggüm's companion, the equerry Kōkōčū had his wife with him. With Senggüm they were altogether three of them. He⁸ gave his horse to his equerry Kōkōčū to hold. The equerry Kōkōčū led the horse away and started trotting back home. His wife said,

¹ = Tümen Tübegeŋ. Cf. above, §§ 170, 171.

² I.e., 'Shrunk (?) Height (or Elevation).'

³ Lit., 'with nothing other than their bodies.' Cf. above, § 109 and n. 3.

⁴ I.e., 'Slave Water (= Spring?).'

⁵ I.e., 'Mud Beard.' See the Commentary.

⁶ I.e., 'the Desert' (= the Gobi).

⁷ Lit., 'Senggüm.'

⁸ I.e., Senggüm.

'When you wore gold-embroidered clothes,

And ate tasty dishes,

He¹ called you "my Kōkōcū." How can you go away *now*, forsaking and abandoning in this way your lord Senggūm? So saying, his wife stopped *there and remained behind*.

Kōkōcū said, 'Surely you have said to yourself, "I want to take Senggūm as my man!"' To these words his wife said, 'You call me "A woman with a dog's face;"² *all the same* give him at least his golden cup – let him at least draw water and drink!' Thereupon the equerry Kōkōcū threw the golden cup back at him, saying, 'Take it!', and trotted off.

And so he came *to us*, and upon his arrival the equerry Kōkōcū said to Činggis Qa'an, 'This is how I have come, leaving Senggūm in the Čöl', and he related from beginning to end everything that had **been said between himself and his wife**. Činggis Qa'an *then* ordered: 'To his wife I will show favour. As for the equerry Kōkōcū himself, who comes here having in this manner abandoned his rightful lord, who would now trust such a man and take him for a companion?' He cut him down and cast away *his body*.

¹⁸⁹ Gürbesü, the mother of Tayang Qan of the Naiman, said, 'Ong Qan was the great old *qan* of former days. Bring his head here and if it is really his we shall sacrifice to it!' She sent a messenger to Qori Sübeči and had him cut off and bring back his³ head. She recognized it and placed it on a large white felt rug. She had her daughters-in-law perform the rites *pertaining* to a daughter-in-law, ordered that the ceremonial wine be drunk and the *horse* fiddle be played, and, **holding the cup, made** an offering *to the head*.

The head, being then so honoured, laughed. 'It laughed', said Tayang Qan; he stamped on it *and crushed it*

¹ I.e., Senggūm.

² I.e., a shameless bitch – referring to an unfaithful wife. See the Commentary.

³ I.e., Ong Qan's.

to pieces. Thereupon Kōkse'ü Sabraq said, 'You have cut off the dead *qan's* head and brought it here; the next *thing* you *do is to* crush it to pieces! This is not right. The sound of our dogs' barking has turned nasty.¹ Inanča Bilge Qan *formerly* said:

"My wife is young, but

I, her husband, have become old.

This *son of mine* Tayang

I begot *only* through magic.

Ah, *this* son of mine, born a weakling,

Has grown weak and emaciated:²

Will he be able to care for and control

My numerous, base and unruly people?"

So he said. Now the dogs are barking and this barking sounds as if *a calamity* is approaching. The rule of our queen Gürbesü has become harsh, and you, my *qan* Torluq Tayang, are soft. You have no thought or skill except for falconry and hunting.'

Being told so, Tayang Qan then said, 'I hear that there are a few Mongols yonder in the east. These people with their quivers terrified the great old Ong Qan of former days, causing him to desert his own companions and perish. Do they now want to be rulers themselves? Even if there are two shining lights, the sun and the moon, in the sky above – both sun and moon are indeed there – yet how can there be two rulers on earth? Let us go and bring here those few Mongols!'

At that, his mother Gürbesü said, 'What could we do with them? The Mongol people have *always* smelt bad and worn grimy clothes. They live apart, and far away. Let them stay *there*. But we might perhaps have their fine daughters and daughters-in-law brought here and, making

¹ I.e., of bad omen.

² Doubtful interpretation. See the Commentary.

them wash their hands, perhaps just let them milk our cows and sheep.'

On this Tayang Qan said, 'If that is so, what do they have *for us to worry about?* Let us go to those Mongols and we will surely bring back their quivers!'

190

To these words Kökse'ü Sabraq said, 'How boastfully you speak! O Torluq Qan, is this proper? You had better stop *talking!*' Despite Kökse'ü Sabraq's warning, *Tayang Qan* sent an envoy called Torbi Taš to Alaquš Digit Quri of the Önggüt with this message: 'I am told that there are a few Mongols yonder east. You be the right *wing*. I shall join you from here and we will take the quivers of those few Mongols!'

Alaquš Digit Quri replied to these words saying, 'I cannot be the right wing.' Having sent this message, Alaquš Digit Quri had the following communication conveyed to Činggis Qa'an through his envoy called Yuqunan: 'Tayang Qan of the Naiman is coming to take your quivers. He approached me saying that I should be the right wing, but I refused. Now I am sending you this warning, for I fear that if he comes you may be robbed of your quivers.'

Just at that time Činggis Qa'an was hunting in the Teme'en Steppe;¹ he was encircling Tülkin Če'üt² when Yuqunan, the envoy sent by Alaquš Digit Quri, arrived to deliver this message.

On receiving this message, and whilst *still* at the hunt, they at once discussed what to do. Many of the men said, 'Our geldings are lean, there is nothing we can do now.' To that *Otcigin Noyan* retorted saying, 'How can one make the excuse that the geldings are lean? My geldings are fat! How can we stay put when we hear such words *as these?*' Then Belgütei Noyan spoke: 'If, when one is *still* alive, an enemy is allowed to take away one's quiver, what is the

¹ Lit., 'Camel Steppe (or Plain).'

² I.e., 'Tülkin (?) Hills.'

advantage of living? Isn't it right for any man born that when he dies he should lie with his quiver and bow alongside his bones? The Naiman people are boastful, bragging that they possess a great country and a large population. If *now*, grasping the chance their boasts afford us, we set out on a campaign and remove their quivers, would *this* be so difficult? If we go forward, won't their numerous herds come to a halt and stay behind? Burdened with their palatial tents, won't they abandon them? Won't their many people depart and seek shelter in high places? How can we stay put and allow such *people* to keep boasting in this way? Let us ride against them at once!' Thus he spoke.

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Činggis Qa'an approved these words of Belgütei Noyan and, returning from the hunt, moved from Abjiqa Köteger¹ and set up camp at Keltegei Qada, at the Or Bend of the Qalqa River.² He counted his troops and on the spot formed units of a thousand *men*, appointing the commanders of a thousand, the commanders of a hundred and the commanders of ten. Thereupon he appointed as chamberlains³ Dödei Čerbi, Doqolqu Čerbi, Ögele Čerbi, Tolun Čerbi, Bučaran Čerbi and Söyiketü Čerbi. Then, having appointed these six chamberlains, he formed units of a thousand, a hundred, and ten *men*, and he chose and recruited eighty *men* to serve on roster as nightguards and seventy *men* to serve as dayguards. He recruited them from the sons and younger brothers of commanders of a thousand and of a hundred, as well as from the sons and younger brothers of mere ordinary people, choosing and recruiting those who were able and of good appearance.

Showing favour to Arqai Qasar, he then ordered: 'Let him choose himself his brave warriors and form a unit of a

¹ The Abji'a Ködeger of § 187 above.

² See above, § 175, n. 2.

³ Čerbin. See the Commentary, §§ 120 and 191.

thousand to fight before me in time of battle; in the many *other days of peace* they shall serve as my dayguards.' He also said, 'Ögöle Čerbi shall be the commander of the seventy dayguards, *acting* in consultation with Qudus Qalčan.'¹

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Činggis Qa'an further ordered: 'The quiverbearers, the dayguards, the stewards, the doorkeepers and the grooms are to go on roster duty in *daytime*. Before the sun sets they shall retire *to make way* for the nightguards;² they shall go out to their geldings and spend the night *there*. At night, the nightguards shall see that *those of their men whose duty it is* to lie all around *Our* tent do so, and they shall put on roster *those of their men whose duty it is* to stand at the door *to guard it*. The following morning, when We eat soup, the quiverbearers and the dayguards shall report to the nightguards; the quiverbearers, dayguards, stewards and doorkeepers shall *all* carry out their respective tasks and take their *appointed* places. When they have completed their days of service, *consisting of* a three-day and a three-night turn of duty, and have passed the three nights exactly in the same manner,³ they shall be relieved, but the night *after their relief*, they shall *still* be on duty as nightguards, and shall spend the night lying down all around.' So he ordered.

In this way Činggis Qa'an, having formed the units of a thousand, appointed the chamberlains, recruited eighty men to serve on roster as nightguards and seventy men to serve as dayguards; he let Arqai Qasar choose the brave men,⁴ and set out against the Naiman people from Keltegei Qada, at the Or Bend of the Qalqa River.

193

In the Year of the Rat, on the sixteenth day of the first month of summer (17 May 1204), *the day of* the Red Circle,¹ he consecrated the standard² and set forth. He rode upstream along the Kelüren River and sent Ĵebe and Qubilai ahead to reconnoitre. When they reached the Sa'ari Steppe, the Naiman patrol was *already* there, on the top of *Mount Qangqarqan*. Our patrolmen *and theirs* went in pursuit of one another. The Naiman patrol seized one of our patrolmen who had a white horse with a rather poor saddle.³ When the Naiman patrol caught that horse, they consulted among themselves and said, 'The Mongols' geldings are lean!'

When our *soldiers* reached the Sa'ari Steppe they halted there and discussed what to do. Then Dödei Čerbi gave the following advice to Činggis Qa'an: 'It is we who are few *in number* and, in addition to being few, we have arrived *here* exhausted. So, let us indeed halt and set up camp, spreading over the Sa'ari Steppe here until our geldings have eaten their fill. Let every single one⁴ *of us* each light fires in five different places and frighten *the enemy* with *all these camp* fires. They say the Naiman people are numerous, but they *also* say that their *qan* is a weakling who has not yet come out of his tent. While we keep them in doubt with the fires, our geldings will eat their fill. When our geldings are satiated, we shall chase the Naiman patrolmen and, pressing hard on them, we shall make them rejoin the main body *of the army*. If we engage them in combat in that confusion, won't we get the better of them?'

Approving these words of advice *from Dödei Čerbi*, Činggis Qa'an gave the following order: 'Things being so,

¹ I.e., sharing command with him. Ögöle = Ögele. See above, § 120 and com.

² I.e., so as to be relieved by the nightguards.

³ I.e., as ordered.

⁴ See the Commentary.

¹ I.e., 'of the full moon.' Cf. above, §§ 81, 118.

² Cf. above, § 106.

³ I.e., a rather loose saddle.

⁴ Lit., 'every living person', i.e. every individual in the camp without exception.

let them light the fires!', and he proclaimed *it as* law to the soldiers.¹ Thus, they set up camp spreading over the Sa'ari Steppe and everyone² was made to light fires in five different places.

At night the Naiman patrolmen, seeing *so* many night-fires from the top of *Mount Qangqarqan*, said, 'Did we not say that the Mongols are only few in number? Their *camp* fires are more numerous than the stars!' They had sent to Tayang Qan the little white horse with the rather poor saddle; *now* they sent him this message: 'The Mongol troops have set up camp so as to cover the *whole* Sa'ari Steppe; they seem to increase daily, and their fires are more numerous than the stars.'

194 When this news from the patrolmen reached him, Tayang Qan was at Qaçir Usun³ in the Qangqai Mountains. Upon receiving the news he sent word to his son Güçülük Qan: 'The geldings of the Mongols are lean, but *our* patrolmen say that their *camp* fires are more numerous than the stars. The Mongols are, *therefore*, many.

If we engage them *and fight them* to the end,
Will it not be difficult to disengage ourselves?

If we engage them *and fight them* to the end,
They will not blink their black eyes.

Is it advisable for us

To fight these tough Mongols

Who do not flinch *even* if their cheeks are pierced

And their black blood gushes forth?

We are told that the geldings of the Mongols are lean. Let us move, withdrawing our people across the Altai. We shall *then* reorganize our troops and lure them⁴ after us as we go.

¹ See the Commentary.

² Lit., 'every living person', i.e. every individual in the camp without exception.

³ I.e., 'Mule Water.'

⁴ I.e., the Mongols.

We shall march until we reach the southern slopes of the Altai, fighting a dog's fight.¹ Our geldings are fat: when we have made their bellies leaner and have exhausted the geldings of the Mongols we shall *turn back and* smash into their faces.' He sent this message.

To these words Güçülük Qan said, 'Again *that* woman Tayang! He speaks such words because he has lost courage. Where would this vast number of Mongols come from? Most Mongols, together with Jämuqa, are here with us. *That* woman Tayang,

Who *dares* not walk further than

A pregnant woman *goes* to urinate;

Who does not *even* venture so far as

A wheel-tied calf *reaches* for its feed,

has lost heart and has sent me that message, hasn't he?'

Güçülük Qan through the envoy had his words conveyed to his father to hurt and distress him; to these words, whereby Tayang Qan himself was spoken of as behaving like a woman, Tayang Qan said, 'May the strong and proud Güçülük not lose this pride of his on the day when we meet *on the battlefield* and slay one another! When we meet *on the battlefield* and fight to the end it will surely be difficult to disengage ourselves!'

Upon these words Qori Sübeçi, a high official who held command under Tayang Qan, said, 'Your father Inanča Bilge Qan never showed a man's back or a gelding's rump to an enemy that was his match. Now you, how can you lose heart when it is *still so* early in the morning? Had we known that you would have lost courage in this manner, shouldn't we have brought your mother Gürbesü, even though she is *only* a woman, and given her command of the army? What a pity, alas, that Kökse'ü Sabraq should have become *so* old! The discipline in our army has grown lax! *This* is, surely, the *favourable* time and the destiny of the

¹ I.e., engaging in skirmishes.

Mongols decreed by Heaven and Earth. We are finished! Ah, weakling Tayang, it looks as if you are quite powerless.' Thus he spoke and, having struck on his quiver, he trotted off and went his separate way.

195 At this Tayang Qan grew angry and said, 'A life means to die, a body means to suffer: it is the same destiny for all! That being so, let us fight!' Moving from Qaçir Usun he went downstream along the Tamir River and crossed the Orqon. Passing along the eastern fringe of the Naqu Cliff he reached Čakirma'ut,¹ where Činggis Qa'an's patrolmen saw him as he was approaching. They sent a message to Činggis Qa'an saying, 'The Naiman have arrived and are drawing near.'

When this news reached him, Činggis Qa'an said, 'The more numerous, the greater damage; the less numerous, the lesser damage.'² He rode against them and, having driven away their patrolmen, he arrayed his troops and together with the army leaders decided to advance in 'caragana' marching-order, to stand in 'lake' battle-formation and fight a 'chisel' combat.³

Having spoken thus, Činggis Qa'an in person formed the vanguard, putting Qasar in charge of the main body of the army and Otčigin Noyan in charge of the reserve horses. The Naiman withdrew from Čakirma'ut and took up position south of Naqu Cliff, along the mountain fringes. Then our patrolmen arrived driving away the Naiman patrolmen and pursuing them until they joined the main body of their army south of Naqu Cliff.

Tayang Qan saw them arriving thus in hot pursuit. At that time Jamuqa had also set forth with his troops and had come with the Naiman. As he was there, Tayang Qan asked

¹ I.e., 'Three-Year-Old Deer (?)'

² A popular saying, used here with reference to Tayang Qan's more numerous forces.

³ For these military tactics see the Commentary.

Jamuqa, 'What sort of people are those, who are like wolves that come chasing a flock of sheep and pursuing them as far as the sheep-pen? What people are these, drawing near in such hot pursuit?'

Jamuqa said, 'My sworn friend Temüjin has been feeding "four hounds" on human flesh, leashing¹ them with iron chains. They are the ones approaching in pursuit of our patrol. Those "four hounds",

Their foreheads are of hardened copper,

They have chisels for snouts,

And awls for tongues;

With hearts of iron,

And swords for whips,

They advance feeding on dew

And riding on the wind.

On the day of killing

They eat human flesh, those ones;

On the day of battles

They make human flesh

Their provisions,² those ones.

Loosed from their iron chains – which had surely restrained them! – they are now full of joy and are approaching thus, slaving at the mouth', he said. 'Who are those "four hounds"? They are Ĵebe and Qubilai, Ĵelme and Sübe'etei. Those are the four.'

Tayang Qan said, 'Let us then stay away from those vile creatures!' He retreated in haste and took up position astride the mountain.

When he saw them approaching from the rear and encircling them,³ leaping in delight, Tayang Qan again asked Jamuqa, 'What sort of people are these, who are like foals let loose early in the morning – foals that after sucking

¹ Lit., 'binding.'

² I.e., as provisions for the road.

³ I.e., Tayang Qan and Jamuqa.

their mother's milk are *always* gambolling around her?¹
Why are they approaching, encircling us in this manner?

Jamuqa said, 'These are called the Uru'ut and the Mangqut:

They rush after men *armed* with spears
And strip them of their blood-stained clothing;
Chasing after men *armed* with swords,
They fell and kill them,
And take away their valuables and clothing.

Do they not rejoice now as they draw near, bounding thus in delight?

Thereupon Tayang Qan said, 'If that is so, let us stay away from those vile *creatures!*' He took up position, retreating further up the mountain.

Tayang Qan *again* asked Jamuqa, 'Who is the one approaching from the rear, coming forward at the head of the army and drawing near like a greedy, slaving falcon?'

Jamuqa said, 'The one approaching us is my sworn friend Temüjin. Over his whole body,

There is not a *single* chink
Where a hard copper awl can drive in its spike;
Nor a *single* chink
Where a wrought-iron sewing needle
Can insert its sharp point.

My sworn friend Temüjin is indeed drawing near, slaving thus like a greedy falcon. *Have you seen him? You* Naiman friends *used to say that* if you saw the Mongols, you would not leave them even the skin of a kid's hoof. Behold them now!

On these words Tayang Qan said, 'This is simply dreadful! Let us take position *further up the mountain!*' They climbed up the mountain and took position.

Again Tayang Qan asked Jamuqa, 'And who is the one that is approaching from the rear *as if* in a compact mass?'

Jamuqa said, 'Mother Hö'elün has raised one of her sons on human flesh:

His body is *three fathoms high*,
And he dines on *three-year old cattle*;
Wearing a *three-layered* armour,
He is *pulled along in his cart* by three bulls.
When he *swallows* a man complete with quiver,
It does not get stuck in his throat.
When he gulps down a whole man,
It does not fill his stomach.
When he is angry and draws *his bow*,
And releases a forked-tip arrow,
He shoots and pierces ten or *twenty* men
Who are beyond a *mountain*;
When he draws *his bow* and releases
A long-range thin arrow,
He shoots and pierces through his enemies,
The ones he fights
Who are beyond the steppe.
When he shoots, drawing *his bow* to the full,
He covers nine hundred fathoms;
When he shoots, drawing it *only* a little,
He covers *five* hundred fathoms.
Different from all *other* men,
He was born a coiling dragon-snake.
His name is *Joči Qasar*.

That is he!' Tayang Qan then said, 'If this is so, let us strive for the mountain heights and go *further up!*' They climbed *further up the mountain* and took position.

Again Tayang Qan asked Jamuqa, 'Who is approaching after him?' Jamuqa said, 'He is the youngest son of Mother Hö'elün. He is called *Očigin*, the Easy-going. He is an early sleeper and a late riser, yet

He does not lag behind, *when the army* is in full array;
He does not lag behind, *when the army* is in position.'

¹ Lit., 'their mother.'

Tayang Qan said, 'If this is so, let us go up to the top of the mountain!'

196

After speaking such words to Tayang Qan, Ĵamuqa separated from the Naiman and went off on his own. He sent *an envoy* to deliver a verbal message to Činggis Qa'an saying, 'Tell *this* to the sworn friend', and he said:

'At my words Tayang Qan has lost his head
And in panic he has scrambled to the heights.
Frightened to death by *the words from my mouth*
He has climbed up the mountain.
Sworn friend, take care!
Up they went, climbing the mountain,
And have lost the will to resist.

As for me, I have separated from the Naiman.' He sent *this* message.

Late in the day Činggis Qa'an surrounded the mountain of Naqu Cliff; he took up position *with his troops* and spent the night *there*.

That night the Naiman moved *from their position* and tried to escape. Tumbling down from the height of Naqu Cliff, they piled on top of each other; they fell breaking their bones and died crushing each other till they were *like* heaps of rotten logs.

The following morning Činggis Qa'an finished off Tayang Qan. Güčülük, who had been staying apart *from the rest* moved *from there* with a few men, abandoning his own companions. *When the Mongol troops* caught up with him, he set up a circular camp at the Tamir River, but unable to hold that camp he *again* set out and fled further away.

Činggis Qa'an utterly defeated and conquered the people of the Naiman tribe on the southern slopes of the Altai. The Ĵadaran, Qatagin, Salji'ut, Dörben, Tayiči'ut, Onggirat and other *people* who had been with Ĵamuqa also submitted on that occasion.

Činggis Qa'an had Tayang's mother Gürbesü brought to him and said to her, 'You used to say that the Mongols

have a bad smell, didn't you? Why, *then*, did you come now?' And Činggis Qa'an took her *as wife*.

197

In that same Year of the Rat (1204), in the autumn, Činggis Qa'an fought with Toqto'a Beki of the Merkit at the Qaradal Source. He dislodged him *from there* and subdued his tribe and *all his* people in the Sa'ari Steppe. Toqto'a, with his sons Qudu¹ and Čila'un and a few people, dispossessed of all but their bodies,² got away by flight.

When the Merkit people were thus being subdued, Dayir Usun of the Qo'as Merkit³ took his daughter Qulan Qatun with him and came to offer her to Činggis Qa'an. On the way he was hindered by *some* soldiers and met Naya'a Noyan of the Ba'arin. Dayir Usun said to him, 'I am on my way to offer this daughter of mine to Činggis Qa'an.' Detaining him, Naya'a Noyan then said, 'Let us go together to offer your daughter.' As he detained him, he said, 'In *this* time of disorder, if you go alone, soldiers on the way will certainly not leave even you alive, and your daughter too will be in *much* trouble.' And he held Dayir Usun for three days and three nights.

After that Naya'a Noyan took Qulan Qatun and Dayir Usun, and brought them together to Činggis Qa'an. Činggis Qa'an then said, 'Naya'a, why did you detain her?' He got very angry and, ordering that *Naya'a* be rigorously and minutely questioned, made *this case a matter of law*.⁴

While they were questioning him, Qulan Qatun said, 'Naya'a said *to my father*, "I am a high officer of Činggis Qa'an. Let us go together to offer your daughter to the Qa'an. The soldiers on the way will be troublesome." So he warned us *against going alone*. Now, had we met with other troops but Naya'a's, no doubt we would have been

¹ Cf. above, § 177.

² Cf. above, § 109.

³ A mistake for U'as Merkit.

⁴ I.e., made a law to deal with such matters in the future.

intercepted and would have got into difficulties. Perhaps our *chance* meeting with this Naya'a was good *for us*. Now that Naya'a is *being* questioned, the Qa'an may condescend to inspect my body, which my father and mother bore by Heaven's will.' She had this message conveyed to Činggis Qa'an.

When Naya'a was questioned he said, 'I have no other face than that *known to* the Qa'an.'¹

If I come across maidens and ladies
Of foreign people with beautiful cheeks,
And geldings with fine croups,
I *always* say, "They are the Qa'an's!"
If *ever* I think differently from this, let me die!

Činggis Qa'an approved of Qulan Qatun's testimony; then, that very day, he examined her accordingly and it turned out to be just as Qulan Qatun had stated.

Činggis Qa'an showed favour to Qulan Qatun and loved her. As Naya'a's words had been confirmed, he approved of him. He showed favour to him *too*, saying, 'He is a truthful *man*, I shall entrust him with an important task!'

¹ I.e., 'I am sincere and loyal to the Qa'an.'

THE SECRET HISTORY OF THE MONGOLS

CHAPTER EIGHT

198 After Činggis Qa'an subjugated the Merkit people, of the two wives of Toqto'a Beki's eldest son Qudu – Tögei and Döregene – he gave Döregene to Ögödei Qa'an.

Half of the Merkit people revolted and barricaded themselves in the Taiqal stronghold. Činggis Qa'an then gave orders that Čimbai, the son of Sorqan Šira, be put in command and sent him to attack the entrenched Merkit with the troops of the left¹ wing.

Unwilling to submit, Toqto'a with his sons Qudu and Čila'un – *only* a few men *altogether* – had escaped with their bare lives. Činggis Qa'an pursued them and spent the winter south of the Altai.

In the spring of the Year of the Ox (1205), he set out and crossed the Alai.² Güčülük Qan of the Naiman, after his people had been captured by Činggis Qa'an, would not submit and *with his companions* – a few men *in number* – went and made an alliance with Toqto'a of the Merkit. They came together at the Buqdurma source of the Erdiš³ River and arrayed their troops.

When Činggis Qa'an arrived they fought. Toqto'a was struck there and then by a 'random' arrow and fell. His sons could not bury him, nor could they take his body away, *so* they severed his head and took that *away with them*. Then the Naiman and the Merkit were unable, even with their united forces, to keep up the fight and fled. When they moved away and crossed the Erdiš, most of them fell into *the river* and drowned. The few Naiman and Merkit that got

¹ Read 'right' (= 'west'). See the Commentary.

² Arai in the text. See the Commentary.

³ = Erdiš. Cf. below and §§ 207, 264.

through separated and went *in different directions* after completing the crossing of the Erdis.¹ Gücülük Qan of the Naiman went off and, passing through *the country* of the Ui'ur² and the Qarlu'ut, joined the *gür qan* of the Qara Kidat who was at the Čui River in the country of the Sarta'ul. The Merkit, led by Qudu, Qal³ and Čila'un, the sons of Toqto'a of the Merkit, went off and crossed *the country* of the Qanqlin and the Kimča'ut.

After that, Činggis Qa'an turned back, crossed the Alai⁴ and settled in his base camp. Čimbai utterly defeated the Merkit entrenched in the Taiqal stronghold. Then, with regard to *these* Merkit, Činggis Qa'an ordered that those to be killed were to be killed and the remainder were to be despoiled by the soldiers.

The Merkit who had submitted earlier rose again in rebellion *and tried to break out* from the base camp, but our servants in the camp brought them under control. Činggis Qa'an then spoke, saying, 'I had said that they be kept together as one *tribe*, but these same *people* have *now* revolted', and he had the Merkit distributed here and there⁵ down to the last one.

199 In that same Year of the Ox (1205) Činggis Qa'an ordered Sübe'etei, who had *been provided with* an iron cart, to pursue the sons of Toqto'a headed by Qudu, Qal and Čila'un. When he sent him *on his mission*, Činggis Qa'an had the following verbal message conveyed to Sübe'etei⁶: 'The sons of Toqto'a having at their head Qudu, Qal and Čila'un left in fright and haste, *then* turned back, exchanged shots with us and went off like lassoed wild asses or stags

¹ = Erdis. Cf. above and §§ 207, 264.

² Ui'urtai in the text. See the Commentary.

³ Qat in the text. See the Commentary.

⁴ Arai in the text. See above.

⁵ I.e., among other groups.

⁶ Written Sübētei.

with arrows *in their bodies*. If they grow wings and fly up into the sky, you, Sübe'etei, will you not fly up like a gerfalcon and catch them? If they turn into marmots and burrow into the ground with their claws, will you not become an iron rod and, digging and searching for them, catch up with them? If they turn into fishes and plunge into the Tenggis Sea,¹ you, Sübe'etei, will you not become a casting-net and a dragnet, and get them by scooping them out? And again, I send you to cross high mountain passes, to ford wide rivers; mindful of the long distance *you have to cover*, you must spare the army mounts before they become *too* lean and you must save your provisions before they come to an end. If a gelding is *already* completely exhausted it will be of no use to spare it *then*; if your provisions have *already* completely run out, how can you save them *then*? There will be many wild animals on your way: when you go, thinking ahead, do not allow your soldiers to gallop after *and hunt down* wild animals, nor let them make circular battues without limit. If you make a battue in order to give additional provisions to your troops, hunt with moderation. Except on limited battues, do not allow the soldiers to fix the crupper to the saddle and put on the bridle, but let *the horses* go with their mouths free.² If they so discipline themselves, the soldiers will not be able to gallop on the way. Thus, making *this a matter of law*, whoever then transgresses it³ shall be seized and beaten. Send to Us those who transgress Our order if it looks that they are *personally* known to Us; as for the many who are not known to Us, just cut them down on the spot.

Beyond the rivers

You will perhaps lose courage,

But continue to advance

¹ = 'the Ocean.' See the Commentary.

² Lit., 'removing the bit from the mouth', so that it hung free.

³ Lit., 'the law' (*jasaq*).

In the same way;
 Beyond the mountains
 You will perhaps lose heart,
 But think of nothing else apart from your mission.

If Eternal Heaven grants you further strength and power, and you capture Toqto'a's sons, there is no need for you to bring them back: cast them away there and then!¹ So he ordered.

Činggis Qa'an said further to Sübe'etei: 'I send you on this expedition because, when I was small, I was frightened by the Uduyt of the Three Merkit circling three times around Burqañ Qaldun.² Mortal enemies like these, now gone again, swearing oaths against me, you shall reach, were you to go

To the furthest limit,
 To the bottom of the deep!

And so, in the Year of the Ox, he had an iron cart made to pursue them to the very end and sent Sübe'etei on his war mission with these final instructions: 'If you constantly think that even though We are out of sight it is as if We were visible, and even though We are far it is as if We were near, you will also be protected by Heaven Above!'

When Činggis Qa'an annihilated the Naiman and the Merkit, Jamuqa was with the Naiman and his people were taken from him on that occasion. With only five companions he became an outcast. He went up the Tanglu Mountains, killed a wild sheep and roasted it. When it was time to eat it, Jamuqa there and then said to his five companions, 'Whose sons,³ having today killed a wild sheep, are eating it like this?' While they were eating the meat of that wild sheep, his five companions laid hands on Jamuqa and, seizing him, brought him to Činggis Qa'an.

¹ I.e., 'execute them on the spot.'

² See above, § 103.

³ I.e., 'What (sort of) persons?'

When Jamuqa was brought here by his companions, he told someone to say to his sworn friend the Qa'an:

'Black crows have gone so far
 As to catch a mandarin duck,¹
 Black skins² and slaves have gone so far
 As to raise their hands against their lord.
 Qa'an, my sworn friend,
 How can you be mistaken?
 Grey buzzards have gone so far
 As to catch a wild duck,¹
 Slaves and servants have gone so far
 As to seize their own master,
 Surrounding him and conspiring against him.
 Wise sworn friend of mine,
 How can you be mistaken?'

To these words of Jamuqa, Činggis Qa'an said, 'How could we let men live who have raised their hands against their rightful lord? To whom can such men be companions? Cut down to the offspring of their offspring these people who have raised their hands against their rightful lord!' So he ordered, and had the people who had laid hands on Jamuqa cut down in his³ very presence.

Činggis Qa'an then said, 'Tell Jamuqa: "Now the two of us are united. Let us be companions! If we become each of us like one of the two shafts of a cart, would you think of separating yourself from me and being on your own? Now that we are together once more,

Let us each remind the other of what he has forgotten,
 Let us each wake up the other who has fallen asleep.
 Although you separated from me
 And went a different way,

¹ For this simile, which is illustrated in the following two lines, see the Commentary.

² I.e., lowly or common tribesmen.

³ I.e., Jamuqa's.

You remain my lucky, blessed sworn friend.
 On the day one kills and is killed, surely
 Your heart was aching *for me*.
 Although you separated from me
 And went a different way,
 On the day one fights one another,
 Your lungs and heart were aching *for me*.

When was that? When I fought the Kereyit people at the Qalaqaljit Sands you informed me of what you had said to Father Ong Qan.¹ That was a service *you did me*. Then, the fact that you sent me a message *with the news* that you had frightened the Naiman people

Slaying them with your words,
 Killing them with your mouth,

and said to me that I could regard them as such² – that was *another service you did me*.”

201 After *Činggis Qa'an* had spoken, Jamuqa said, ‘In early days when we were small, in the Qorqonaq Valley I agreed with *my sworn friend* the Qan to become sworn friends:

Together we ate food that is not to be digested,
 To each other we spoke words that are not
 to be forgotten,

Together we were under our blanket
 Sharing it between us, *but*
 Stirred up *by someone*

Coming between us,
 Pricked *by someone*
 Standing at the side,³

We parted for good.
 Saying to myself that

We had exchanged weighty words,
 The skin of my black face
 Peeled off *in shame*;

¹ See above, § 170.

² I.e., as frightened to death by the Mongols. See above, § 196.

³ Cf. above, §§ 127 and 177.

And so I have been living
 Unable to come near you,
 Unable to see the friendly face
 Of my sworn friend the Qan.
 Saying to myself that
 We had exchanged unforgettable words,
 The skin of my red face
 Came off *in shame*;
 And so I have been living
 Unable to see the true face
 Of my sworn friend with a long memory.

‘Now my sworn friend the Qan shows favour to me and says, “Let us be companions!” But when it was the time for being companions, I was not one.¹ Now, sworn friend,

You have pacified all *our* people,
 You have unified all other peoples,

and the *qan's* throne has been assigned to you. Now that the world is at your disposal, of what use would I be as a companion to you? On the contrary, *o my sworn friend*,

I would intrude into your dreams in the dark night,
 I would trouble your heart in the bright day,
 I would be a louse in your collar,
 I would be a thorn in the inner lapel of your coat.²

‘I had many paternal grandmothers. When I became disloyal to my sworn friend I made a mistake. Now, in this life – *that* of the sworn friend and me – my fame has passed from sunrise to sunset. You, sworn friend, had a wise mother. You were born a hero, and as you had younger brothers, valiant companions and seventy-three geldings,³ *you, my sworn friend*, excelled me. As for me, I lost my parents when I was small and had no younger brothers. My wife is a prattler, my companions untrustworthy. Because

¹ Lit., ‘a companion to him.’

² In short, ‘I would be a constant nuisance to you.’

³ There is no mention of these geldings elsewhere in the SH.

of this I was excelled by *my* sworn friend, whose destiny was *ordained* by Heaven. If you¹ *want to* show favour to me, let me die swiftly and your² heart will be at rest. And if you¹ *condescend* to have *me* put to death, let them kill me without *shedding* blood. When I lie dead, my bones *buried* in a high place, for ever and ever I shall protect you and be a blessing to the offspring of your offspring.

'In origin I am of a different birth, *and so* I was conquered by the august spirit of my sworn friend who is of higher birth. Do not forget the words that I have *just* spoken; think of them evening and morning and repeat them among yourselves. Now do away with me quickly!'

To these words of his Činggis Qa'an said, 'Although my sworn friend has parted *from me* and has been railing against Us, I have not heard that he has plotted harm against my life. He is a man who should learn *from experience*, but is not willing to. *However*, to kill him is not in accordance with the omens; to harm his life without *good* reason is not right. He is a man of high standing. Perhaps you should give him this reason: "Once, when Čoji Darmala³ and Taičar stole from each other their herds of horses, you, sworn friend Ĵamuqa, wickedly stirred up rebellion *against me*. We fought at Dalan Baljut and you forced me to take refuge in the Ĵerene Gorge. You frightened me then, did you not? Now, when I say, 'Let us be companions!', you refuse; when I *offered to* spare your life, you declined." Tell him that. Say to him: "Now, according to your request, you shall die without *your blood* being shed."

He ordered that *Ĵamuqa* be put to death without his blood being shed and that his *body*⁴ should not be abandoned in the open, but be given a fitting burial. He had

¹ Lit., 'the sworn friend.'

² Lit., 'the sworn friend's.'

³ Called *Joči* Darmala in § 128 above.

⁴ Lit., 'bones.'

Ĵamuqa executed there and then, and had his body buried *as arranged*.

202 And so, when the people of the felt-walled tents had been brought to allegiance, in the Year of the Tiger (1206) they *all gathered* at the source of the Onan River. They ~~hoisted~~ the white standard with nine tails and there they gave Činggis Qa'an the title of *qan*. Then they also gave the title of *gui ong*¹ to Muqali. On that occasion too, Ĵebe was sent on a war mission to pursue *and seize* Güčülük Qan of the Naiman. Having *thus completed the task of setting* the Mongol people in order, Činggis Qa'an said, 'To those who sided with me when I was establishing *our nation*, I shall express my appreciation and, having formed units of a thousand, I shall appoint them commanders of a thousand.' So he decreed, and he appointed *the following* with the rank of commanders of a thousand: (1) Father Mönqlik, (2) Bo'orču, (3) Muqali Gui Ong, (4) Qorči, (5) Ilügei, (6) Ĵürcedei, (7) Qunan, (8) Qubilai, (9) Ĵelme, (10) Tüge, (11) Degei, (12) Tolon, (13) Önggür, (14) Čülgetei, (15) Boroqul, (16) Šigi Qutuqu, (17) Güčü, (18) Kōkōčü, (19) Qorqosun, (20) Hüsün, (21) Quyildar, (22) Šiluqai, (23) Ĵetei, (24) Taqai, (25) Čaqa'an Qo'a, (26) Alaq, (27) Sorqan Šira, (28) Buluqan, (29) Qaračar, (30) Kōkō Čos, (31) Süyiketü, (32) Naya'a, (33) Ĵungšoi, (34) Güčügür, (35) Bala, (36) Oronartai, (37) Dayir, (38) Müge, (39) BuĴir, (40) Mōnggü'ür, (41) Dolo'adai, (42) Bögen, (43) Qudus, (44) Maral, (45) Ĵebke, (46) Yuruqan, (47) Kōkō, (48) Ĵebe, (49) Udutai, (50) Bala Čerbi, (51) Kete, (52) Sübe'etei, (53) Mōngkö QalĴa, (54) Qurčaqus, (55) Geügi (56) Badai, (57) Kišiliq, (58) Ketei (59) Ča'urqai, (60) Onggiran, (61) Toqon Temür, (62) Megetü, (63) Qada'an, (64) Moroqa, (65) Dori Buqa, (66) Iduqadai, (67) Širaqul, (68) Da'un, (69) Tamači, (70) Qa'uran, (71) Alči, (72) Tobsaqa, (73) Tungquidai, (74)

¹ I.e., 'Prince of State.'

Tobuqa, (75) Aċinai,¹ (76) Tüyideger, (77) Seče'ür, (78) Jeder, (79) Olar Güregen, (80) Kinggiyadai, (81) Buqa Güregen, (82) Quril, (83) Aŋiq Güregen, (84) Qadaı Güregen, (85) Čigü Güregen, (86, 87, 88) Alči Güregen *leading* the three Onggirat thousands, (89, 90) Butu Güregen *leading* the two İkires thousands, (91, 92, 93, 94, 95) Alaquš Digit Quri Güregen of the Önggüt *leading* the five Önggüt thousands. Excluding the People of the Forest,² the commanders of a thousand of the Mongol people appointed by Činggis Qa'an were ninety-five.

203 'Those ninety-five commanders of a thousand whom I have nominated, together with the sons-in-law', further said Činggis Qa'an, 'have been entrusted with units of a thousand and' – Činggis Qa'an declared – 'I shall *now* reward those among them who are *most* deserving.' And he said that the commanders having at their head Bo'orču and Muqali should come. At that time Šigi Qutuqu was inside the tent. When Činggis Qa'an told him, 'Go and summon them!', Šigi Qutuqu said, 'Have Bo'orču and Muqali been of greater assistance than others? Have they given better service than others? If you want to give rewards, surely I was not less useful, surely I did not give lesser service?'

From the time I was in the cradle
And grew up at your noble threshold,
Until this beard sprouted on my chin,
I did not think of anyone else *but you*.
From the time I had a piss-pot at my crotch
And, being at your royal threshold, I grew up
Until this beard sprouted at my mouth,
I did not make a single false step.
She³ let me lie at her feet

¹ Read Aċinai.

² I.e., the forest tribes of the north and north-west. See the Commentary, § 207.

³ I.e., Mother Hö'elün.

And brought me up as her own son;
She let me lie at her side
And brought me up as the younger brother
of her children.¹

Now, what kind of reward will you give me?'

To these words of Šigi Qutuqu, Činggis Qa'an said, 'Are you not my sixth younger brother? To you, my late-born younger brother, the reward: you shall be allotted the *same* share as the younger brothers; furthermore, on account of your services, you shall not be punished for *up to* nine crimes.' So he ordered.

And he said, 'When, protected by Eternal Heaven, I am engaged in bringing the entire people under *my* sway, be

Eyes *for me* to see with,
Ears *for me* to hear with.²

Divide up all the *subject* people and apportion them to *Our* mother, to Us, to *Our* younger brothers and sons according to the name of the people,³

Splitting up those that live in felt-walled tents,
Separating those that live in dwellings with wooden doors.
Let no one disobey your word!'

Further, he entrusted Šigi Qutuqu with *the power of* judgement over all and said to him, 'Of the entire people,

Curbing theft,
Discouraging falsehood,

execute those who deserve death, punish those who deserve punishment. Furthermore, writing in a blue-script register *all* decisions about the distribution and about the judicial matters of the entire population, make it into a book.⁴ Until the offspring of *my* offspring, let no one alter any of the blue writing that Šigi Qutuqu, after deciding in accordance with

¹ See above, § 135.

² Cf. above, § 138.

³ I.e., according to their importance and lifestyle (nomadic or settled populations).

⁴ I.e., into a permanent record.

me, shall make into a book with white paper. Anyone who alters it shall be *guilty and liable to punishment.*'

Šigi Qutuqu said, 'How can a late-born younger brother like me take the same and equal share *as that of the others?* If the Qa'an *wants to reward me*, let him decide in favour of granting me *the people* from the towns that have walls of *pounded earth.*' So he requested, and to these words of his Činggis Qa'an said, 'You yourself have determined your own *part*; you decide!'

After he had made Činggis Qa'an favour him thus, Šigi Qutuqu went out and, calling the leaders with Bo'orču and Muqali at their head, let them into *the tent.*

204 Činggis Qa'an then addressed Father Mōnglik and said: 'You fortunate and blessed *man,*

Who at birth were born together *with me,*

When growing, grew up together *with me,*¹

how many times have you helped and protected me? Among those *was the occasion* when Father Ong Qan and sworn friend Senggüm deceitfully invited me to the betrothal feast and on the way I spent the night in Father Mōnglik's tent.² Had you, Father Mōnglik, not dissuaded me *then,* I would have gone right

Into whirling waters,

Into a blazing fire.

Recalling only that service *of yours,* how could *anybody* forget it until the offspring of *their* offspring? Recalling that service, I will henceforth let you occupy the seat at the very beginning of this side *in my tent.* Yearly and monthly I shall consult with you,³ and I shall give you gifts and favours. I shall be attending on you, until the offspring of *your* offspring!' So he declared.

¹ Cf. below, § 211.

² See above, § 168.

³ I.e., to seek advice.

Further Činggis Qa'an spoke to Bo'orču: 'When I was small I was robbed of eight horses, the light-bay geldings.¹ I spent three days and nights on the way pursuing them and, as I was going, we met each other. Then you said to me, "You came because you are in difficulties; I will join you as a companion!" and, without a word even to your father in the tent, you who were then milking a mare, concealed your leather bucket and pail in the grass. You made me leave my short-haired chestnut horse and set me on a white horse with a black back, and you yourself rode a fast dun mare. You left your herd of horses without a master and in haste became my companion in the steppe. Again we spent three days and nights in pursuit before we reached the circular camp with the stolen light-bay geldings. They were standing at the edge of the camp. We stole them, drove them away and brought them back, the two of us. Your father was Naqu Bayan. You, his only son, what did you know *about me* when you became my companion? You became my companion because of your brave heart. Afterwards I kept on thinking about you and when I sent you Belgütei to ask you to join me *again* as a companion,

You jumped on your chestnut horse with the arched back,
You tucked your grey woollen cloak behind you,
and came to join me.² And when

The Three Merkit came against us and

Thrice circled Burqan Qaldun,

That mountain you circled with me.³

And when, after that, we passed the night at Dalan Nemürge with *our troops* pitched opposite *those of the Tatar people,* the rain poured down incessantly day and night. Saying that I ought to get my night's rest, you covered me with your felt cloak so that the rain would not

¹ See above, §§ 90-93.

² See above, § 95.

³ See above, § 103.

fall upon me and throughout the night you stood beside me shifting one of your feet only once. *This* was indeed a sign of your bravery. Other than that, what brave deeds of yours am I to mention? You two, Bo'orču and Muqali,

You urged me to carry out what was right,

You persuaded me not to do what was wrong, and in this way made me gain this throne. Now you shall sit higher than all the others and shall not be punished for up to nine crimes. Bo'orču will be in charge of the ten thousand men of the right wing which extends westwards up to the Altai Mountains.¹ So he ordered.

206 Further, Činggis Qa'an said to Muqali, 'When we set up camp near the Leafy Tree in the Qorqonaq Valley around which Qutula Qan used to dance,² because the words that a heavenly sign foretold to Muqali were a clear portent, I there and then, thinking of his father Gü'ün Qo'a,³ pledged my word to Muqali. Accordingly, he shall henceforth sit upon a seat [above all others] and shall be *gui ong*⁴ of all the people, and so it shall be until the offspring of Muqali's offspring.' He gave him the title of *gui ong* and ordered: 'Let Muqali Gui Ong be in charge of the ten thousand men of the left wing which extends eastwards up to the Qara'un Jidun Mountains.'⁵

207 Činggis Qa'an said to Qorči, 'You once made a prophecy about me and, from the time I was small until now, for a long time

When it was wet,

You suffered the wet with me;

When it was cold,

You suffered the cold with me.

¹ See the Commentary.

² See above, §§ 57 and 117.

³ The Gü'ün U'a of § 137 above.

⁴ For this title, see the Commentary.

⁵ See the Commentary.

Indeed, you have constantly been a beneficent spirit¹ to me. At that time you, Qorči, said, "If the prophecy comes true and if it is fulfilled by Heaven according to your wishes, let me have thirty women." Now, because it has come true, I shall favour you. Look at the fine women and fine girls of the people who have submitted to us and choose thirty women from among them.' So he ordered.

Further, he ordered: 'On top of the three thousand Ba'arin that he already leads, Qorči, together with Taqai and Ašiq, shall add to the number so as to make up a full ten thousand with the Činōs of the Adarkin, the Tö'ölös and the Telengüt, and Qorči shall be their commander. Freely establishing his camp along the Erdiš River up to the People of the Forest, Qorči shall reduce the People of the Forest to submission and be in charge of the ten thousand.' And he ordered: 'The People of the Forest must not act this way or that without Qorči's agreement. Those who act without his agreement, he should not hesitate to kill them.'

208 Further, Činggis Qa'an said to Jürčedei, 'Your most important service was at the time when we were fighting with the Kereyit at the Qalaqaljit Sands and were worrying about the outcome of the battle. Sworn friend Quyildar then made an oath but you, Jürčedei, carried out his task. In carrying it out you, Jürčedei, attacked and overcame the Jirgin, the Tübenen, the Dongqayit, Quri Šilemün² and his thousand bodyguards, the best troops – all of them – and, reaching the main body of their army, you shot an *učumaq* arrow into one of Senggüm's bright red cheeks.³ Because of this, "the door was opened and the reins were loosened" for me by Eternal Heaven.⁴ Had Senggüm not

¹ *Nendü qutuq*. For this expression, see the Commentary. For Qorči's prophecy, see above § 121.

² I.e., Qori Šilemün Taiši. See above, § 170.

³ For these events, see above, §§ 170-171, 174.

⁴ I.e., Heaven opened the way to Činggis' success.

been wounded, what would have become of us? That was indeed Jürčedei's greatest and most important service.

'When he separated from me, moving along the river Qalqa downstream, I constantly thought of Jürčedei as if he were the shelter afforded by a high mountain. He then went off¹ and we arrived at Lake Baljuna to water our animals. When we set out again from Lake Baljuna, Jürčedei went ahead to reconnoitre. We took the field against the Kereyit and, with our strength increased by Heaven and Earth, we utterly defeated and subdued the Kereyit people.² The most important people³ being cut off, the Naiman and the Merkit lost heart; they could no longer fight and were scattered.

'In the struggle in which the Merkit and the Naiman scattered, Jaqa Gambu of the Kereyit was allowed, by reason of his two daughters, to stay with his own subject people as a whole group. But when, for the second time, he became hostile and separated from us, Jürčedei lured him with a stratagem and, after seizing him, made an end of Jaqa Gambu who had broken with us for good. For the second time we exterminated and plundered the people of that Jaqa Gambu. This was surely Jürčedei's second service.'

Because, on the day one kills and is killed,

He disregarded⁴ his life;

Because, on the day one meets death together,

He fought to the death,

Činggis Qa'an favoured Jürčedei and gave him Ibaqa Beki as wife. He said to Ibaqa, 'I did not say that you have a bad character and that in looks and appearance you are ugly. You, who have entered into my heart and limbs, and who have come to me taking your place in the rank of my principal wives, I present to Jürčedei in deference to the

great principle whereby services are duly rewarded, to Jürčedei

Who, on the day we fought,
Was our shield,
Who against the enemy people
Was our shelter;
He brought together the people
Who had become divided,
He united the people
Who had scattered.¹

I have given you to him being mindful of the principle of rewarding these services of his. In future, when my descendants sit on Our throne, mindful of the principle regarding services that have thus been rendered, they should not disobey my words. Until the offspring of my offspring, they are not to abolish Ibaqa's rightful place among my wives.² So he ordered.

Činggis Qa'an said further to Ibaqa, 'Your father Jaqa Gambu gave you two hundred servants as dowry; he gave you also the steward Ašiq Temür and the steward Alčiq. Now you are going to the Uru'ut people; go, but give me one hundred out of your servants³ and the steward Ašiq Temür to remember you.' And he took possession of them.

Činggis Qa'an spoke again to Jürčedei and, showing favour to him, gave the following order: 'I give you my Ibaqa. As to your four thousand Uru'ut, you will be in charge of them, won't you?'

¹ On his mission to the Onggirat. See above, § 176.

² See above, §§ 182-183, 185.

³ I.e., the Kereyit.

⁴ Lit., 'forsook.'

¹ Cf. the words in §§ 96 and 104 above.

² I.e., she would retain her former rank at court.

³ In the text *ingjes* for *injes*. See the Commentary.

THE SECRET HISTORY OF THE MONGOLS

CHAPTER NINE

209 Further, Činggis Qa'an said to Qubilai, 'For me you pressed down

The necks of the mighty ones,

The buttocks of the strong ones.

You, Qubilai, Jelme, Jebe and Sübe'etei¹ – these "four hounds" of mine – when I sent you off, directing you *to the place* I had in mind,²

When I said, "Reach *there!*",

You crushed the stones *to be there*;

When I said, "Attack!",

You split up the rocks,

You shattered the shining stones,

You cleft the deep waters.³

When I sent you, Qubilai, Jelme, Jebe and Sübe'etei, my "four hounds", to the place I had designated, if Bo'orču, Muqali, Boroqul and Čila'un Ba'atur – these "four steeds"⁴ of mine – were at my side, and when the day of battle came and I had Jürčedei and Quyildar standing before me with their Uru'ut and Mangqut *troops*, then my mind was completely at rest. Qubilai, will you not be in charge of all military affairs?' So he ordered, favouring him.

Further, he said, 'Because of Bedü'ün's stubbornness,⁵ I was **displeased with him** and did not give him a unit of a thousand. You are the **right person to manage** him! You shall be the **commander of a thousand with him** and you will

proceed in consultation with each other.'¹ And he added, 'Afterwards We shall examine Bedü'ün's *conduct*.'²

210 Further, Činggis Qa'an said to Qunan of the Geniges, 'For you, the commanders with Bo'orču and Muqali at their head, and for *you*, the chamberlains Dödei, Doqolqu and others, this Qunan was *like*

A male wolf in the dark night,

A black crow in the bright day:

When we were on the move he did not stop,

When we halted he did not move on.

With a stranger

He did not put on another face,

With a mortal enemy

He did not put on a different face.

Do not act without the agreement of Qunan and Kökö Čos. Act *only* in consultation with them.' So he ordered.

And he ordered, 'The eldest of my sons is Joči. Qunan, at the head of the Geniges, shall be a commander of ten thousand under Joči. Qunan, Kökö Čos, Degei and Old Üsün – these four are the four that never hid *from me* what they saw, never concealed *from me* what they heard.'

211 Further, Činggis Qa'an said to Jelme, 'Old Jarči'udai, carrying his bellows on his back – Jelme was still in the cradle – came down from Burqan Qaldun and gave sable swaddling-clothes when I was born at Deli'ün Boldaq on the Onan River.³ Since he became my companion, *Jelme* has been

The slave of *my* threshold,

The **personal slave of my** door.⁴

Jelme's merits are many. Fortunate and blessed Jelme,

¹ Written Sübegetei.

² Lit., 'which I had pointed out.'

³ Cf. above, §§ 72 and 147.

⁴ See above, § 163.

⁵ See the Commentary.

¹ See above, § 191.

² For Bedü'ün see above, § 120. There are no further references to him in the SH.

³ See above, § 97.

⁴ See above, §§ 137, 180.

Who at birth was born together *with me*,
 When growing, grew up together *with me*,¹
 and *whose companionship with me* has its origin in the sable
 swaddling-clothes, he shall not incur punishment if he
 commits up to nine crimes.' So he ordered.

212 Further, Činggis Qa'an said to Tolun, 'Why is it that
 you, father and son, will *each* be in charge of a separate
 thousand? When you gathered² the people – you, *Tolun*,
 being one of the two wings of your father – you strove
 together and together gathered the people. It is, indeed,
 because of that that I gave you the title of chamberlain.³
 Now, will you not form your own thousand with *the people*
 that you have acquired yourself and constituted *as your own*
patrimony, and *act* in consultation with Turuqan?' So he
 ordered.

213 Further, Činggis Qa'an said to the steward Önggür,
 'You, the three Toqura'ut and the five Tarqut, and you,
 Önggür, son of Möngetü Kiyan, with *your Čangši'ut* and
 Baya'ut, have formed one camp for me.⁴ You, Önggür,

You did not go astray in the fog,
 You did not separate from the others in the fight.
 When it was wet
 You suffered the wet *with me*;
 When it was cold,
 You suffered the cold *with me*.⁵

Now, what kind of reward will you take *from me*?' At this
 Önggür said, 'If you allow me to choose the reward, as my
 Baya'ut brothers are scattered about among all the various
 tribes, by your favour let me bring together my Baya'ut
 brothers.'

¹ See above, § 204.

² I.e., 'conquered.'

³ Čerbi. See above, § 191.

⁴ See above, § 120.

⁵ Cf. above, § 207.

Thereupon, Činggis Qa'an ordered, 'Yes, be it so!
 Bring together your Baya'ut brothers and you take
 command – one thousand!' He said further, 'When you, the
 two stewards Önggür and Boro'ul,¹ distribute food to the
 right and left sides,

Do not let it fall short
 For those who stand or sit
 On the right side;
 Do not let it fall short
 For those who are placed in a row –
 Or who are not –
 On the left side.

If you two distribute *the food* in this way, my throat will not
 choke and my mind will be at rest. Now, Önggür and
 Boro'ul, ride off and distribute food to the multitude.' So he
 ordered, and pointing out their seats, he said, 'When you
 take your seats, you must sit so as to look after the food on
 the right and the left sides of the large *kumis* pitchers.² Sit
 with Tolun and the others in the centre *of the tent*, facing
 north.'

214 Again, Činggis Qa'an spoke to Boroqul, saying, 'As for
 Šigi Qutuqu, Boroqul, Ğüčü and Kököčü – the four of you –
 my mother

On the *bare* ground she found you,
 In *other* people's camps.
 She placed you close to her legs,
 She treated you as her own sons
 And brought you up with care;
 She stretched your necks
 And made you into adults;
 She stretched your shoulders
 And made you into men.³

¹ = Boroqul.

² I.e., of the wine table.

³ See the Commentary. Cf. below, § 254.

She surely brought you up in order to make you the companions for us her sons. Who knows how many favours and services you have returned to my mother for the favour of having brought you up! Boroqul, you became my companion and

When we made swift sorties on rainy nights

You did not let me spend the night with an empty stomach;¹

When we were engaged in battle with the enemy

You did not let me spend the night without soup.

Again, we crushed the Tatar people who, full of hatred and resentment, had destroyed *our* fathers and forefathers. At the time when

We were taking revenge,

We were requiting the wrong,

by killing the Tatar people to the last one, measuring them against the linchpin of a cart,² and as they were being slain, Qargil Šira of the Tatar escaped and became an outcast. Then, reduced to straits and suffering from hunger, he came back and entering the tent said to my mother, "I am a beggar."³ When he was told, "If you are a beggar, sit there", he sat at the end of the bench on the western side of the tent, near the inside of the door.

'At that moment, Tolui, who was five years old, came into the tent from outside. Then, as he ran out again, Qargil Šira rose and seizing the child pressed him under his arm. He went out and, as he was going forward feeling for and drawing out his knife, Boroqul's wife, Altani, was sitting on the eastern side of my mother's tent. When mother cried, "The boy is done for!", Altani followed her out and running together with her caught up with Qargil Šira: with one hand she seized his plaits and with the other she seized the hand

that was drawing the knife. She pulled it so hard that he dropped the knife. At that very moment, north of the tent, Ĵetei and Ĵelme were killing a hornless black ox for provisions. At Altani's cry they both came running, holding their butchering axes, their fists red with the animal's blood. With axe and knife they slew Qargil Šira of the Tatar on the spot.

'While Altani, Ĵetei and Ĵelme were arguing among the three of them whose chief merit it was for having saved the life of the child, Ĵetei and Ĵelme said, "If we had not been there and if, by running fast and arriving in time, we had not killed him, what could Altani, a woman, have done? Qargil Šira would have harmed the life of the child. The chief merit is certainly ours!" Altani said, "If you had not heard my cry, how could you have come? And when I ran and caught up with him, seizing his plaits and pulling the hand that was drawing the knife, if the knife had not dropped, wouldn't he have done harm to the child's life before Ĵetei and Ĵelme arrived?" When she had finished speaking the chief merit went, by general consent, to Altani. Boroqul's wife became the second shaft of a cart for Boroqul and was useful in saving the life of Tolui.

'Again, when Boroqul was fighting with us against the Kereyit at the Qalaqaljit² Sands, Ögödei was hit by an arrow in the neck vein and fell from his horse. Boroqul got off his horse and stopped by him, sucked the clotting blood with his mouth and spent the night with him. The following morning he put him on a horse, but as Ögödei could not sit up they rode double, Boroqul clasping Ögödei from behind and continuously sucking the wound-clogging blood, so that the corners of his mouth were red with it; and so he came, bringing Ögödei back alive and safe.³ In return for my

¹ I.e., in spite of the difficulty of making a fire in the rain.

² See above, § 154.

³ Lit., 'a seeker of good things.'

¹ Lit., 'Ĵetei and Ĵelme.'

² Qalqaljit in the text.

³ See above, § 173.

mother's suffering in bringing him up, he was indeed of service in *saving* the lives of my two sons. Boroqul was a companion to me: he never tarried

At my beck and call,
At my voice and its echo.

If Boroqul commits *up to* nine crimes he shall not be punished.' So he ordered.¹

215 Further, Činggis Qa'an said, 'Let Us reward Our female offspring!'²

216 Further, Činggis Qa'an said to Old Üsün, 'Üsün, Qunan, Kōkō Čos and Degei, these four, without hiding or concealing, have always reported to me what they saw and heard; they have always informed me of what they thought and comprehended. In the Mongol tradition it is customary for a senior ranking personage to become a *beki*. You are a descendant of Elder Brother the Ba'arin. As to the rank of *beki*, you Old Üsün, who are from among *us* and senior to Us, shall become a *beki*. When one has been raised to the rank of *beki*,

He shall wear a white dress
And ride a white gelding;
He shall sit on a *high* seat
And be waited upon.

Furthermore, yearly and monthly I shall hold discussions with you *to seek your advice*.³ Let it be so!' So he ordered.

217 Further, Činggis Qa'an said, 'Because of sworn friend Quyildar's service of *first opening his mouth and speaking* at the time of battle,⁴ *disregarding*⁵ his life, let his *descendants* to the offspring of *his* offspring receive the

¹ There follows a sentence identical with that in § 215. This is due to a scribal error and should be deleted.

² There is a lacuna in the text. See the Commentary.

³ Cf. above, § 204.

⁴ See above, § 171.

⁵ Lit., 'forsaking.'

bounty *granted* to orphans.'¹ So he ordered.

218 Further, Činggis Qa'an said to Čaqān Qo'a's² son Narin To'oril, 'Your father Čaqān Qo'a was fighting zealously before me at the battle of Dalan Baljut when he was killed by Jamuqa.³ Now, To'oril, for your father's services you shall receive the bounty *granted* to orphans.' To this To'oril said, 'If you are to favour me, as my Negüs brothers are scattered about among all the various tribes, by your favour let me bring together my Negüs brothers.' Thereupon, Činggis Qa'an ordered, 'If so, after having brought together your Negüs brothers, you will be in charge of them to the offspring of *your* offspring, won't you?' So he ordered.

219 Further, Činggis Qa'an said to Sorqan Šira, 'At the time when I was small, when out of jealousy I was seized by Tarqutai Kiriltuq of the Tayiči'ut and his brothers, *then you* Sorqan Šira, because my kinsmen⁴ were jealous of me,⁵ with your sons Čila'un and Čimbai, made your daughter Qada'an take care of me, hid me and *later*, releasing me, you sent me away.⁶ Mindful of that good service of yours, *whether*

In the dark night in my dreams,
In the bright day in my heart,⁷

I certainly kept the memory of it; but you did come late to me from the Tayiči'ut. If I show favour to you now, what kind of favour do you wish?'

Sorqan Šira, who was together with his sons Čila'un and Čimbai, said, 'If you are to favour me, let me have the free use of grazing grounds. Let me settle on and freely use

¹ Cf. above, § 185.

² This is the same personage called Čaqān U'a (of the Ne'üs) in §§ 120 and 129 above.

³ See above, § 129.

⁴ I.e., the Tayiči'ut. Cf. above, § 76.

⁵ See above, § 82.

⁶ See above, §§ 85-87.

⁷ Cf. Jamuqa's words in § 201 above.

the territory of the Merkit on the Selengge River. As for other favours in addition to this, let Činggis Qa'an decide!

To these words, Činggis Qa'an said, 'Settle on the territory of the Merkit on the Selengge and, indeed, have free use of its grazing grounds. You shall be a freeman, allowed to carry a quiver and drink the ceremonial wine to the offspring of your offspring.¹ You shall not incur punishment for up to nine crimes.' So he ordered.

Further, Činggis Qa'an, showing favour to Čila'un and Čimbai, gave the following order: 'Thinking of the words that you, Čila'un and Čimbai, once spoke, how will you be satisfied?² Čila'un and Čimbai, if you want to say what you have in mind or request something that you lack, do not tell an intermediary about it. You in person,³ through your own mouths, tell me yourselves what you have thought, request from me yourselves what you lack.'

Further, he gave the following order: 'You, the freemen Sorqaŋ Šira, Badai and Kišiliq, you too, as freemen,

When swiftly pursuing many foes,

If you get booty,

What you get you shall take away.

When in a battue

You hunt wild beasts,

What you slaughter you shall take away.⁴

As for Sorqaŋ Šira, he was but a retainer of Tödege of the Tayiči'ut.⁵ Badai and Kišiliq were but horse-herders of Čeren.⁶ Now, with my support, enjoy the privilege of being freemen, allowed to carry a quiver and drink the ceremonial wine!

¹ For these privileges, see the Commentary.

² Translation uncertain. See the Commentary.

³ Lit., 'by your own bodies.'

⁴ Cf. above, § 187.

⁵ See above, § 146.

⁶ I.e., Yeke Čeren. See above, § 169.

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Further, Činggis Qa'an said to Naya'a, 'When Old Širgötü,¹ together with you – his sons Alaŋ and Naya'a – seized Tarqutai Kiriltuq and, proceeding on his way to us, arrived at the Qutuql Bend, Naya'a there and then said, "How can we go on, seizing and making away with our rightful lord?" And, unable to make away with him, you set him free and sent him away.

'When Old Širgötü, together with you – his sons Alaŋ and Naya'a – arrived, then Naya'a Bilji'ür said, "We laid hands on our rightful lord Tarqutai Kiriltuq and were coming here, but we could not make away with him. We set him free and sent him off, and came to offer our services to Činggis Qa'an. We said to ourselves that had we come having laid hands on our lord, it would have been said of us: 'People who have laid hands on their rightful lord – how can they be trusted in future?' So, we could not make away with our lord."

'Then, because the reason why he could not make away with his rightful lord was the fact that he had been mindful of the great principle.² I approved of his words and said, "I shall entrust him with an important task."³ Now, Bo'orču will be in charge of the ten thousand of the right wing; and I put Muqali in charge of the ten thousand of the left wing, giving him the title of *gui ong*.⁴ Now, Naya'a will be in charge of the ten thousand of the centre.' So he ordered.

221

Further, Činggis Qa'an said, 'Jebe and Šübe'etei shall each be commanders of a thousand over as many of those people that they themselves have acquired and constituted as their own patrimony.'

¹ The Širgü'etü of § 149, where this event is narrated.

² I.e., the principle of mutual obligations between lord and subject. Cf. above, § 208.

³ Cf. above, § 149.

⁴ See above, § 200 and com.

⁵ Lit., 'as many of theirs as.'

222 Further, Činggis Qa'an made the shepherd Degei bring together the unregistered households and put him in charge of a thousand.

223 Further, Činggis Qa'an said, 'As the carpenter Güčügür¹ lacks subjects to form a unit of a thousand, let these be collected from here and there and given to him. Since, from among the Ĵadaran, Mułqalqu has been a perfect companion to me, you two – Güčügür and Mułqalqu – be jointly in command of a thousand and consult with one another.'

224 Činggis Qa'an made commanders of a thousand those who had established the state with him and who had suffered with him. Forming units of a thousand, he appointed the commanders of a thousand, of a hundred and of ten. Forming units of ten thousand, he appointed the commanders of ten thousand. The commanders of ten thousand and of a thousand to whom reward seemed appropriate, he rewarded; those who were to be commended, he commended. He gave them the following order: 'Formerly, I had eighty men to serve on roster as nightguards and seventy men to serve as dayguards. Now, by the strength of Eternal Heaven, my power has been increased by Heaven and Earth and I have brought the entire people to allegiance, causing them to come under my sole rule,² so now choose men to serve on roster as dayguards from the various thousands and recruit them for me. When you recruit them and have nightguards, quiverbearers and dayguards enrolled, recruit them so as to make up a full ten thousand.' So he ordered.

Further, Činggis Qa'an proclaimed the following order to the various thousands regarding the selection and recruitment of the guards: 'When guards will be recruited for Us, and the sons of commanders of ten thousand, of a

thousand and of a hundred, or the sons of ordinary people, will enter *Our service*, those shall be recruited who are able and of good appearance, and who are deemed suitable to serve by *Our side*. When recruiting the sons of commanders of a thousand, they shall each bring with them ten companions and one younger brother. When recruiting the sons of commanders of a hundred, they shall each bring with them five companions and one younger brother. When recruiting the sons of commanders of ten, or the sons of ordinary people, they shall each bring with them three companions and, likewise, one younger brother; and they shall be provided with fully equipped mounts supplied by the units to which they originally belonged. When strengthening in this guise the number of those who will be placed to serve by *Our side*, the ten companions to be given to each of the sons of the commanders of a thousand must be drawn from the units of a thousand and the units of a hundred from which they originally came. Whether or not they have a share of goods given by their fathers and regardless of the number of men and geldings that they have personally acquired and constituted as their own patrimony, a levy shall be raised – independently of their personal share of goods – of mounts and men according to the amount fixed by Us and, levying men and preparing mounts in this manner, they shall be given to them. And exactly in the same manner, independently of their personal share of goods and levying in precisely the same way, five companions each shall be given to the sons of commanders of a hundred, and three companions each to the sons of commanders of ten, as well as to the sons of ordinary people.' So he ordered.

And he ordered, 'As to the commanders of a thousand, of a hundred and of ten, and the numerous ordinary people who have received this order of Ours, or who have heard it, anyone who transgresses it shall be guilty and liable to punishment. As to the people who have been recruited to

¹ The Kūčügür of § 120. See also above, §§ 124 and 202.

² Lit., 'to enter into my only reins (= control).' See the Commentary.

serve on roster for Us, if any of them are unsuitable *for duty* because they evade it, regarding their service by Our side as *too* difficult, we shall recruit others *in their stead* and we shall punish those people and send them to a distant place, out of *Our* sight.'

And he said, 'People who come to Us in order to learn to serve inside *the tent* by Our side shall not be hindered.'

225 Since Činggis Qa'an had issued an order, choosing *guards* from the units of a thousand and, according to the same order, choosing the sons of commanders of a hundred and of ten, as they came forward – formerly there were *only* eighty nightguards – he brought *their number* up to eight hundred. And he said, 'On top of the eight hundred, *add to the number so as to* make up a full thousand.'

He ordered, 'Those who *want to* enrol in the nightguards shall not be hindered.' And he ordered, 'Yeke Ne'ürin shall be the commander of the nightguards and he shall be in charge of a thousand.'

Earlier four hundred quiverbearers had been chosen. Choosing them *anew*, he said, 'Yisün Te'e, the son of Ĵelme, shall be the commander of the quiverbearers and he shall *act* in consultation with Tüge's¹ son, Būgidei.'

And he ordered, 'When the quiverbearers together with the dayguards join *to form* the various companies,² Yisün Te'e shall join as the commander of one company of quiverbearers; Būgidei shall join as the commander of one company of quiverbearers; Horqudaq shall join as the commander of one company of quiverbearers; and Lablaqa shall join as the commander of one company of quiverbearers. *These four* shall make their quiverbearers join the various companies of dayguards to carry quivers and so be

their commanders. Yisün Te'e shall *add to the number of* quiverbearers to make up a full thousand and be the *overall* commander.'

226 Činggis Qa'an, bringing *the number of* dayguards who had formerly enrolled with Ögele Čerbi up to a full thousand, said, 'Ögele Čerbi from the family of Bo'orču shall be in charge of them.' He said, 'As for one thousand dayguards, Buqa from the family of Muqali shall be in charge of them.'¹ He said, 'Alčidai from the family of Ilügei shall be in charge of one thousand dayguards.' He said, 'Dödei Čerbi shall be in charge of one thousand dayguards and Doqolqu Čerbi shall be in charge of one thousand dayguards.' And he ordered, 'Čanai from the family of Ĵürčedei shall be in charge of one thousand dayguards; Aqutai from the family of Alči shall be in charge of one thousand dayguards; Arqai Qasar shall be in charge of one thousand dayguards – one thousand chosen brave warriors – who, in the many days of *peace* shall serve as dayguards, and in the days of battle shall stand before me and be brave warriors.'

Thus, there were eight thousand dayguards chosen from the various thousands; there were also two thousand nightguards with quiverbearers. *Altogether* there were ten thousand guards.

Činggis Qa'an ordered, 'The ten thousand guards attached to Us shall be strengthened and become the main *body of the army*.' So he ordered.

227 Further, when Činggis Qa'an issued the order appointing those *who were to be the elders*² of the four companies of dayguards on roster duty, he said, 'Buqa shall be in charge of one company of guards; he shall marshal them³ and take his turn of duty. Alčidai shall be in charge of one

¹ This Tüge is the Tüngge of § 137 and the Tüge of § 202 above. Although there is no previous mention of the four hundred quiverbearers, see § 192 above for their duties.

¹ Lit., 'of one thousand dayguards.'

² I.e., the senior officers.

³ Lit., 'the guards'; i.e. he shall dispose them in due order.

company of guards; he shall marshal them and take his turn of duty; Dödei Čerbi shall be in charge of one company of guards; he shall marshal them¹ and take his turn of duty. Doqolqu Čerbi shall be in charge of one company of guards; he shall marshal them¹ and take his turn of duty.’ So he appointed the elders of the four companies on roster duty.

Činggis Qa’an promulgated the order about taking turns of duty, saying, ‘On taking his turn of duty, the commander of the company will himself muster the guards who are to serve on roster *and then* take his turn of duty; after spending three *days and* nights with them *the company* shall be relieved. If a member of the Guard fails to take his turn, the guard that has so failed shall be disciplined with three strokes of the rod. If the *same* guard fails again – for the second time – to take his turn of duty, he shall be disciplined with seven strokes of the rod. If, once more, the same man, without being sick in body and without having *first* consulted the commanders of the company, if the same guard fails once more – *that is* three times – to take his turn of duty, *thus* regarding his service by Our side as *too* difficult, he shall be disciplined with thirty-seven strokes of the rod and shall be sent to a distant place, out of *Our* sight.’ So he ordered.

And he ordered, ‘The elders of the companies shall proclaim this order to the guards every third turn of duty. If the elders of the companies do not proclaim it they shall be guilty *and liable to punishment*. When the guards have heard the order, if they contravene it and fail to take their turn of duty according to the order they shall be guilty *and liable to punishment*.’ So he ordered.

He said, ‘Elders of the companies, do not reprimand my guards, who have enrolled *as guards equal to you*, without my permission and merely on the ground of seniority. If *any of them* breaks the law report it to me. Those liable to

¹ Lit., ‘the guards.’

execution We shall certainly cut down. Those liable to be beaten We shall certainly compel to lie down and have them beaten. If you yourselves merely on the ground of seniority lay hands on my guards who are equal *to you* and strike them with a rod, as requital for strokes of the rod you shall be repaid with strokes of the rod, and as requital for fists you shall be repaid with fists.’

228 Further, Činggis Qa’an ordered, ‘My guards are of higher *standing* than the outside commanders of a thousand; the attendants of my guards are of higher *standing* than the outside commanders of a hundred and of ten. If outside leaders of a thousand, regarding themselves as equal to and a match for my guards, quarrel with them, We shall punish the persons who are leaders of a thousand.’ So he ordered.

229 Further, Činggis Qa’an issued the *following* order and proclaimed it¹ to the commanders of the various companies: ‘When the quiverbearers, the dayguards *and the stewards* take their turn of duty, they shall carry out their day duties, each at his respective post. As the sun sets, they shall retire *so as to be replaced* by the nightguards and, going outside, they shall spend the night *there*. At night, the nightguards shall spend the night beside Us. The quiverbearers shall leave, turning over their quivers – and the stewards their bowls and vessels – to the nightguards. *The following morning*, the quiverbearers, dayguards and stewards who have spent the night outside shall stay at the horse station while We eat Our soup; *then*, they will report to the nightguards. When We have finished eating *Our morning* soup, the quiverbearers shall return to their quivers, the dayguards to their *appointed* place and the stewards to their bowls and vessels. Those who take their turn of duty on roster must *all* act thus, in precisely the same manner, according to this ordinance.’ So he ordered.

¹ Lit., ‘the order.’

He said, 'Any person who moves about crosswise at the rear or front of the Palace after sunset shall be arrested and the nightguards shall hold him *in custody* for the night. The following morning, the nightguards shall question him. When the company is relieved, the *incoming* nightguards shall hand over their passes and *only then* come in and take their turn of duty; the outgoing nightguards when relieved shall likewise hand *theirs* over and depart.'

He said, 'The nightguards at night lie down all around the Palace; *you*, nightguards who stand guarding the door, shall hack *any* persons entering at night until their heads are split open and their shoulders fall *apart*, then cast them away. If *any* persons come at night with an urgent message, they must report to the nightguards and communicate *the message to me* while standing together with the nightguards at the rear¹ of the tent.'

'No one is to sit in a place above the nightguards.² No one is to enter *the precinct* without permission from the nightguards. No one is to walk up beyond the nightguards. One must not walk between the nightguards. One must not ask the number of nightguards. The nightguards shall arrest the people who walk up beyond them.³ The nightguards shall arrest the people who walk between them. And the nightguards – with regard to *any* person who shall have asked their number – the nightguards shall seize the gelding that that person was riding that very day, with saddle and bridle, together with the clothes that he was wearing.' So he ordered.

Eljigedei,⁴ even though he was a trustworthy person, was he not arrested by the nightguards when in the evening he happened to walk up beyond them?

¹ I.e., at the northern side.

² I.e., between the nightguards and the tent.

³ Lit., 'the nightguards.'

⁴ The Eljigidei of §§ 275 and 278 below.

THE SECRET HISTORY OF THE MONGOLS

CHAPTER TEN

230

Činggis Qa'an said,

'My elder nightguards who, in the cloudy night,
Lying down around my vented tent¹
Ensured that I slept in quiet and peace,
You have made me gain this throne.²
My blessed nightguards who, in the starry night,
Lying down all around my Palace tent,
Ensured that I was without fear in my bed,
You have made me gain the high throne.
My true-hearted nightguards who in the swirling
snowstorm,
In shivering cold, in pouring rain, taking no rest,
Stood all around my latticed tent
Bringing peace to my heart,
You have made me gain *this* throne of joy.
My trustworthy nightguards, who in the midst
Of trouble-making enemies, not blinking an eye,
Stood all around my felt-girt tent
Withstanding *their* onslaught;
My watchful nightguards who, *hearing the enemy's*
Quivers of birch-bark barely rattling,
Stood up without delay;
My swift-moving nightguards who, *hearing the*
enemy's
Quivers of willow-wood barely rattling,
Stood up *not a moment* too late;
My blessed nightguards, *from now on*
You shall call yourselves "the elder nightguards."

¹ I.e., a tent with a smoke-hole at the top.

² See above, § 205.

The seventy dayguards who had enrolled with Ögöle Čerbi¹ shall be called "the great dayguards." The brave warriors of Arqai² shall be called "the elder brave warriors." The quiverbearers Yisün Te'e, Bügidei and the others shall be called "the great quiverbearers." So he ordered.

231 Činggis Qa'an said, 'As for my ten thousand personal guards who have come to serve in my presence, chosen for personal service from the ninety-five thousand,³ you, sons of mine who will later sit on my throne to the offspring of my offspring, considering these guards as a keepsake from me, give them no cause for dissatisfaction, but take good care of them! These ten thousand guards – will they not be called my beneficent spirits?'⁴

232 Further, Činggis Qa'an said, 'The nightguards shall be in charge of the female attendants⁵ of the Palace, the "sons of the household",⁶ the camel-keepers and the cowherds, and they shall take care of the tent-carts of the Palace. The nightguards shall take care of the standards and drums, and the spears arranged beneath them. The nightguards shall also take care of the bowls and vessels. The nightguards shall supervise Our drink and food. The nightguards shall supervise and cook the uncut meat and food as well: if drink and food are lacking, we shall seek them from the nightguards who have been entrusted with their supervision.' And he said, 'When the quiverbearers distribute drink and food, they must not distribute them without permission from the supervising nightguards. When they distribute food, they shall first distribute it beginning with the nightguards.' And he said, 'Entering into and going out from the Palace

¹ See above, § 120 and com.

² I.e., Arqai Qasar.

³ See above, § 202.

⁴ See above, § 207.

⁵ Čerbin ökiti. See the Commentary.

⁶ I.e., young domestic slaves.

tent must be regulated by the nightguards. At the door, the doorkeepers from the nightguards shall stand right next to the tent. Two from the nightguards shall enter into the tent and oversee the large kumis pitchers.' And he said, 'The campmasters from the nightguards shall go before Us and set up the Palace tent.' And he said, 'When We go falconing or hunting, the nightguards shall go falconing and hunting with Us; but exactly one half of them shall stay at the carts.'

233 Further, Činggis Qa'an said, 'If We Ourselves do not go on a military campaign the nightguards must not take the field without Us.' So he said, and gave the following order: 'After being thus instructed by Us, the chamberlains in charge of troops who transgress the order and, out of jealousy for the nightguards, send them out on campaign, shall be guilty and liable to punishment.' And he said, 'You say, "Why is it that soldiers from the nightguards are not sent out on campaign?" It is the nightguards that watch over my golden¹ life. When I go falconing or hunting, they toil with me; being charged with the administration of the Palace, whether this is moving or stationary, they look after the carts. Is it an easy thing to spend the night watching over my person? Is it an easy thing to look after the tent-carts when the main base camp is in movement or settled? The reason why We say that they² must not take the field separately and without Us, is because We say to Ourselves that they have already so many and quite distinct duties.'

234 Further, Činggis Qa'an gave the following order: 'Some of the nightguards shall decide on judicial matters together with Šigi Qutuqu.' And he said, 'Some of the nightguards shall take care of quivers, bows, breastplates and weapons, and they shall distribute them. Managing some of the geldings, they shall load the hunting nets on to them.' And

¹ I.e., royal.

² I.e., the nightguards.

he said, 'Some of the nightguards, together with the chamberlains, shall distribute the satin.' And he said, 'When the quiverbearers and the dayguards have reported on *the establishment* of the encampment, the quiverbearers such as Yisün Te'e and Bükidei, and the dayguards such as Alčidai, Ögöle and Aqutai, shall take up duty on the right¹ side of the Palace.' And he said, 'The dayguards such as Buqa, Dödei Čerbi, Doqolqu Čerbi and Čanai shall take up duty on the left² side of the Palace.' And he said, 'Arqai's brave warriors shall take up duty in front³ of the Palace.' And he said, 'The nightguards, having taken care of the tent-carts of the Palace, shall take up duty in the proximity of the Palace, on the left² side.' And he said, 'Dödei Čerbi shall constantly supervise the Palace: all the guards who are dayguards, and, round about the Palace, the "sons of the household" of the Palace, the horse-herders, shepherds, camel-keepers and cowherds.'⁴ He appointed him and gave the following order: 'Dödei Čerbi shall take up duty and be constantly present, at the rear⁵ of the Palace,

Eating scraps of leftovers,
Burning dried dung.'⁶

235 Činggis Qa'an sent Qubilai Noyan to fight against the Qarlu'ut. Arslan Qan of the Qarlu'ut came to submit to Qubilai. Qubilai Noyan took Arslan Qan back with him and made him pay homage to Činggis Qa'an. Because he had not opposed resistance, Činggis Qa'an showed favour to Arslan and said, 'I shall give him a daughter *in marriage*.'

236 Sübe'etei Ba'atur, who had been *provided* with an iron cart,⁷ had gone on a campaign in pursuit of the sons

¹ I.e., western.

² I.e., eastern.

³ I.e., at the southern side.

⁴ See above, § 232.

⁵ I.e., at the northern side.

⁶ For fuel.

⁷ See above, § 199.

of Toqto'a of the Merkit led by Qutu and Čila'un. He overtook them at the Čui River, destroyed them and came back.

237 Ĵebe, pursuing Güčülük Qan of the Naiman, overtook him at Sariq Qun.¹ He destroyed Güčülük and came back.

238 The *idu'ut* of the Ui'ut² sent envoys to Činggis Qa'an. Through the envoys Atkiraq and Darbai he had the following petition conveyed to him:

'As if one saw Mother Sun
When the clouds disperse;
As if one came upon the river water
When the ice disappears,³

so I greatly rejoiced when I heard of the fame of Činggis Qa'an. If through your favour, O Činggis Qa'an, I were to obtain

But a ring from your golden belt,
But a thread from your crimson coat,
I will become your fifth son and will serve you.'

Činggis Qa'an, in reply to those words and showing favour to him, sent the following message: 'I shall give him a daughter and let him become my fifth son. The *idu'ut* must come, bringing with him gold, silver, small and big pearls, brocades, damasks and silks.' The *idu'ut* rejoiced because he had been favoured; and taking with him gold, silver, small and big pearls, silks, brocades, damasks and satins, he⁴ came and paid homage to Činggis Qa'an. Činggis Qa'an favoured the *idu'ut* and gave him *his daughter* Al Altun *in marriage*.

239 In the Year of the Hare (1207), Činggis Qa'an sent Joči with the troops of the right wing on an expedition against the People of the Forest. Buqa went with him acting as a

¹ I.e., 'Yellow Cliff'; possibly an error for Sariq Qol. See the Commentary.

² I.e., the ruler of the Uighurs.

³ I.e., melts.

⁴ Lit., 'the *idu'ut*.'

guide. Quduqa Beki of the Oyirat came to submit ahead of the Tümen Oyirat. He came and, acting as a guide, led Joči to *the territory* of the Tümen Oyirat and made them submit at the Šiqšit River.¹ Joči brought the Oyirat, Buriyat, Barqun, Ursut, Qabqanas, Qangqas and Tubas under submission.

When he reached *the territory* of the Tümen Kirgisut, their² leaders Yedi Inal, Aldi Er and Örebek Digin – *these* leaders of the Kirgisut – came to submit. Bringing with them *gifts* of white gerfalcons, white geldings and black sables, they paid homage to Joči.

After Joči had subjugated the People of the Forest from the Šibir, Kesdim,³ Bayit, Tuqas, Tenlek,⁴ Tö'eles,⁵ Tas and Bajigit up to this side,⁶ he came back bringing with him the commanders of ten thousand and of thousands of the Kirgisut and the leaders of the People of the Forest. He caused them to pay homage to Činggis Qa'an with *gifts* of white gerfalcons, white geldings and black sables.

Činggis Qa'an welcomed Quduqa Beki of the Oyirat, saying, 'He came to submit before *the others*, leading the Tümen Oyirat.' And he showed favour to him, giving Čečeyigen to his son Inalči. He gave Joči's daughter Qoluiqan⁷ to Törölči, elder brother of Inalči. He gave Alaqa Beki to *the ruler* of the Önggüt.

Činggis Qa'an favoured Joči, saying, 'You, eldest of my sons, who only *now for the first time* have left home, you have been lucky. Without wounding or causing suffering to man or gelding in the lands where you went, you

¹ The Šisgis River of § 144 above.

² Lit., 'of the Kirgisut.'

³ Written Kesdiyim.

⁴ Read Teleng (pl. Telengüt). See the Commentary.

⁵ The Tö'ölös of § 207 above.

⁶ I.e., 'up to our side (= territory).'

⁷ Huluiqan in the text.

came back having subjugated the fortunate¹ People of the Forest. I shall give *this* people to you.' So he ordered.

240 Further, he sent Boro'ul Noyan to fight against the Qori Tumat people. As Daiduqul Soqor, the leader of the Tumat people, had died, his wife Botoqui Tarqun was governing them.² Upon reaching *their territory*, Boroqul Noyan with two others – three men *altogether* – set out from the main army to proceed ahead of it. In the evening, as they were going along a trail in the dense forest and were off guard, they were attacked from the rear by their³ patrolmen, who blocked the trail. Boroqul Noyan was caught and killed.

When Činggis Qa'an learnt that the Tumat had killed Boroqul, he was greatly angered and prepared to move in person *against them*, but Bo'orču and Muqali pleaded with him⁴ until he desisted. Thereupon he appointed Dörbei Doqšin of the Dörbet and commanded him thus: 'Set the army in strict order, pray to Eternal Heaven and strive to subdue the Tumat people!'

Dörbei set the army in order and beforehand made a decoy manoeuvre⁵ along the paths, trails and passes where the army was *expected* to advance and which *enemy* patrols would keep under surveillance. Then, going by paths trodden by the red bull,⁶ he issued an ordinance to his warriors that, with regard to all the men in the army, if anyone lost heart *and refused to proceed*, they should beat him, and he made *each* man carry ten rods *for this purpose*; he *also* had axes, adzes, saws, chisels and weapons prepared for the men. Along the paths trodden by the red bull he had

¹ Because they had peacefully submitted to the Mongols, thus gaining Činggis' favour.

² Lit., 'the Tumat people.'

³ I.e., the Tumat's.

⁴ Lit., 'Činggis Qa'an.'

⁵ Lit., 'falsely caused troops to move.'

⁶ Probably a large deer or an elk is meant. ✓

them chop, hew and saw the trees that stood in the way, *thus making a road for the army to pass.*

They went up the mountain and, *as though falling* on to the smoke-hole of the tents¹ of the Tumat people who were busy feasting, they *took them* by surprise and plundered them.

241 Earlier Qorči Noyan and Quduqa Beki had been seized by the Tumat and were there, with Botoqui Tarqun. The way in which Qorči was seized *was the following*: When Činggis Qa'an said, 'The girls of the Tumat people are beautiful; let him take thirty wives² *from among them!*', Qorči went, intending to take the girls of the Tumat people, but *these* people, who had formerly submitted, *now* rebelled and seized Qorči Noyan.

When Činggis Qa'an learnt that Qorči had been seized by the Tumat, he said, 'Quduqa knows the ways *and manners* of the People of the Forest', and sent him *to them*, but Quduqa Beki was also seized.

After he had brought the Tumat people completely under submission, Činggis Qa'an, because of the death³ of Boroqul gave one hundred Tumat *to his family*. Qorči took thirty girls. Činggis Qa'an gave Botoqui Tarqun to Quduqa Beki.

242 Činggis Qa'an decreed that he would apportion the *subject* people among *his* mother, children and younger brothers. When he gave *them their share*, he said, 'The one who toiled *most* gathering⁴ the people was mother. The eldest of my sons is Joči. The youngest of my younger brothers is Otčigin.' To *his* mother, together with Otčigin's share, he gave ten thousand people. The mother was dissatisfied, *thinking them too few*, but she did not complain.

¹ For this simile, cf. above, §§ 105 and com., 109.

² Lit., 'thirty women.'

³ Lit., 'bones.'

⁴ I.e., rallying.

Boroqul - ... yashin ...

To Joči he gave nine thousand people. To Ča'adai he gave eight thousand people. To Ögödei he gave five thousand people. To Tolui he gave five thousand people. To Qasar he gave four thousand people. To Alčidai he gave two thousand people. To Belgütei he gave one thousand five hundred people.

He said, 'Dāritai joined the Kereyit.¹ I shall wipe him from my sight.' On that, Bo'orču, Muqali and Šigi Qutuqu spoke saying, '*This action would be*

Like extinguishing one's own *hearth*-fire,

Like destroying one's own tent.

As a reminder of your good² father, only your paternal uncle is left. How can you do away with him? He *acted* without thinking, so spare him. Allow the youngest brother of your good father, together with *his people*, to let the smoke of their camp swirl up!' And they reasoned with him until *he was so moved that*

He snuffled, as if

He had smoke in his nose.

'Right!' – he said, and thinking of his good father, he calmed down at the words of Bo'orču, Muqali and Šigi Qutuqu.

243 Činggis Qa'an said, 'I have given ten thousand people to mother and to Otčigin, and *for them* I have appointed the four commanders Güčü, Kököcü, Jungsai and Qorqasun. For Joči I have appointed the three *commanders* Qunan, Mönge'ür and Kete. For Ča'adai I have appointed the three *commanders* Qaraçar, Möngeke and Idoqudai.'

Further, Činggis Qa'an said, 'Ča'adai is headstrong and is, by nature, punctilious. Köke Čos shall stay at his side evening and morning, and shall tell him what he thinks.'³ So he ordered.

¹ Gereyit in the text.

² I.e., 'late.'

³ I.e., 'he shall advise him.'

For Ögödei he appointed both Ilüge and Degei. For Tolui he appointed both Jedei and Bala. For Qasar he appointed Jebke. For Alčidai he appointed Ča'urqai.¹

244 The sons of Father Mönqlik of the Qongqotan were seven. The middle one was Kököčü Teb Tenggeri. Those seven ganged up and beat Qasar.

When Qasar, kneeling before Činggis Qa'an, told him that he had been beaten by the seven Qongqotan who had ganged up *against him*, Činggis Qa'an was angry about other *matters*. While Qasar was *still* talking, Činggis Qa'an in his anger said to him, '*In the past you have done nothing but claim that you would not be vanquished by any living being. How is it that you have now been vanquished?*' At this Qasar wept, *then* rose and left.

Qasar was vexed and for three days *in succession* did not come *before Činggis Qa'an*.

After this, Teb Tenggeri said to Činggis Qa'an, 'The decree of Eternal Heaven *concerning* the ruler has been *foretold* by *heavenly signs*² *as follows*: once they say that Temüjin will hold the nation, once that³ Qasar *will*. If you don't strike at Qasar by surprise, there is no knowing *what will happen!*'

On these words, Činggis Qa'an that very night rode off to seize Qasar. When he left, Güčü and Kököčü informed the mother⁴ that he had gone to seize Qasar. When the mother heard *this*, straightaway – it was *still* night – she harnessed a white camel and set out in a black covered cart, travelling all night.

On her arrival at sunrise, Činggis Qa'an had tied up *the opening of Qasar's sleeves*, removed his hat and belt, and

¹ Some of the names in this section appear elsewhere in the SH in slightly different forms. See the Commentary.

² Cf. §§ 121 and 206 above.

³ Lit., 'they say that.'

⁴ I.e., Hö'elün.

was interrogating him. Činggis Qa'an, surprised by the mother *descending* upon him, became afraid of her.¹

The mother was furious. As *soon as* she got there and dismounted from the cart, she² herself untied and loosened Qasar's sleeves, *the opening of* which had been tied up, and gave *back* to Qasar his hat and belt. The mother was *so* angered that she was unable to contain her fury. She sat cross-legged, took out both her breasts, laid them over her knees and said, 'Have you seen them? They are the breasts that suckled you, and *these*³ are the ones who, rushing out of my womb,⁴

Have snapped at their own afterbirth,⁵

Have cut their own birth cord.

What has Qasar done? Temüjin used to drain this one breast of mine. Qači'un and Otčigin between them did not drain a single breast. As for Qasar, he completely drained both my breasts and brought me comfort until my bosom relaxed. He used to make my bosom relax. Therefore,

My able Temüjin

Has skill of mind.⁶

My Qasar has skill in archery

And might, and so he was wont

To shoot and subdue

All those on the run, shooting at him.

With long-distance arrows he was wont

To shoot and subdue

All those on the run, in fear of him.

But now, saying that you⁷ have destroyed the enemy people, you can no *longer* bear the sight of Qasar.' So she spoke.

¹ Lit., 'of the mother.'

² Lit., 'the mother.'

³ I.e., 'you two.'

⁴ Translation uncertain. See the Commentary.

⁵ Cf. above, § 78.

⁶ Lit., 'of bosom.'

⁷ I.e., Temüjin.

After Činggis Qa'an had at last calmed the mother, he said, 'I was afraid of mother getting *so* angry and *really* became frightened; and I felt shame and was *really* abashed.' And saying, 'Let us withdraw!', he withdrew *and returned home*. But, without letting the mother know, he stealthily took away the subjects¹ of Qasar and let Qasar have *only* one thousand four hundred people. That is how, when the mother learned *this*, the thought of it made her go quickly *into decline*. Ĵebke of the Ĵalayir then left in fright and fled into the Barquĵin Lowland.

245 After that, the 'people of nine tongues'² gathered under Teb Tenggeri. Many from Činggis Qa'an's horse station *also* decided to gather under Teb Tenggeri. When they had thus gathered, the people who were subject to Temüġe Otčigin went over to Teb Tenggeri. Otčigin Noyan *then* sent his messenger, by name of Soqor, to request *the return of* the people who had departed. Teb Tenggeri said to the messenger Soqor, 'I am grateful to both Otčigin and you',³ and, after beating him, sent the messenger Soqor back on foot, forcing him to carry his saddle on his back.

Greatly affected by the beating of his messenger Soqor and his returning on foot, Otčigin the following day – Otčigin himself – went to Teb Tenggeri and said, 'I sent my messenger Soqor *to you*, but you beat him and sent him back on foot. Now I have come to request *the return of* my people.'

On that, the seven Qongqotan from all sides surrounded Otčigin, saying, 'You were right to send your messenger Soqor.' Otčigin Noyan, being dealt with *in this way* and fearing to be seized and beaten *by them*, said, 'I was wrong to send my messenger.' The seven Qongqotan *then* said, 'If

¹ Lit., 'the people.'

² Possibly Kereyit tribesmen distributed among the Mongols. See the Commentary.

³ For the gift of the horse – said sarcastically, of course.

you were wrong, kneel down and make amends', and they had him kneel down behind Teb Tenggeri.

Otčigin was not given his people; so, early next day, when Činggis Qa'an had not yet got up and was still in bed, he¹ went into *his tent*. He wept and, kneeling down, said, 'As "the people of nine tongues" had assembled under Teb Tenggeri, I sent a messenger called Soqor to request from Teb Tenggeri *the return of* the people subject to me. They beat my messenger Soqor, they made him carry the saddle on his back, and he was sent back on foot. When I in person went to request *the return of my people*, I was surrounded from all sides by the seven Qongqotan, who compelled me to make amends and kneel down behind Teb Tenggeri.' And he wept.

Before Činggis Qa'an could utter a sound, Lady Börte sat up in bed, covering her breasts with the edge of the blanket. Seeing Otčigin weep, she *herself* shed tears and said, 'What are those Qongqotan doing? They recently ganged up and beat Qasar. And now, why do they make this Otčigin kneel down behind them? What kind of behaviour is this? Thus they covertly injure even these younger brothers of yours *who are* like cypresses and pines. And truly, later

When your body, like a great old tree,
Will fall down,
By whom will they let govern your people
Who are like tangled hemp?
When your body, like the stone base of a pillar,
Will collapse,
By whom will they let govern your people
Who are like a flock of birds?

How will people covertly injuring in this fashion your younger brothers, *who are* like cypresses and pines, ever

¹ I.e., Otčigin.

allow my three or four little "naughty ones" to govern while they are *still* growing up? What are those Qongqotan doing? Now that you have let them *ill-treat* your younger brothers in such a way, how do you view *all this*?' So spoke Lady Börte and shed tears.

On these words of Lady Börte, Činggis Qa'an said to Otčigin, 'Teb Tenggeri is coming now. Whatever you may wish to do to him within your power, it is for you to decide!' Whereupon Otčigin rose, wiped away his tears and, going out of the tent, stood in readiness with three strong men.

After a while, Father Mönglik came with his seven sons. The seven all entered and, as Teb Tenggeri sat down on the right side of the *kumis* pitchers,² Otčigin seized the collar of Teb Tenggeri, saying, 'Yesterday you compelled me to make amends. Let us *now* measure up to each other!' – and, holding his collar, dragged him towards the door. Teb Tenggeri, *then*, facing Otčigin, seized his collar and wrestled with him. As they were wrestling, Teb Tenggeri's hat fell in front of the fireplace. Father Mönglik took his hat, smelled it and placed it in his bosom. Činggis Qa'an said, 'Go out and match each other's strength and might.'

Otčigin dragged Teb Tenggeri out. The three strong men who had earlier been standing in readiness at the threshold of the door faced Teb Tenggeri. They seized him, dragged him out *further*, broke his back and cast him down at the end of the *line of carts* of the left side.³

Otčigin came *back into the tent* and said, 'Teb Tenggeri had compelled me to make amends. When I said, "Let us measure up to each other", he was not willing to *wrestle* and lay down pretending *that he could not get up*. Not much of a companion, is he!'

¹ I.e., 'my sons.'

² I.e., of the wine table. See above, § 213.

³ I.e., the east side.

Father Mönglik understood and, shedding tears, said, 'I have been your companion

Since the brown earth
Was *only* the size of a clod,
Since the sea and rivers
Were *only* the size of a rivulet.'

At these words, his six Qongqotan sons barred the door and disposed themselves around the fireplace. When they rolled up their sleeves, Činggis Qa'an became frightened. Being pressed *by them*, he said, 'Make way, I am going out.' As soon as he stepped outside, quiverbearers and dayguards surrounded Činggis Qa'an and stood by.

Činggis Qa'an saw that after breaking his backbone, they¹ had cast Teb Tenggeri down at the end of the *line of carts*. He had a grey tent brought from the back and placed over Teb Tenggeri, saying, 'Fasten the harnessing to the carts, we shall move on.' And he moved on from there.

246 After they had covered the smoke-hole of the tent in which they had placed Teb Tenggeri, had blocked the door and put people to keep watch, on the third night at dusk Teb Tenggeri opened the smoke-hole of the tent and came out bodily *through it*. When they investigated closely, it was established that it really was Teb Tenggeri who had been seen in that part of the tent.²

Činggis Qa'an said, 'Because Teb Tenggeri laid hands on my younger brothers and spread baseless slanders among them³ in order to sow discord, he was no longer loved by Heaven, and his life, together with his body, has been taken away.'

Činggis Qa'an then railed at Father Mönglik saying, 'By not restraining your sons' nature, you *and your sons* began thinking that you were equal to me, and you have paid

¹ I.e., the three strong men.

² I.e., over the smoke-hole.

³ Lit., 'among my younger brothers.'

for this with Teb Tenggeri's life.¹ If I had known that you had such a nature, you would have been dealt with like Ĵamuqa, Altan, Qučar and the others.' So he railed at Father Mōnglik.

When he had finished railing at him, he said further, 'If one retracts in the evening what one has said in the morning, and retracts in the morning what one has said the *previous* evening, surely one will only be criticised until he is covered with shame. I have earlier pledged my word to you. Enough of this matter!' And, his anger abated, he showed favour to him *again*. He said, 'Had you restrained your ambitious nature, who among Father Mōnglik's offspring would have *dared* to consider himself equal to me?' After Teb Tenggeri had been annihilated, the *proud* air of the Qongqotan was *much* reduced.

¹ Lit., 'head.'

THE SECRET HISTORY OF THE MONGOLS

CHAPTER ELEVEN

(= SUP. I)

247

After that, in the Year of the Sheep (1211), Činggis Qa'an set out against the Kitat people. He took Vuĵiu,¹ crossed over Hūnegen Daba'an, took Sōndiivu and sent Ĵebe and Güyigūnek Ba'atur as vanguards.

On reaching Čabčiyal, *seeing that the Čabčiyal Pass* was defended, Ĵebe there and then said, 'We shall entice them and get them to move and come *after us*. Then, let us put them to the test!' So saying, he turned back. *When they discovered that* he had turned back, the Kitat troops said, 'Let us pursue him!', and they went in pursuit until the valleys and the mountains were completely covered *with them*. Upon reaching the spur of Sōndiivu, Ĵebe turned back, rushed forth against the enemies who were approaching in successive *waves* and routed them. Činggis Qa'an, pressing on with the main body of the army, dislodged the Kitat *from their positions*, crushed the valiant and bold Ĵüyin troops of the Qara Kidat and the Ĵürčet, slaying them until they were *like* heaps of rotten logs as far as Čabčiyal.

Ĵebe took the gate of Čabčiyal, and after he had captured the passes and crossed over them, Činggis Qa'an pitched camp at Šira Degtūr.

Launching the attack on Ĵungdu, he sent troops to various towns and cities, ordering them to attack. He sent Ĵebe to attack the city of Dungčang. *Ĵebe* reached the city of Dungčang but, unable to take it *by storm*, turned back and went as far as the distance of a six days' *march from there*.

¹ For the identification of the localities in north China mentioned in this and the following sections, see the Commentary.

Then – *the enemy* being unaware – he returned and, marching throughout the night, *each soldier* leading a spare horse by hand, he arrived at the moment when *the enemy* was unprepared and took the city of Dungčang.

248 After taking the city of Dungčang, Ĵebe returned and joined Činggis Qa'an.

When Jungdu was under siege, a high official of the Altan Qan, Ongging Čingsang, advised the Altan Qan as follows: 'This is the destiny and *favourable* time decreed by Heaven and Earth.¹ Could it be that the time has come when the great throne will *pass to a new ruler*? The Mongols are coming in great might: they have crushed our valiant and bold élite Jüyin troops of the Qara Kitat² and the Jürčet, slaying them until they were utterly destroyed. Even Čabčiyal Pass, on which we were relying, they have wrested from us. If we now set *our* troops in order and send them out to *fight*, should they again be crushed by the Mongols, they will no doubt scatter *and return* to their various cities. And, if we rally them against their will, they will turn against us and will no longer be our friends. If you, the Altan Qan, grant *permission*, let us for the present submit and come to terms with the ruler of the Mongols. If the Mongols agree to withdraw, after their withdrawal we shall there and then take up another different counsel. It is said that the men and geldings of the Mongols find *our* country unsuitable and fall victim to epidemics. Let us give a princess to their ruler, and to the men in his army let us send out gold, silver, satin and goods in abundance. Who knows whether they will *or will not* agree to our proposal?'

When Ongging Čingsang had given his advice, the Altan Qan approved these words of his, saying, 'Let it be so!' Then, offering submission, he sent to Činggis Qa'an a

princess by name of Gungju¹ and from Jungdu he sent out to the men in his army gold, silver, satin and goods – as much as, in their judgement, their strength and that of their horses could carry. He also sent Ongging Čingsang to Činggis Qa'an.

When they came and submitted themselves, Činggis Qa'an agreed to their proposal. He ordered back the troops that were attacking the various towns and withdrew. Ongging Čingsang accompanied Činggis Qa'an as far as the spurs called Moju² and Vuju, and then returned. As for the satin and goods, our troops loaded as much as their horses could carry and moved away, tying up their loads with bands of heavy silk fabric.

249 In the course of that military campaign, Činggis Qa'an set out towards the Qašin people. When, moving in their direction, he reached their country, Burqan Qan of the Qašin people said, 'I shall submit and, becoming your right wing, I shall serve you.' And he offered his daughter, called Čaqa, to Činggis Qa'an.

Further, Burqan Qan said, 'Hearing of Činggis Qa'an's fame we were in awe of you. Now your august person has arrived, you have come to us, and we are indeed awed by your majesty. Being awed, we the Tang'ut people have said, "We shall become your right wing and we shall serve you." When we serve you, know that

We are the ones who live in permanent camps,
We are the ones who have towns with pounded-earth walls,

And so, when we become your companions,
In waging a swift campaign,
In fighting a deadly combat,

¹ This is not the name of the lady in question, but the Chinese term *kung-chu* meaning 'princess.'

² An error in the text. See the Commentary.

³ I.e., west.

¹ Cf. above, § 194.

² = Qara Kidat.

We shall not be able to hasten into a swift campaign,
We shall not be able to fight a deadly combat.

But if Činggis Qa'an shows favour to us, we the Tang'ut people,

We shall bring forth many camels
Reared in the shelter of the tall feather-grass:
We shall turn them into government property
And we shall give *them to you*.
We shall weave woollen material and make satin,
And we shall give *them to you*.
Training falcons to fly loose *at game*.
We shall gather them

and *all the best ones we shall send to you*.' Thus he petitioned Činggis Qa'an. And having spoken, he kept to his word. He levied camels from his Tang'ut people and, bringing *so many* that it was impossible to drive *any more of them*, he gave *them to Činggis Qa'an*.

250

On that campaign Činggis Qa'an obtained the submission of the Altan Qa'an¹ of the Kitat people and took a large quantity of satin. He *also* obtained the submission of Burqan of the Qašin people and took a great number of camels.

Having *thus* obtained the submission of the Altan Qan of the Kitat people, named Aqutai, and² of Iluqu Burqan of the Tang'ut people in that campaign of the Year of the Sheep (1211), Činggis Qa'an returned *home* and set up camp on the Sa'ari Steppe.

251

Again, after that, since Jubqan and many other envoys of ours who were sent to Jau Gon to seek allegiance had been hindered by the Altan Qa'an¹ Aqutai of the Kitat people, in the Year of the Dog (1214) Činggis Qa'an set out once more against the Kitat people. On setting out he said,

'After they had already submitted themselves, how could they hinder the envoys sent to Jau Gon?'

Činggis Qa'an moved in the direction of the Tunggon Pass, ordering Jebe to go by way of Čabčiyal. Realizing that Činggis Qa'an had gone by the Tunggon Pass, the Altan Qan entrusted the command of his troops to Ile, Qada and Hübögetür, saying, 'With the army blocking *the passage* and disposing the Red Coats as vanguard, fight for the Tunggon Pass and do not let them cross the defile!' And he sent Ile, Qada and Hübögetür in haste with the troops.

When Činggis Qa'an arrived at the Tunggon Pass, the Kitat troops came to intercept him, saying, 'Our soil!'¹ Činggis Qa'an fought against Ile, Qada and Hübögetür and put to flight Ile and Qada. Tolui and Čügü Gürigen² then arrived and, charging at their flanks, forced back the Red Coats, repulsed and *completely* defeated Ile and Qada, and slew the Kitat until they were *like* heaps of rotten logs.

When the Altan Qan learned that his Kitat troops had been slain and destroyed, he fled out of Jungdu and entered the city of Namging. As the remnants of his troops were dying of starvation, they ate human flesh between them.

Because Tolui and Čügü Gürigen had performed well, Činggis Qa'an greatly favoured both of them.³

252

Činggis Qa'an set up camp at Qosivu, then in the Šira Ke'er⁴ of Jungdu. Jebe broke down the gate of Čabčiyal and, having routed the *enemy* troops who were holding Čabčiyal, came and joined Činggis Qa'an.

When the Altan Qan moved out of Jungdu, he appointed Qada as *liušiu*⁵ in Jungdu before leaving *the city*. When Činggis Qa'an had the inventory taken of the gold,

¹ I.e., 'Let us defend our soil!'

² The Čügü Güregen of § 202 (no. 85).

³ Lit., 'both Tolui and Čügü Gürigen.'

⁴ I.e., 'Yellow Plain.' See the Commentary.

⁵ I.e., as temporary vicegerent or governor.

¹ Read Qan.

² Lit., 'and having obtained the submission.'

silver, goods, satin and *other* things *gathered* in Jungdu, he sent the steward Önggür, Arqai Qasar and Šigi Qutuqu *to do it*. As these three were approaching, Qada went ahead to greet them, taking with him gold-*embroidered* and patterned satins. He came out of Jungdu and welcomed them.

Šigi Qutuqu said to Qada, 'Formerly, the goods of this Jungdu, and the very *city of Jungdu*, did belong to the Altan Qan. Now Jungdu surely belongs to Činggis Qa'an. How can you give us the goods and satins of Činggis Qa'an, stealing them and bringing them *here* behind his back? I shall not take them.' Thus spoke Šigi Qutuqu and did not take them, but the steward Önggür and Arqai took them. After making the inventory of the goods and *other* things of Jungdu, these three came back *to Činggis Qa'an*.

Činggis Qa'an then asked Önggür, Arqai and Qutuqu, 'What did Qada give you?' Šigi Qutuqu said, 'He brought and gave us gold-*embroidered* and patterned satins. I said to him, "Formerly, this Jungdu belonged to the Altan Qan. Now it has surely become Činggis Qa'an's *property*. How can you, Qada, give us Činggis Qa'an's goods, stealing them behind his back?" Thus I said and did not take them, but Önggür and Arqai took what *Qada* had given them.' So spoke Šigi Qutuqu.

Činggis Qa'an then mightily rebuked Önggür and Arqai. *As for Šigi Qutuqu*, he greatly favoured him, saying, 'You, Šigi Qutuqu, have been mindful of the great norm *concerning one's obligations to the qan*.'¹ And he said, 'You shall be

Eyes for me to see with,
Ears for me to hear with!²

253 After the Altan Qan had entered Namging, he submitted himself in person and, making obeisance, sent his son called

¹ Cf. above, § 220.

² See above, §§ 138 and 203.

Tenggeri, with a hundred companions, to Činggis Qa'an to serve as a *dayguard and hostage*.

As *the Altan Qan* had been brought under submission by him, Činggis Qa'an said that he would withdraw. There and then he withdrew by the Čabčiyal *Pass*, sending Qasar along the sea *coast* with the troops of the left wing. He sent him with the following instructions: 'Set up camp at the city of Beiging.² After you have subjugated the city of Beiging,² proceed further and cross *the country of Vuqanu* of the Jürčēt. If Vuqanu intends to offer resistance, go for him. If he submits, pass through their³ border towns, go along the rivers Ula and Na'u, and crossing the Ta'ur River upstream, join forces with me at the main basecamp.' With Qasar he sent Jürčedei, Alči and Tolun Čerbi from among the *army* commanders.

Qasar brought the city of Beiging² into subjection, forced Vuqanu of the Jürčēt to submit and subjugated the towns which were on the way *there*. Qasar then proceeded upstream along the Ta'ur River and settled at the main base camp.

254 After that, as Činggis Qa'an's one hundred envoys with Uquna at their head had been held up and slain by the Sarta'ul people, Činggis Qa'an said, 'How can my "golden halter" be broken⁴ by the Sarta'ul people?' And he said, 'I shall set out against the Sarta'ul people,
To take revenge,
To requite the wrong
for *the slaying of my hundred envoys with Uquna at their head*.'

¹ I.e., east.

² Buiging? See the Commentary.

³ I.e., the Jürčēt's.

⁴ I.e., 'How can my sovereign authority be infringed?' The 'golden halter' refers to the firm bond uniting the Mongol *qan* to other rulers who owed him allegiance.

When he was about to set out, there and then Yisüi Qatun respectfully gave the following advice to Činggis Qa'an: 'The Qa'an has thought of

Establishing order over his many people,
Climbing high passes,
Crossing wide rivers
And waging a long campaign.

Still, living beings who are but born *to this world* are not eternal:

When your body, like a great old tree,
Will fall down,
To whom will you bequeath your people
Which is like tangled hemp?
When your body, like the stone base of a pillar,
Will collapse,
To whom will you bequeath your people
Which is like a flock of birds?¹

Of your four sons, the heroes whom you have begotten, which one will you designate *as your successor*? I have given you *this* advice on what, thinking about it, we – the sons, younger brothers, the many common people and my poor self² – understood *to be an important question*. Your order³ shall decide!

So she advised him and Činggis Qa'an declared: 'Even though she is only a woman,⁴ Yisüi's words are more right than right. No matter who – younger brothers and sons, and you Bo'orču, Muqali and others – no one has advised me like this. And also

I forgot,
As if I would not follow the forefathers;
I slept,
As if I would not be caught by death.'

¹ Cf. above, § 245.

² Lit., 'and Us "the bad one."'

³ I.e., 'word.'

⁴ Lit., 'a lady-person.'

Having said *this*, he said, 'The eldest of my sons is Joči. What do you, *Joči*, say? Speak up!' But before Joči could utter a sound, Ča'adai said, 'When you say, "Joči, speak up!", do you mean *by that* that you will appoint Joči *as your successor*? How can we let ourselves be ruled by this bastard offspring of the Merkit?'¹

At these words, Joči rose and grabbing Ča'adai by the collar, said, 'I have never been told by *my* father the Qan that I was different *from my brothers*. How can you discriminate *against* me? In what skill are you better *than I*? Only in your obstinacy you are, perhaps, better. If we shoot arrows at a long distance and I am outdone by you, I shall cut off my thumb and throw it away! If we wrestle and I am defeated by you, I shall not rise from the place where I have fallen! Let the order² of *my* father the Qan decide *which of us is better*!'

So he said, and as Joči and Ča'adai both stood holding each other by the collar, with Bo'orču pulling Joči by the arm and Muqali pulling Ča'adai by the arm, Činggis Qa'an listened and sat without saying a word.

Then, Kōkō Čos, who was standing on the left side, said, 'Ča'adai, why are you so hasty? It was you, among the sons, for whom your father the Qan had cherished hopes. Before you were born,

The starry sky was turning upon itself,
The many people were in turmoil:
They did not enter their beds *to rest*,
But fought against each other.
The crusty earth was turning and turning,
The entire nation was in turmoil:
They³ did not lie on their coverlets *to rest*,
But attacked each other.

¹ For the implications of Ča'adai's insulting words, see the Commentary.

² I.e., 'word.'

³ I.e., the people.

At such time *your mother was abducted.*

It was not her wish:

It happened at a time

When men met, *weapons in hand.*

She was not running away *from her home:*

It happened at a time

Of mutual fighting.

She was not in love *with someone else:*

It happened at a time

When one *man* slew another.

You speak so as to harden the butter of your mother's affection, so as to sour the milk of *that* august lady's heart.¹

From the warm *womb, coming forth*

Suddenly, were you *two*

Not born from the same belly?

From the hot *womb, coming forth*

Abruptly, were you *two*

Not issued from a single womb?

If you incur blame

From your mother who has borne you

From her heart, her affection

For you will grow cold:

Even if you appease her

It will be of no avail.

If *you* incur reproach

From your mother who has borne you

From her belly,

Even if you lessen her reproach

It will be of no avail.

When your father the Qan

Established the whole nation,

His black head was bound to the saddle,

His black blood was poured

Into a large leather bucket.¹

His black eyes he did not wink,

His flat ear he did not rest on a pillow:

Of his sleeve he made a pillow and

He spread his robe *for a mattress.*

Easing his thirst with his own saliva,

Eating the flesh between his teeth for supper,

he strove fiercely, and

Till the sweat of his brow reached the soles of his feet,

Till the sweat from the soles of his feet went up to his

brow,

he applied himself earnestly *to his great task.* It was the time when your mother, together *with him,* suffered hardship:

Pulling firmly her tall hat

Over her head,

Tying tightly her belt

To shorten *her skirt,*

Fastening her tall hat

Over her head,

Fixing her belt

To tighten *her waist,*

She brought you up, her *sons.*²

As she gulped *her food*

She gave you half of it;

Her throat choking *with pity*

She gave you all of it,

And she herself went hungry.

Stretching your shoulders,

"How shall I make them into men?"

She said *to herself.*

Stretching your necks,

¹ I.e., he was in constant danger of losing his life. For these images see the Commentary.

² Cf. above, § 74.

¹ 'Butter' and 'milk' indicate softness and loving kindness respectively.

“How shall I make them into adults?”¹

She said to herself.

Cleaning your whole body,

Causing you to lift your heels

And learn how to walk,

She made you reach

Up to men's shoulders,

Up to geldings' cruppers.

And *even* now, does she not wish to see the happiness of you, her *sons*? Our august Qatun, *in bringing you up* had a heart

As bright as the sun,

As wide as a lake.'

So he spoke.

255 Thereupon, Činggis Qan said to Ča'adai, 'How can you speak thus about Joči? Isn't Joči the eldest of my sons? In future do not talk like that!' So he said, and at these words Ča'adai smiled and said, 'I shall not dispute Joči's strength, nor shall I reply to *his claims* of skill:

"*Game* that one has killed *only* with one's mouth

Cannot be loaded on one's mount;

Game that one has slain *only* with one's words

Cannot be skinned."

The eldest sons are Joči and I.² We shall, in cooperation with each other, serve *our* father the Qan.

Whichever of us³ evades *his duty*

Shall have *his head* split open;

Whichever of us lags behind

Shall have *his heels* cut across.

But it is Ögödei *among us* who is steady *and reliable*: let us, *therefore*, agree on Ögödei. As Ögödei is close to *our* father

¹ Cf. above, § 214.

² Lit., 'we.'

³ Lit., 'The one of us who.'

the Qan, if *the Qan* instructs him on the great array of the "teachings of the hat"; *this* will be fine!'

So he spoke, and at these words Činggis Qa'an said, 'What do you say, Joči? *Speak up!*' Whereupon, Joči said, 'Ča'adai has just said it: Ča'adai and I² shall, in cooperation with each other, serve *the Qan*. Let us agree on Ögödei.' So he spoke, and Činggis Qa'an declared as follows: 'Why should you *two* go so far as to cooperate with each other? Mother Earth is wide: its rivers and waters are many. Extending the camps³ that can be easily divided, We shall make *each of you* rule over a domain and We shall separate you.' And he said, 'You Joči and Ča'adai, keep to your word:

Do not let yourselves be scorned by people,

Do not let yourselves be laughed at by men.

Formerly, Altan and Qučar had pledged their word like that,⁴ but because they failed to keep their word, how were they dealt with? What happened to them? Now, with you, We shall separate *also some* of the offspring of Altan and Qučar: seeing them, how can you be remiss *in your duties*?'

Having spoken thus, Činggis Qa'an said, 'Ögödei, what do you say? *Speak up!*' Ögödei said, 'When *my* father the Qa'an, favouring me, tells me to speak, what am I to say? How can I say that I am not able *to do so*? I shall say that I will certainly try according to *my* ability. Later, if perchance *some* among my descendants will be born *so worthless that*

Even if one wrapped them in fresh grass,

They would not be eaten by an ox;

Even if one wrapped them in fat,

They would not be eaten by a dog,

¹ I.e., on how to be a *qan*. See the Commentary.

² Lit., 'we.'

³ I.e., the grazing grounds.

⁴ I.e., 'as you did.'

will they *not* "miss the elk breadthwise *just as* the rat lengthwise?"¹ I'll say as much as that. What else shall I say?'

So he spoke, and at these words Činggis Qa'an declared as follows: 'If Ögödei speaks such words, *that* will do.' Further, he said, 'Tolui, what do you say? Speak up!'

Tolui said, 'Being at the side of my elder brother² whom *our* father the Qa'an has *just* designated,

I shall remind him of what he has forgotten,
I shall wake him up when he has fallen asleep.
I shall become a friend of *the word* "yes"
And the whip of his chestnut horse.
Not *being* remiss in my "yes",
Not *being* absent from the ranks,
I shall go forth for him on a long campaign
Or fight in a short fight.'

When Tolui had spoken thus, Činggis Qa'an approved, saying, 'Descendants of Qasar, appoint one of you to govern. Descendants of Alčidai, appoint one of you to govern. Descendants of Otčigin, appoint one of you to govern. Descendants of Belgütei, appoint one of you to govern. If, thinking in this way and appointing one of my descendants to govern, you do not rescind my order by contravening it, *then* you will not err, you will not be at fault. Supposing that the descendants of Ögödei are *all* born *so worthless that*

Even if one wrapped them in fresh grass,
They would not be eaten by an ox;
Even if one wrapped them in fat,
They would not be eaten by a dog,

is it *possible* that among my descendants not *even* a single one will be born who is good?' So he spoke.

¹ I.e., just like an unskilled hunter; in other words, they will be totally unfit to govern.

² I.e., Ögödei.

256

When Činggis Qa'an set out on the campaign, he sent envoys to Burqan of the Tang'ut people *with a message* saying: 'You said that you would be *my* right¹ wing. As the Sarta'ul people have broken my "golden halter",² I have set out to call them to account *for their action*. You set forth *too* as the right wing *of my army*.'

When *the message* he had sent *was received*, and before Burqan could utter a word, Aša Gambu forestalling him said, 'Since Činggis Qa'an's forces are incapable of *subjugating others*,³ why did he go as far as becoming *qan*?' So saying, he did not dispatch auxiliary troops *to him* and sent back *the envoys* with haughty words.

Thereupon, Činggis Qa'an said, 'How can we *bear* being spoken to in this manner by Aša Gambu?' And he said, 'The best plan *would be for us* to send *troops* against them at once by detouring in their direction. What difficulty would there be *in that*? *But now*, when we are indeed moving in the direction of other people, let that pass. If I am protected by Eternal Heaven, when I come back pulling in strongly *my* golden reins,⁴ then surely this matter shall be *dealt with*!'

257

In the Year of the Hare (1219), Činggis Qa'an set out against the Sarta'ul people crossing the Alai.⁵ From among the ladies, he took with him on the campaign Qulan Qatun and, having entrusted Otčigin Noyan from among his younger brothers with the main base camp, he moved forth. He sent Jebe as vanguard. He sent Sübe'etei in support of Jebe and sent Toqučar in support of Sübe'etei.

As he sent these three *ahead* he said, 'Go *round the*

¹ I.e., west.

² See above, § 254.

³ I.e., on their own, without assistance.

⁴ I.e., at the end of the campaign. Cf. below, § 275.

⁵ Arai in the text. Cf. above, § 198.

outside, coming out at the other side¹ of the Sultan² and, waiting for Us to arrive, attack him from your side.' So saying he sent them forth.

Jebe then went and, passing the cities of Qan Melik without touching them, he bypassed them on the outside. Behind him, Sübe'etei bypassed them in the same manner without touching them. But Toqučar, coming behind him,³ attacked the border towns of Qan Melik and pillaged his peasants. Because his towns had been attacked, Qan Melik rose in rebellion *against us* and joined Jalaldin Soltan.

Jalaldin Soltan and Qan Melik moved against Činggis Qa'an. Šigi Qutuqu went as vanguard before Činggis Qa'an. Jalaldin Soltan and Qan Melik fought with Šigi Qutuqu. They defeated Šigi Qutuqu and, pressing on, approached as far as Činggis Qa'an; at that moment, however, Jebe, Sübe'etei and Toqučar came in from behind Jalaldin Soltan and Qan Melik, overcame them and utterly destroyed them. By so doing,⁴ they prevented them from joining forces in the cities of Buqar, Semisgab⁵ and Udarar.⁶ They pursued them as far as the Šin River and when, being pressed, the Sarta'ul started throwing themselves into it,⁷ many of them did indeed perish there, in the Šin River. Jalaldin Soltan and Qan Melik fled upstream along it,⁸ saving their lives.

Činggis Qa'an advanced along the Šin River upstream and went to plunder Batkesen. He reached the Eke Stream

¹ I.e., at the back.

² = Soltan, i.e. Jalaldin Soltan mentioned below.

³ I.e., Sübe'etei.

⁴ Lit., 'Overcoming them.'

⁵ An error for Semisgen.

⁶ For the identification of the localities in this and the following sections, see the Commentary.

⁷ Lit., 'into the Šin River.'

⁸ Lit., 'along the Šin River.'

and the Ge'un Stream, and set up camp in the Baru'an Plain. He sent Bala of the Jalayir¹ in pursuit of Jalaldin Soltan.

Činggis Qa'an, greatly favouring Jebe and Sübe'etei, said, 'Jebe, you were named Jirqo'adai. When you came to me from the Tayiči'ut, you indeed became² Jebe. Toqučar, of his own will, attacked the border towns of Qan Melik and caused him³ to rebel *against us*. Making this a matter of law, we shall execute him!' However, in the end he did not execute him, but having severely reprimanded him, he punished him by demoting him from his command of the army.

258 Then Činggis Qa'an, returning from the Baru'an⁴ Plain, sent his three sons, Joči, Ča'adai and Ögödei, saying, 'Cross the Amui River with the troops of the right⁵ wing and set up camp at the city of Ürünggeči.' He sent Tolui, saying, 'Set up camp at Iru, Isebür and many other towns.' Činggis Qa'an himself encamped at the city of Udirar.⁶

The three sons, Joči, Ča'adai and Ögödei sent the following request: 'Our troops are completely assembled. We have reached the city of Ürünggeči. Of the three of us, according to whose words should we act?' Upon their request, Činggis Qa'an sent a message to them ordering that they should act according to the words of Ögödei.

259 Then Činggis Qa'an, having brought the city of Udarar⁷ to submission, set out from the city of Udarar and pitched camp at the city of Semisgab.⁸ Setting out from the city of Semisgab, he pitched camp at the city of Buqar. Thereupon, Činggis Qa'an waited for Bala and spent the summer at the

¹ Jaliyar in the text.

² I.e., 'were named.' See above, § 147.

³ Lit., 'Qan Melik.'

⁴ Barula in the text.

⁵ I.e., west.

⁶ The Udarar of § 257 and Udurar of § 259.

⁷ See above, § 258 and n. 6.

⁸ See above, § 257 and n. 5.

ridge of Altan Qorqan in the *former* summer quarters of the Soltan.¹ *From there* he sent messengers to Tolui, saying, 'The weather² has become warm. The other troops must set up camp *too*. You *come and join Us*.'

When he sent *this message*, Tolui had captured the cities of Iru, Isebür and others, had destroyed the city of Sisten and was just destroying the city of Čuqčeren. When the messengers gave him this message, Tolui, having destroyed the city of Čuqčeren, returned to pitch camp and joined Činggis Qa'an.

260 Joči, Ča'adai and Ögödei, *these three sons of Činggis Qa'an*, subjugated the city of Örünggeči:³ they shared the people of the cities among all three of them but did not give Činggis Qa'an a share.

When these three sons came to set up camp, Činggis Qa'an reprimanded Joči, Ča'adai and Ögödei – the three sons *in question* – and for three days did not allow them into his presence. Then Bo'orču, Muqali and Šigi Quduqu⁴ petitioned as follows: 'We caused the Soltan of the Sarta'ul people, who had refused to submit, to abase himself and we conquered his cities and peoples. The city of Örünggeči,³ which was taken and shared, and the sons *of yours* who took it and shared it among themselves, all belong to Činggis Qa'an. Now that, with our strength increased by Heaven and Earth, we have caused the Sarta'ul people to abase themselves like this, we – *the men of your entire army* – are rejoicing and are content with ourselves. Why is the Qa'an so angry? The sons *have realized* their mistake *and are* indeed afraid. Let *this be a lesson* for their future *conduct*! We fear *lest the sons' natural ardour* may be discouraged *as*

¹ = Sultan. Here Muḥammad Šāh is almost certainly meant.

² Lit., 'the year.'

³ = Örünggeči.

⁴ = Qutuqu. See above, § 135.

a result of this. Will you not, *therefore*, show favour to them *again* and allow them into your presence?'

Upon their petition, Činggis Qa'an, appeased, allowed the three sons Joči, Ča'adai and Ögödei into his presence. He rebuked them

Quoting ancient words,

Citing old sayings,

and reprimanded them

To the point where they almost sank

In the place where they stood,

To the point where they could not wipe off

The sweat of their brow.¹

Just as he was addressing them with reprimands and admonitions, Qongqai Qorči, Qongtaqar Qorči and Čormaqan Qorči – these three quiverbearers – *also* petitioned Činggis Qa'an as follows: 'Like *grey falcons that have just begun training*, the sons are barely learning *how* to wage a military campaign, and, at such a time, you rebuke them in this way, piling abuse on them.² Why? We fear lest the sons, being afraid, will lose heart. From *the place* where the sun sets to *the place* where it rises there are enemy people. If you incite us – your Tibetan dogs – and send us *on a mission*, with our strength increased by Heaven and Earth we shall bring *back* for you enemy people, gold, silver, satin, goods and subjects. If you say, "Which people?", we say, "Here in the west there is one called the Qalibai Soltan of the Baqtat people." Let us move against him!' So they petitioned him. The Qa'an was appeased by these words and *his anger* abated.

Činggis Qa'an approved *their proposal* and issued the following order, favouring the three quiverbearers Qongqai, Qongtaqar and Čormaqan: 'Qongqai of the Adargin and Qongtaqar of the Dolonggir shall stay at my side.' He sent

¹ Because they were sweating so profusely.

² Lit., '(on) the sons.'

Čormaqan of the Ötegen on a campaign against the Baqtat people and the Qalibai Soltan.

261 Further, Činggis Qa'an sent Dörbei Doqšin of the Dörbet on a campaign against Aru,¹ Maru and the city of Abtu of the Madasari people between the Hindus people and the Baqtat people.

262 Further, he sent Sübe'etei Ba'atur northwards to campaign as far as the countries and peoples of these eleven tribes: Qanglin, Kibča'ut, Bajigit, Orusut, Maĵarat, Asut, Sasut, Serkesüt, Kešimir, Bolar and Kerel;² and, making him cross the rivers Idil and Ĵayaq rich in waters, he sent Sübe'etei Ba'atur to campaign as far as the city of Kiwa Menkermen.

263 Further, having completed the conquest of the Sarta'ul people, Činggis Qa'an issued an order setting up resident commissioners³ in the various cities. Two Sarta'ul of the Qurumši clan – father and son – called Yalawači and Masqut, came from the city of Ürünggeči. They told Činggis Qa'an about the laws and customs of cities; whereupon the latter, being adequately informed as to these customs, appointed his⁴ son Masqut the Qurumši, putting him in charge, with our resident commissioners, of Buqar, Semisgen, Ürünggeči, Udan, Kisqar, Uriyang, Güsen Daril and other cities. He⁵ brought back with him his⁶ father Yalawači and put him in charge of the city of Ĵungdu of the Kitat.

Because, from among the Sartaq⁷ people, Yalawači and Masqut were adept in the laws and customs of cities,

¹ An error for Iru. Cf. above, §§ 258, 259.

² The text has incorrectly Raral. For all these names see the Commentary.

³ *Daruqačın* and, further down, *daruqa*. See the Commentary.

⁴ I.e., Yalawači's.

⁵ I.e., Činggis Qa'an.

⁶ I.e., Masqut's.

⁷ = Sarta'ul.

Činggis Qa'an appointed them, with our resident commissioners, putting them in charge of the Kitat people.

264 Činggis Qa'an spent seven years in the country of the Sarta'ul people. Then, at the time when he was waiting for Bala of the Ĵalayir, Bala, having crossed the Šin River, was pursuing Ĵalaldin Soltan and Qan Melik as far as the country of the Hindus. He lost track of Ĵalaldin Soltan and Qan Melik and, even though he sought them as far as the middle of the country of the Hindus, he was unable to find them and returned. He came back pillaging the people on the border of the Hindus and seizing many camels and many gelded billy-goats.

Then Činggis Qa'an returned home. On the way he spent the summer on the river Erdiš. In the autumn¹ of the Year of the Hen (1225) – the seventh year of the campaign – he settled at his Palaces² in the Black Forest by the Tūla.³

¹ Read 'spring' (*qabur*) for 'autumn' (*namur*).

² *Ordos*, i.e. the royal encampment.

³ = the Tu'ula of §§ 96, 104, 115, 164, 177 and 178 above.

THE SECRET HISTORY OF THE MONGOLS

CHAPTER TWELVE

(= SUP. 2)

265

After spending the winter *there*,¹ Činggis Qa'an said, 'I shall set forth against the Tang'ut people.' He counted his troops anew and in the autumn of the Year of the Dog (1226) set forth against the Tang'ut people. From *among* the ladies, he took with him Yisüi Qatun.

In the winter, Činggis Qa'an, riding *his steed* Jošotu Boro,² on the way hunted the many wild asses of Arbuqa. When the wild asses passed *close* by them Jošotu Boro took fright. Činggis Qa'an fell off the horse and, his body being in great pain, he halted at Čo'orqat.

He spent that night *there* and the following morning Yisüi Qatun said, 'Princes and commanders, consult each other *on what to do*: the Qa'an has spent the night, his body hot *with fever*.' Thereupon, the princes and commanders assembled and Tolun Čerbi of the Qongqotan advised as follows: 'The Tang'ut people

Are ones who have towns with pounded-earth *walls*,

Are ones who live in permanent camps.

They won't leave, carrying off their towns with
pounded-earth *walls*;

They won't leave, *abandoning their permanent camps*.³

Let us withdraw. Then, when the Qa'an's body has cooled down, we shall set out again!

When he spoke *thus*, all the princes and commanders agreed with his words and petitioned Činggis Qa'an *accordingly*, but Činggis Qa'an said, 'The Tang'ut people will say

that we turned back because we lost heart. However, if we send envoys to them and watch right here at Čo'orqat which turn my illness *takes*,¹ and withdraw after considering their reply,² that would be fine.' And so he sent envoys to carry the following message: 'In the past, you, Burqan, said, "We, the Tang'ut people, shall be your right³ wing."⁴ Although told so by you, when I sent you a request *for troops*, saying that I was going on a campaign because the Sarta'ul people had not agreed to my proposal, you, Burqan, did not keep your promise and did not give me troops, but came out with mocking words.⁵ As I was moving in a different direction at the time, I said that I would call you to account later. I set out against the Sarta'ul people and being protected by Eternal Heaven I brought them duly under submission.⁶ Now I have come to call Burqan to account for his words.'

Burqan said, 'I did not speak the mocking words.' Thereupon Aša Gambu said, 'I spoke the mocking words. As for now, if you Mongols, who are used to fighting, say, "Let us fight!", then turn towards the Alašai and come to me, for I have an encampment in the Alašai,

I have tents of thin woollen cloth,

I have camels laden *with goods*.

Let us fight there! If you need gold, silver, satin and *other goods*, turn towards Eriqaya and Erije'ü.' He sent this message to Činggis Qa'an.

When his words were conveyed to Činggis Qa'an, his body was *still hot with fever*. Činggis Qa'an said, 'This is enough! When one lets oneself be addressed so boastfully, how can one withdraw? Even if we die let us challenge

¹ Lit., 'trying the illness.'

² Lit., 'their (i.e. the Tang'ut's) word.'

³ I.e., west.

⁴ See above, §§ 249 and 256.

⁵ A reference to Aša Gambu's words in § 256 above.

⁶ Lit., 'I forced them into righteousness.'

¹ I.e., at his *ordos* in the Black Forest of the Tūla. See above, § 264.

² I.e., 'Reddish Grey.'

³ See above, § 249.

their boasts!' And, saying, 'Eternal Heaven, you be the judge!', he moved in the direction of Alašai.

He arrived *there* and fought with Aša Gambu. He overcame Aša Gambu and forced him to barricade himself up on the Alašai. He captured Aša Gambu and plundered his people

Who had tents of thin woollen cloth,

Who had camels laden with goods,

until they were blown to the winds like hearth-ashes.

He then gave the following order: 'Kill the valiant, the bold, the manly and the fine Tang'uts, and let the soldiers take for themselves as many of the common Tang'uts¹ as they can lay hands on and capture.'

266

Činggis Qa'an spent the summer on Časutu² Mountain. He sent troops against the Tang'uts

Who had tents of thin woollen cloth,

Who had camels laden with goods,

and who, with Aša Gambu, had made for the mountains and were offering resistance. He caused *his troops* to plunder them as planned until they were utterly destroyed.

Then, showing favour to Bo'orču and Muqali, he ordered that they should take as much *booty* as in their judgement their strength *could carry*.

Further, Činggis Qa'an ordered to reward Bo'orču and Muqali as follows: 'Since I did not give you *a share* of the Kitat people, the two of you take and divide equally between yourselves the Jüyin of the Kitat people. Go and make their fine sons follow you, holding your falcons. Bring up their fine daughters and make them arrange the hems of your wives' skirts. The trusted friends of the Altan Qan of the Kitat people are the Qara Kitat Jüyin people who have destroyed the ancestors of the Mongols. Now, you two, Bo'orču and Muqali, are my trusted friends.'

¹ I.e., of the Tang'ut population at large.

² I.e., 'Snowy.'

267

Činggis Qa'an moved away from Časutu Mountain and set up camp at the city of Uraqai. After setting out from the city of Uraqai, while he was destroying the city of Dörmegei, Burqan came to pay homage to Činggis Qa'an.

Burqan then paid homage, presenting himself with *gifts such as*, in the first place, golden images of Buddha; *then* golden and silver bowls and vessels, nine of each *kind*; boys and girls, nine of each; geldings and camels, nine of each; and all sorts of *other objects* arranged in nines according to their colour and form. Činggis Qa'an kept the door closed and made Burqan pay homage *outside the tent*.

On that *occasion*, when Burqan paid homage, Činggis Qa'an felt revulsion within his heart. On the third day, Činggis Qa'an issued an order giving Iluqu Burqan the name Šidurqu.¹ Being *thus* visited by Iluqu Burqan Šidurqu, Činggis Qa'an then ordered that Iluqu be put to death and that Tolun Čerbi seize and execute him *with his own hands*.

Afterwards, when Tolun Čerbi reported that he had seized Iluqu and killed him, Činggis Qa'an ordered as follows: 'When I approached the Tang'ut people to call *Iluqu Burqan* to account for his words, and on the way hunted the wild asses of Arbuqa, my body being in pain, it was indeed Tolun who, concerned about my life, spoke words of advice and said, "Let it heal!"² We came *here* on account of the poisonous words of an enemy and with *Our* strength increased by Eternal Heaven, who gave him into *Our* hands, we took *Our* revenge. Tolun shall take *for himself* this movable palace brought by Iluqu, together with the bowls and vessels.' So he ordered.

268

After he had plundered the Tang'ut people and, making Iluqu Burqan *change his name* to Šidurqu, had done away with him, and after having exterminated the Tang'ut people's mothers and fathers down to the offspring of their

¹ I.e., 'Upright.' See the Commentary.

² See above, § 265.

offspring, maiming and taming¹ (?), Činggis Qa'an gave the following order: 'While I take my meals you must talk about the killing and destruction of the Tang'ut and say, "Maimed and tamed, they are no more."' "

Because the Tang'ut people gave their word but did not keep it,² Činggis Qa'an for the second time took the field against them.³ Having destroyed the Tang'ut people, Činggis Qa'an came back and in the Year of the Pig (1227) ascended to Heaven. After he had ascended to Heaven a great part of the Tang'ut people was given to Yisüi Qatun.

269 In the Year of the Rat (1228), the princes of the right hand⁴ headed by Ča'adai and Batu; the princes of the left hand⁵ headed by Otöigin Noyan, Yegü and Yisüngge,⁶ the princes of the centre headed by Tolui; the princesses, the imperial sons-in-law, the commanders of ten thousand and those of a thousand, all assembled in full force at Köde'ü Aral on the Kelüren River. In accordance with the very decree by which Činggis Qa'an had nominated him they installed Ögödei Qa'an as *qan*.

Elder brother Ča'adai installed his younger brother Ögödei Qa'an as *qan*. The nightguards, the quiverbearers and the eight thousand dayguards who had been protecting the precious life of their father Činggis Qa'an, the personal slaves and the ten thousand guards who had been in close attendance on the person of my⁷ father the *Qan* were all handed over by elder brother Ča'adai and Tolui to Ögödei Qa'an. The domain of the centre they handed over to him in the same manner.

¹ *Muquli musquli*. See the Commentary.

² Lit., 'did not keep to the word.'

³ Lit., 'against the Tang'ut people.'

⁴ I.e., of the west.

⁵ I.e., of the east.

⁶ Written Yisünge. See § 183 and com.

⁷ A mistake for 'his'? See the Commentary.

270 Ögödei Qa'an, having concluded the installation of himself as *qan* and the transfer of the ten thousand guards on internal duty together with the domain of the centre to himself, held first of all a consultation with elder brother Ča'adai, whereupon he sent Oqotur and Möngetü on a campaign in support of Čormaqan Qorči who had taken the field against the Qalibai Soltan of the Baqtat people – a people not dealt with by his father Činggis Qa'an.

Earlier on, Sübe'etei Ba'atur, campaigning against Meket, Menkermen Keyibe and other cities, had crossed the rivers Adil¹ and Ĵayaq rich in waters, and had reached as far as the Qanglin, Kibča'ut, Bajigit, Orusut, Asut, Sesüt, Majar, Kešimir, Sergesüt, Buqar and Kerel peoples.²

As Sübe'etei Ba'atur had been put in a difficult situation by these peoples, Ögödei Qa'an sent forth Batu, Büri, Güyük. Mönge and several other princes in support of Sübe'etei. He ordered that Batu should be in command of all those princes who went on the campaign and that³ Güyük should be in command of all the troops coming from the centre.⁴ He further ordered, with regard to those who went on the campaign, that the princes in charge of a domain should send the eldest of their sons into the field and that the princes who were not in charge of a domain, the commanders of ten thousand, of a thousand, of a hundred and of ten, and any commoners, whoever they might be, should also send the eldest of their sons into the field. Likewise, the princesses and imperial sons-in-law should send the eldest of their sons into the field.

Further, Ögödei Qa'an said, 'This principle of sending the eldest sons on a campaign originates from elder brother

¹ The Idil of § 262 and Ejil of § 274, i.e. the Volga.

² For all these names, which already appear in § 262 above, see the Commentary.

³ Lit., 'and ordered that.'

⁴ I.e., those belonging to the main body of the army.

Ča'adai. Elder brother Ča'adai came and said to me, "I shall send Būri, the eldest of my sons, on the campaign in support of Sübe'etei. If the eldest of the sons goes into the field, the army will be larger *than before*. If the troops who set forth are numerous, they shall go *to fight* looking superior and mighty. The enemy people beyond consist of many states, and there, at the end *of the world*, they are hard people. They are people who, when they become angry, would rather die by their own swords. I am told they have sharp swords." So he said when he came.' Then Ögödei Qa'an said, 'By these words and by the zeal and strength of Our elder brother Ča'adai, let us send out the eldest of the sons.' And he proclaimed *this order* everywhere. Such is the way in which he sent Batu, Būri, Gūyūk, Mōngge and the other princes into the field.

271 Further, Ögödei Qa'an sent *the following message* to elder brother Ča'adai asking for advice: 'I have sat on *the throne made* ready by my father Činggis Qa'an. Will *people not* say of me, "By what merit has he sat on it?" If elder brother Ča'adai agrees, since our father the Qa'an has left *matters* with the Altan Qan of the Kitat people unfinished, I shall now move against the Kitat people.' So he sent *this message* asking for advice.

Elder brother Ča'adai sent *a message in reply*, expressing his agreement as follows: 'What obstacles are there? Place a capable man in charge of the main base camp and set forth. I shall send out troops from here.'

272 Having put Oldaqar Qorči in charge of the Great Palaces,² in the Year of the Hare (1231) Ögödei Qa'an set out against the Kitat people. He sent forth Jebe as vanguard. Thus he crushed the Kitat troops, slaying them until they were *like* heaps of rotten logs. He crossed Čabčiyal and

ordered his troops to advance and attack their towns and cities in every direction. Then Ögödei Qa'an pitched camp at Šira Degtür.²

There Ögödei Qa'an fell ill. When he lost his speech and was in *great* distress, various shamans and soothsayers were ordered to divine *the cause of the illness*. They said, 'The lords and rulers³ of the land and rivers of the Kitat are raging violently *against the Qa'an* now that their people are plundered and their cities and towns are destroyed.' When they divined by inspecting the entrails of victims and said *to the lords and rulers of the land and rivers*, 'We shall give, as substitute *for the Qa'an*, people, gold and silver, cattle and food', *the illness* did not abate and they⁴ raged even more violently. When they divined *further* by inspecting the entrails and said, 'Could a person from the *Qa'an's* family serve as a *substitute?*', the Qa'an, opening his eyes, requested water, drank it and asked, 'What has happened?'

The shamans *then* reported to *the Qa'an* as follows: 'The lords and rulers of the land and rivers of the Kitat people are raging violently *against you* now that their land and waters are destroyed and their people plundered. When we divine by inspecting the entrails of victims and say, "We shall give anything as substitute", with renewed anger they rage even more violently. When we say, "Could a person from the *Qa'an's* family serve as a *substitute?*", *the illness* abates. Now your order shall decide!'

After they had made their report, *the Qa'an* said, 'Who is at my side from among the princes?' To these words Prince Tolui, who was at his side, said, 'Even though there were elder brothers above you and younger brothers below you, our fortunate father Činggis Qa'an chose you, elder

¹ I.e., 'the Qa'an's.'

² § 272 begins here.

¹ I.e., the Kitat's.

² See above, § 247 and com.

³ I.e., the powerful spirits.

⁴ I.e., the land and river spirits.

brother the Qa'an, as one would *choose* a gelding, feeling you as one would *feel* a wether *to make sure it is fat*. To your person he showed the great throne and upon you he placed the burden of many people for you *to govern*. As for myself, I was told by him, "Being at the side of *your* elder brother the Qa'an,

Do remind him of what he has forgotten,
Do wake him up when he has fallen asleep."¹

Now, if I lose you, my elder brother the Qa'an,
Whom shall I remind of what he has forgotten,
Whom shall I wake up when he has fallen asleep?

In truth, if my elder brother the Qa'an dies,
The numerous Mongol people
Would be left orphans;
The Kitat people
Would rejoice at their good fortune.

I shall take the place of my elder brother the Qa'an.
I have cleft the back of the trout,
I have rent the back of the sturgeon;
I have conquered *those* in the fore,
I have pierced *those* afar.²
And fair of face,
And tall of stature

am I. Shamans, cast your spells and make your incantations!

Thus he spoke, and as the shamans made their incantations Prince Tolui drank the magic water. *Then* he sat for a moment and said, 'I have become drunk. While I **recover from my drunkenness**, let elder brother the Qa'an **decide how best to take care of his younger brothers**³ who

¹ Cf. above, §§ 200 and 255.

² I.e., the enemies who came forward and were near, as well as those who stayed back. See the Commentary.

³ Tolui actually means the nephews of Ögödei, i.e. his own sons. Cf. above, § 68.

are orphaned and young, and of his younger sister-in-law Berüde who is widowed, until they are able to look after themselves. I have said all I have to say. I have become drunk.' On that, he passed out. Such is the manner in which he died.

273 Then Ögödei *Qa'an* destroyed the Altan Qan and gave him the name Seüse.¹ He despoiled him of his gold, silver, gold-embroidered and patterned satins, possessions, piebald horses and young slaves. Having established scouts and garrison troops, and having appointed resident commissioners in Namging, Jungdu and in cities everywhere, he peacefully returned *home*, setting up camp at Qara Qorum.

274 Čormaqan Qorči brought the Baqtat people under subjection. When Ögödei *Qa'an* learned that the land was reputedly good and that the things *therein were also reputedly good*, he ordered as follows: 'Čormaqan Qorči shall reside at that very place *as commander of the garrison troops*. Every year he shall make *people* deliver yellow gold, *naq*-fabrics,² brocades and damasks with gilded *thread*, small and big pearls, fine Western³ horses with long necks and tall legs, dark brown *Bactrian* camels and one-humped *Arabian* dromedaries, pack-mules and *riding* mules, and he shall send them *to Us*.'

Batu, Büri, Güyük, Möngge and several other princes who had gone on a campaign in support of Sübe'etei Ba'atur brought the Qanglin, Kibča'ut and Bajigit *people* under submission. *They crossed the rivers* Ejil⁴ and Jayaq, destroyed the city of Meget, slew the Orusut and plundered them until they were utterly crushed. They ravaged and brought under submission the peoples of Asut, Sesüt, Bolar,

¹ I.e., 'Little Slave.'

² A type of gold brocade fabric produced in western Asia.

³ I.e., Arab.

⁴ The Idil of § 262 and Adil of § 270, i.e. the Volga.

Mankerman¹ Kiwa and other cities. Having established resident commissioners and garrison troops they returned home.

Ögödei Qa'an sent Yisüder Qorči on a campaign in support of Jalayirtai Qorči who had earlier on been campaigning against the Jürçet and the Solangqas. He ordered that he reside *there as the commander* of the garrison troops.

275 From the Kibčaq campaign, through messengers, Batu sent the following report to Ögödei Qa'an: 'By the strength of Eternal Heaven and the good fortune of *my* uncle the Qa'an, I have destroyed the city of Meget, I have ravaged the Orusut people and brought eleven countries and peoples duly under submission. When we turned back, pulling in the golden reins,² we decided to hold a parting feast. A large tent was set up and, as we began feasting, since I was quite the eldest among those princes who were present, I was the first to drink one or two bowls of the ceremonial wine. Büri and Güyük became angry with me *because of that*, refused to join the feast and rode off. As they rode off, Büri said, "Since Batu, then, is equal *to us*, why should he have drunk first?"

Old women with beards *like him*,
Who pretend to be one's equal,
One should push with one's heels,
One should trample under one's feet."

On that Güyük said, "Those old women with quivers *like Batu* – let us also strike their bosoms with a stick of *burning* wood – those ones!" And Eljigidei's son Harqasun said, "Let's attach a wooden tail to them!"³ So, just at the time when, having been sent to ride against a rebellious people of a different race,⁴ we were asking ourselves whether we had

¹ = Menkermen. For all these names see the Commentary.

² I.e., at the end of the campaign. Cf. above, § 256.

³ To mock them.

⁴ Lit., 'liver.'

been successful, Büri and Güyük **spoke to us in this way** and we parted in disaccord. Now, the order of *my* uncle the Qa'an shall decide *the matter!*' Thus he reported.

276 At these words of Batu, the Qa'an became very angry. He did not allow Güyük into his presence but said, 'Following **whose counsel** does this mean *creature* fill his mouth with talk against a person senior to him? May he *and he* alone rot like an egg! **He has** turned against the bosom of a person who is senior to him. *Therefore,*

We shall place him in the vanguard:

We shall make him climb the town walls

Which are as high as mountains

Until the nails of his ten fingers are worn away;

We shall place him in the garrison army:

We shall make him climb the town walls

Which are made of hard-pounded earth

Until the nails of his five fingers are ground down.

And you, wretched, wicked, mean Harqasun, in imitation of whom have you filled your mouth with *such* boastful talk against Our family? Let us send Güyük and Harqasun *away* together. We could cut down Harqasun, but you would *then* say that We showed partiality. As for Büri, tell Batu to send him to elder brother Ča'adai, informing him *of the matter*. Let elder brother Ča'adai decide on it!

277 *Then* Mönggei¹ from among the princes, and Alčidai, Qongqortai, Janggi and other commanders from *among* the commanders, respectfully advised *the Qa'an* as follows: 'A decree of your father Činggis Qa'an *stated that* field matters should be decided in the field, just as domestic matters should be decided in the tent. *Now*, the Qa'an is angry with Güyük. *This is a field matter*: will the Qa'an not show favour and send *Güyük* to Batu, entrusting him *with the decision?*' So they advised him.

¹ The Möngge (= Möngke) of §§ 270 and 274 above.

The Qa'an approved their words and agreeing to their request allowed Güyük into his presence. He rebuked him with the following words of admonition: 'It is said about you that when you went on the campaign, in the course of it,

You did not leave unlash'd the buttocks

Of any man with buttocks;

And it is also said about you that

You crushed the spirit¹

Of every man in the army.

Do you imagine that the Orusut people have submitted out of fear of that fury and anger of yours? And thinking as if you alone have brought the Orusut people under submission do you now go on, with pride in your heart, rebelling against a person who is senior to you? In the pronouncements of Our father Činggis Qa'an, was he not accustomed to say that

"The multitudes of people make one afraid,

The depth of water makes one die"?

You pretend that you have accomplished it alone, whereas you set out under the shelter of Sübe'etei and Büjek, and with the full force of the army, to bring the Orusut and Kibča'ut under submission. You took one or two Orusut and Kibča'ut, but while you haven't yet acquired as booty even the hoof of a kid, you make yourself into a hero; having left home but once, you pretend that you alone have accomplished everything and come out with such abusive and provocative language. But now, owing to Mönggei, Alčidai, Qongqortai, Janggi and the others, who

Being at my side as faithful companions

Have restrained my agitated heart,

Being like a broad ladle

Have calmed the overboiling cauldron,

I say, "Right! This is a field matter. They have said that it is Batu's concern. Let then Batu decide on Güyük and

Harqasun." He sent them both to him, and said, 'Elder brother Ča'adai shall decide about Büri.'

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Further Ögödei Qa'an ordered: 'In proclaiming the present order which announces anew the duties of all the guards – nightguards, quiverbearers and dayguards – who have served my father Činggis Qa'an, I command that in whatever capacity they previously acted in accordance with the order of my father the Qa'an, so shall they act in the same capacity now. The quiverbearers and the dayguards shall, in accordance with the previous order, carry out their day duties, each at his post. While there is still sunlight, they shall retire so as to be replaced by the nightguards and they shall spend the night outside.'¹ So he ordered.

And he ordered the following: 'At night, the nightguards shall spend the night beside Us. The nightguards shall stand at the door and around the Palace tent. The nightguards shall patrol the rear and front of the Palace. The nightguards shall seize people who move about at night – after sunset – and shall hold them in custody for the night. After the multitude of men has dispersed, except for those nightguards who have spent the night on duty and are to be relieved, the nightguards shall seize anyone who by mingling with them has entered the precinct.² They shall split their heads open and shall cast them away. If at night a person comes with an urgent message he must report to the nightguards and communicate the message to me while standing together with the nightguards at the rear³ of the tent. The supervisors Qongqortai, Širaqan and others, together with the nightguards, shall supervise all comings and goings at the Palace tent. And because Eljigidei, even though he was a trustworthy person, was arrested by the nightguards when in the evening he happened to walk up

¹ Cf. above, § 229.

² Lit., 'inside.'

³ I.e., at the northern side.

¹ Lit., 'mien (or countenance)', i.e. the morale and self-confidence.

beyond them, the nightguards *too*, who *like those who arrested Eljigidei* do not contravene the orders, are worthy of confidence.' Thus he spoke, and issued the following order: 'One must not ask the number of nightguards. One must not walk beyond the nightguards' post. One must not walk between the nightguards. The nightguards shall arrest the people who walk beyond or between them.¹ With regard to any person who shall have asked their² number, the nightguards shall seize the gelding that *that person* was riding that day, with saddle and bridle, together with the clothes that he was wearing. No one is to sit above the place of the nightguards. The nightguards shall take care of the standards and drums, and of the spears, bowls and vessels arranged beneath them. The nightguards shall supervise drink and food – the uncut meat.'³

And he ordered: 'The nightguards shall take care of the tent-carts of the Palace. If We Ourselves do not go on a military campaign, the nightguards must not take the field separately and without Us.⁴ When We go falconing or hunting, exactly one half of the nightguards shall stay at the tent-carts of the Palace and the *other* half shall go with Us. The campmasters from among the nightguards shall go before Us and set up the Palace. The doorkeepers from among the nightguards shall stand right next to the door. The commander of a thousand Qada'an shall be in charge of all the nightguards.'

Further, when he appointed the commanders of the various companies of nightguards, he said, 'Qada'an and Bulqadar, forming one company, shall consult together; when taking the same turn of duty they shall stay on the

right and left¹ side of the Palace respectively and marshal *their guards accordingly*. Amal and Čanar, consulting together, shall form one company; when taking the same turn of duty, they shall stay on the right and left¹ side of the Palace respectively and marshal *their guards accordingly*. Qadai and Qori Qačar shall consult together and, when taking the same turn of duty, they shall stay on the right and left¹ side of the Palace respectively and marshal *their guards accordingly*. Yalbaq and Qara'udar, consulting together, shall form one company; when taking the same turn of duty, they shall stay on the right and left¹ side of the Palace respectively and marshal *their guards accordingly*. Further, the company of Qada'an and Bulqadar, and the company of Amal and Čanar – these two companies – shall encamp on the left² side of the Palace and take their turn of duty there. The company of both Qadai and Qori Qačar and the company of both Yalbaq and Qara'udar – these two companies – shall encamp on the right³ side of the Palace and take their turn of duty there.'

And he ordered: 'Qada'an shall be in charge of these four companies of nightguards. Further, the nightguards shall stand around the Palace right next to my person, and they shall lie down guarding the door.⁴ Two men from the nightguards shall enter into the Palace and be in charge of the large *kumis* pitchers.'

Further he ordered: 'As to the quiverbearers, Yisün Tö'e, Bükidei, Horqudaq and Labalqa,⁵ forming four separate companies and marshalling their quiverbearers of the bodyguards, shall respectively join the four separate companies of the dayguards to carry quivers.'

¹ Lit., 'who walk between the nightguards.'

² Lit., 'of the nightguards.'

³ Cf. above, § 232.

⁴ Cf. above, § 233.

¹ I.e., west and east.

² I.e., east.

³ I.e., west.

⁴ Cf. above, § 229. See the Commentary.

⁵ = Lablaqa. See above, § 225.

Further, when he appointed elders¹ of the dayguards' companies from *among* the offspring of those who had earlier been in charge of them, *he ordered*: 'Alčidai and Qongqortaqaï² who were earlier in charge of them, after consulting together and having marshalled one company of dayguards, shall join *the dayguards' service*. Temüder and Jëgü after consulting together and having marshalled one company of dayguards shall join *the dayguards' service*. Mangqutai, who had been in charge of the reserve, shall marshal one company of dayguards and join *the dayguards' service*.'

Further, the Qa'an ordered as follows: 'Eljigidei shall be in command of *the Guard* and all the commanders of *companies* shall act according to Eljigidei's word.'

Further, he ordered: 'If a member of the Guard when *called* on duty fails to take his turn, in accordance with the previous order³ he shall be disciplined with three strokes of the rod. If the same member of the Guard fails again – for the second time – to take his turn of duty, he shall be disciplined with seven strokes of the rod. If, once more, the same man, without sickness or *other* reason and without having *first* consulted the elder of the company, for the third time fails to take his turn, *thus* regarding his service by Our side as *too* difficult, he shall be disciplined with thirty-seven strokes of the rod and shall be sent to a distant place out of *Our* sight. Further, if the elders of the companies do not muster the guards who are to serve on roster with them and fail to take their turn of duty, **We shall punish the elders of the companies**. Further, the elders of the companies shall proclaim this order to the guards at the time when they⁴ take

¹ I.e., the senior officers. See above, § 227.

² = Qongqortai. See above, § 277.

³ See above, § 227.

⁴ I.e., the guards.

every third turn of duty¹ and at the time when they are relieved. When the guards have heard the order, if they fail to take their turn of duty **We shall punish them according to the previous order**.² But if the elders of the companies do not proclaim this order to the guards they shall be guilty *and liable to punishment*. Further, elders of the companies without permission from Us shall not, merely on the ground of seniority, reprimand my guards who have enrolled as *guards equal to them*. If *any of them* breaks the law let it be reported to Us. Those liable to death **We shall certainly cut down**. Those liable to punishment **We shall certainly discipline**. If, without informing Us, they themselves³ on the ground of seniority lay hands on *my guards*, as requital for fists they shall be repaid with fists, and as requital for strokes of the rod they shall be repaid with strokes of the rod.⁴ Thus he spoke.

Further, he ordered as follows: 'My guards are of higher *standing* than the outside commanders of a thousand; the attendants of my guards are of higher *standing* than the outside commanders of a hundred and of ten. If outside leaders of a thousand quarrel with my guards **We shall punish those who are leaders of a thousand**.'⁵

279 Further, Ögödei Qa'an said, 'We shall not cause suffering to the nation that Our father Činggis Qa'an established with *so much* toil. We shall make *the people* rejoice, causing them to rest

Their feet upon the ground,

Their hands upon the earth.

Sitting *now* on *the throne made* ready by Our father the Qa'an, so that people do not suffer, every year from these

¹ I.e., every third shift.

² See above, § 227 ad fin.

³ I.e., the elders of the companies.

⁴ See above, § 227 ad fin.

⁵ See above, § 228.

people one two-year-old sheep out of *every* flock shall be given *as levy* for *Our* soup.¹ They shall *also* provide one sheep out of *every* hundred sheep and give it to the poor and needy within the same *unit*. And when the *Qa'an's* brothers and the numerous troops² and guards gather together *at feasts and meetings*, how could drink *for all* be levied *every* time from the people? From the various units of a thousand of different areas mares shall be provided and milked, and the mare-milkers shall be the ones to tend them. The campmasters shall constantly provide replacements *of mares* and shall *in turn* be herders of the milch mares. And when the *Qa'an's* brothers gather together We shall give them gifts and rewards. Conveying satins, *gold and silver* ingots, quivers, bows, breastplates, weapons and the land-tax grains into the storehouses, We shall have *people* guarding them: storemen and grainkeepers must be selected from different areas and made to guard *the storehouses*. And, dividing camps³ and waters, We shall give them to the people. If We select campmasters from the various units of a thousand to reside in the camps, that will surely be *an appropriate measure*.

Moreover, as there is nothing but wild animals in the Čöl⁴ country, Čanai and Ui'urtai, being put in charge of the campmasters, shall make them dig wells in the Čöl for people *to live in this* rather vast *area*, and they shall build brick walls *around the wells to protect them from wild animals*.

'Further, when the messengers ride in haste We allow them to ride *moving freely among the population*, and *as a result* the pace of *these* riding messengers is slow and they are an affliction on the people. Now We shall settle the

¹ I.e., for the support of the *Qa'an*.

² I.e., the *Qa'an's* family and the officers.

³ I.e., the grazing grounds (*nuntuq*).

⁴ Lit., 'the Desert' (= the Gobi; cf. above, § 188), but see the Commentary.

matter once and for all by providing post-station masters and post-horse keepers from the various units of a thousand of different areas, by setting up a post station at every stage, by not allowing the messengers to move freely among the population unless on urgent business, but *instead* by having them ride in haste through the post stations. If we do this, it will surely be *an appropriate measure*.

'When Čanai and Bolqadar,¹ being well informed, proposed these measures to Us We considered that they were indeed right *and said*, "Let elder brother Ča'adai decide. If these measures under discussion are appropriate and he approves them, let *the decision* come from elder brother Ča'adai."²

After Ögödei *Qa'an* had sent this message, *a reply* came from elder brother Ča'adai, saying, 'I approve these very measures about which you have asked me in your message – all of them. Thus, act *accordingly!*'

Further, elder brother Ča'adai's word came, saying, 'From here I shall have post stations connecting with *yours*.³ Also, from here I shall send messengers to Batu, and Batu shall have his post stations connected with *mine*.' And a further word came *from him*, which he sent saying, 'Of all the measures, the one *concerning* the establishment of post stations is the most appropriate that has been proposed.'

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Thereupon Ögödei *Qa'an* said, 'Elder brother Ča'adai and Batu, and the other brothers, princes of the right hand³ – all of them; Otčigin Noyan and Yegü, and the other brothers, all the princes of the left hand,⁴ the princesses and sons-in-law of the centre, and the commanders of ten thousand, of a thousand, of a hundred and of ten, have all together approved the following: "If, for the soup of the

¹ The Bulqadar of § 278 above.

² I.e., to facilitate communications.

³ I.e., of the west.

⁴ I.e., of the east.

Universal Ruler¹ one provides *every* year one two-year-old wether out of *every* flock, it won't be a *burden* at all. To provide one one-year-old sheep out of *every* hundred sheep and give it to the **poor and needy is good**. If we have post stations set up and provide post-station masters and post-horse keepers to manage them there will be peace for the many peoples, and for the messengers in particular convenience in travelling." They unanimously approved *this*.'

Having taken counsel with elder brother Ča'adai regarding the order of the Qa'an, and *this* having been approved by elder brother Ča'adai, all the people from the various units of a thousand of different areas according to the Qa'an's order were made to provide every year one two-year-old wether out of *every* flock for the soup of the Qa'an, and one one-year-old sheep out of *every* hundred sheep for the *poor and needy*. They were made to provide mares, and herders of milch mares were *also* assigned. They were made to provide herders of milch mares, storemen and grainkeepers. They were made to provide post-station masters and post-horse keepers, and measuring the distance between each stage they had post stations set up. Aračan and Toqučar were put in charge of them. At a single stage of the post there had to be twenty post-horse keepers, and at every stage there had to be a *post station with* twenty post-horse keepers each.

The Qa'an ordered: 'With regard to the geldings to be used as post horses, the sheep to be used as provisions, the milch mares, the oxen to be harnessed to carts, and the carts, from the amount fixed by Us from now on,

If one causes *even a piece* of string to be lacking,
He shall be guilty and liable

To "splitting in half along the top of the head";²

¹ I.e., for the support of the Qa'an. Cf. above, § 279.

² I.e., to the confiscation of half his goods.

If one causes *even a spoon-shaped* spoke
of a wheel to be lacking,
He shall be guilty and liable
To "splitting in half along the nose."¹

281 Ögödei Qa'an said, 'This I have done after I sat on the great throne of my father:

'I campaigned against the Jaqut people² and I destroyed them.³

'As my second deed, I had post stations set up so that our messengers could ride in haste *all* along the way; and for that *purpose* I had all necessities conveyed to the post stations.

'As to the next⁴ deed, I had wells dug in places without water and had *the water* brought forth, thus providing the people with water and grass.

'Further,⁵ I established scouts and garrison troops among the people of cities everywhere and so I let the people live in *peace*, causing them to rest

Their feet upon the ground,
Their hands upon the earth.⁶

'After my father the Qa'an I have indeed added four good deeds to his.

'But, being placed on the great throne by my father the Qa'an and being made to take upon myself the burden of my many peoples, I was at fault to let myself be vanquished by wine. This was indeed one fault of mine.

'As to my second fault, to listen to the word of a woman without principle, and to have the girls of my uncle Otčigin's domain brought to me was surely a mistake. Even

¹ I.e., to the confiscation of half his goods. See the Commentary.

² I.e., the people of north China. See the Commentary.

³ Lit., 'I destroyed the Jaqut people.'

⁴ I.e., the third.

⁵ I.e., as the fourth deed.

⁶ See above, § 279.

though I was the Qa'an and lord of the nation, to participate in wrong and unprincipled actions, this was indeed one fault of mine.

'To secretly injure'¹ Doqolqu was also a fault of mine. And why was it a fault? *Because* to secretly injure Doqolqu who strove fiercely in the service of his rightful lord, my father the Qan, was a fault and a mistake. Who will now strive so fiercely in my service? *Therefore*, I have myself acknowledged the fault of having secretly harmed, without discernment, a person who diligently observed the principle of loyalty in the service of my father the Qa'an and in the service of all.

'Further,'² being greedy and saying to myself, "What if the wild animals born with their destiny ordained by Heaven and Earth go over to the territory of my brothers?", I had fences and walls built of pounded earth to prevent the animals from straying. As I was thus confining them, I heard resentful words coming from my brothers. That, too, was a fault of mine.

'After my father the Qa'an, I have indeed added four good deeds to his, and four deeds of mine were surely faults.' Thus he spoke.

282 The writing of this book was completed at the time when the Great Assembly convened and when, in the Year of the Rat, in the month of the Roebuck, the Palaces were established at Dolo'an Boldaq of Köde'e Aral on the Kelüren River, between Šilginček and [...].³

¹ = 'poison'? Cf. above, § 68.

² I.e., as the fourth fault.

³ The name of the second locality is missing owing to a lacuna in the text.



Pl. 11(a). Mongol archer



Pl. 11(b). Mongol horseman shooting backward



Pl. 12. The 'Stone of Chingis'

COMMENTARY

(In the Commentary, references to n. [note] and nn. [notes] 'above' and 'below' are to the paragraph [§] entries in the Commentary, *not* to the footnote[s] to the translation. References to the latter are to the paragraph number followed by the note number, e.g. 'see § 165, n. 3.')

§ 1. This, the first section of the SH, deals with the origins of Činggis Qan's family, traced back to the partly mythical ancestors of the Mongqol (mo. *Mongγol*) tribe and its various branches or clans (*oboq*, mo. *oboy*). The opening line Činggis Qa'an-nu huja'ur forms, as it were, a title for the whole genealogical portion of the work, viz. §§ 1-60. Scholars such as the pioneers Pelliot and Haenisch, and more recently Damdin-sürén, Doerfer, Gaadamba, Ozawa and Onon, do not regard the opening line as a title, but connect it logically with the following sentence ('The origin [= the original ancestor] of Činggis Qa'an was ...') in accordance with the Chinese sectional summary (Y² 1, 1b). See Pe, 121; Ha, 1; Da⁵, 19; TMEN, I, 317; Γa, 7; Oz¹, I, 4; Oz², I, 13; On, 1 (and 2001 ed., 37); Če, 35. Cf. also Vietze 1995a, 304-305. However, as surmised by Naka (Na¹, 1; Na², 1; cf. also NMI, 42-43) and subsequently confirmed and explained by Poppe, Cleaves and Mostaert, the opening words stand *per se*. See the discussion in Hung 1951, 466ff.; and Mo, ix-xx. There are arguments in support of both interpretations (cf. Oz¹, I, 4-8), but like Ligeti, Murakami, Cleaves, Vietze and others, I am also in favour of separating the first line from the rest. See Li, 9; Mu, I, 5; Cl, 1; Vietze 1995a, 309; PYCPS, 39; and Section Four of the Introduction. An exact parallel is found in *The Gospel According to Matthew* which begins with the words 'Book of the origin of Jesus Christ, son of David, son of Abraham.' Christ's genealogy (Mt. 1:1-17) is followed by an account of his life which forms the main portion of the work, just as the life of Činggis Qan forms the main portion of the SH.

In the Chinese text, the opening line of the work is preceded by the Chinese title: *The Secret History of the Yüan Dynasty*

Chapter One (Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih chüan i 元朝秘史卷一), followed by the Chinese transcription of the Mongolian translation of *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih*, viz. *Mongqol-un niuča* (= *ni'uča*) *to[b]č'a'an*. As shown by other investigators, this was almost certainly the Chinese title given to the work by the Ming editors, who also created a Mongolian title for it in Chinese transcription. See Hung 1951, 484-485; Mo, ix-x; and Section Four of the Introduction.

Činggis Qa'an (w.f. Činggis Qayan) is the appellation of the conqueror in the later Mongol tradition; the one assumed by, or rather conferred on Temüjin and by which he was known in his lifetime, was Činggis Qan. The change from Činggis Qan to Činggis Qayan probably occurred early in the reign of Qubilai (1260-94), and the SH text, which originally only had Činggis Qan throughout, was amended accordingly. For this question and the use of the titles qan and qa'an in the Mongol period, see de Rachewiltz 1983, and below, n. 125; for the meaning of the word *činggis*, see below, n. 123. Cf. also nn. 202 and 269. For the etymology of qan and qa'an (= mo. *qayan*), see de Rachewiltz 1989. Cf. also CLC, 312-313; HCWLYTT, 62-71, no. 16; Kałużyński 1978, 128; V.S. Taskin in MO 1986, 213-218; Fletcher 1986, 22; Hattori 1987; and Rybatzki 2000, 230. Ligeti has restored the original title Činggis Qan in his translation (Li, 9 et passim); I prefer to retain the title as given in the transmitted text, standardizing however the form *qa'an*, which in the Chinese transcription appears as *qa'an* and *qahan* (for the respective frequency of these two forms see R, 294a and 285b-286b). In certain circumstances, and in particular in the groups *a'a* (< *aγa*), *a'ule'ü* (< *aγulegü*) and *ü'ü* (< *ügü*), the introduction by transcribers in China, western Asia and the Near East of an *-h-* or a *-w-* (*-v-*) is merely a device to 'bridge' the hiatus created by the disappearance of the intervocalic velar stops *-γ/-g-*, hence *qahan* = *qa'an*, *bahadur* = *ba'adur*, *Baharitai* = *Ba'aritai*; *čilawun* = *čila'un*, *mawu* = *ma'u*, *baqawur* = *baqa'ur* (< *baγawur*), *Hulawu/Hülewü* = *Hula'u/Hüle'ü*,

Boltavut = *Bolda'ut*, *jewün* = *je'ün*, *güčühün* = *güčü'ün*; etc. See IM, 433a; LH, 1266; HCG, 34; VMI, 18; Pelliot 1925, 249, n. 2 (for *-i-* ~ *-h-*); Cleaves 1949b, 436 (for *-w-* and *-h-* = *-'*); Mo, 63, n. 58; *Matériel II*, 16-17; and 'Quelques problèmes', 258-259. With regard to *qahan* = *qa'an*, see especially Cleaves 1948, 452, n. 14, and Mo, 63, n. 58. See also Hambis 1960, 149: '*qa'an* (*qahan*).' For a discussion of this problem and a different interpretation, cf. Ozawa 1968; Hattori 1987. I do not share D. Tömörtogoo's view (see MXTXÜ, 84) that pmo. *aγa* > mmo. *aha* > *a'a* because the form *qahan* in the SH occurs virtually next to *qa'an* in the same paragraph, which shows that the two forms were used interchangeably by the Ming transcribers. See, e.g., § 257. Cf. also *čahan* (= *ča'an*) ~ *ča'a'an* in § 153. However, for purely philological reasons it is useful to indicate the forms with *-h-* and *-w-* (when the latter also = *-'*) in a word-index, as in R and KCI. For the representation of the hiatus in the foreign transcriptions of Mongol words, cf. Ligeti's important remarks in VMIN, 115-116, n. 12. See also *ibid.*, 115-119 (concerning the value of the *wāw*). Although I have adopted the present system of notation throughout the work, because of frequent inconsistencies and the inherent ambiguity of both the Chinese and the Arabic-Persian transcriptions (cf., e.g., RH, 263, no. 16, and n. 4), one cannot exclude the possibility of coexistence of residual intermediate *-w-* forms (e.g. *jalawu* and *jala'u*, *mawu* and *ma'u*, *čilawun* and *čila'un*) in 14th century (spoken) Mongolian – as indeed postulated by many Mongolists. However, I regard the actual existence of a form like *qahan* next to *qa'an*, which is attested only in the SH and the HIIY, as extremely improbable. For two important recent contributions to the understanding of the *Problematik* of the intervocalic hiatus in Middle Mongolian, see Miller 2002, and Y. Saitō (in Add. & Corr.), 105-120, 215. As for the *n*-gemination (*qa'an-nu*), cf. *ibid.*, 53-84, 85ff.

For the word *huja'ur* (= pmo. *uγawur*; mo. *iγawur*) 'origin, root, source, beginning', hence 'ancestry', see Hung 1951, 467; Mo, xiii; TMEN, no. 395. For Vietze, however, *huja'ur* must be

taken, *sensu lato*, as meaning 'clan.' See Vietze 1995a, 307-308. On *uġayur* ~ *ijayur*, cf. UGPM, 199.

The blue-grey, or bluish, wolf (*börte činō*; mo. *börte činua*) and the fallow doe (*qo'ai maral*; pmo. *qoγa[i] maral*; mo. *quua/quuva/quā maral*) in the early legend of Mongol origins are real animals, as in the mythology of the ancient Turks whose totemic ancestor was likewise a wolf. However, in the later Mongol tradition they became a human couple: Börte Činua and Ğooa Maral, i.e. Blue-grey Wolf and Beautiful (reading *γooa* 'fair, beautiful' for *qoγa*, etc. 'fallow') Doe. This is not surprising, since from ancient times the Mongols, like the Turks and other peoples, used names of animals as proper names. See Mo, xvi-xviii; Sodnom 1964, 40; Ligeti 1970, 305; Uray-Köhalmi 1987, 137-140. Cf. P.B. Konovalov in *Mongolica* 1 (22):1990, 54-70, and MNT, I, 35-39; S. Kleinmichel in *UAJ*, N.F. 11:1992, 103-111; Bulag in MNT, I, 95-98; Bira 1990b, 14ff.; idem 1991, 40 (however, Bira's position is somewhat ambiguous, cf. Bira 1998/99, 17; idem 2000, 58; and MTSTBS, 355). The 'modern' interpretation is still held to this day in Mongolia and China, and also has followers in Europe. Cf. ČXC, 21; MNT, 6; Do¹, 1, 3-4, n. 3; On, 1; Ev-Pop, 251, n. 1 (uncertain); Yü, 1. For a discussion on the meaning of the word *börte*, see de Rachewiltz 1997. For *čino*, mo. *činua* 'wolf (*Canis lupus*)', and the reading *čino* v. *čino* in the SH, see below, n. 129. Cf. also On, 1, n. 4, for a highly hypothetical date (AD 758) for the birth of the (human) ancestor called Börte Činō. For the wolf in ancient Turkic mythology, cf. Clauson 1964; Sinor 1982, 223 et passim; Golden 1997, 88-93. For mmo. *qo'ai* 'fallow' (an ancient feminine form of *qo'a* ?), see Mo, xv-xvi; TMEN, no. 293; Oz¹, I, 18-21, n. 10; and, as part of a name, cf. Rybatzki [2003], s.v. Maral is the hind or doe, female of the buqu (= mo. *buyu*), on which see below, n. 12.

As with so many other socio-cultural traits and traditions, the Turkic and the Mongolian-speaking tribes of Inner Asia shared a common heritage. The Mongolian Heaven Above, or Heaven-on-High (*de'ere tenggeri*; mo. *degere tengri*), also

commonly referred to as the Eternal Heaven (*möngke tenggeri*) is, of course, the Blue Sky Above (*üze kök täñri*) and the Heaven Above (*üze täñri*) of the early Turks – the physical sky or firmament being identified in both cultures with the Supreme Power governing the destiny of all creatures. Hence the 'destiny', ordained by Heaven Above, of the blue-grey wolf from which originates the line of the future Činggis Qan. Here the mythical wolf is 'endowed with destiny' (*ĵaya'atu*; mo. *ĵayayatu*) from Heaven; later, in the Lamaist historiographical tradition, Börte Činua will be transformed into a descendant of the legendary rulers of India and Tibet, and into a Buddhist avatar; the correlation with the shamanistic Heaven is still evident in his designation as 'son of Heaven' in the Tibetan *Blue Annals* and the 17th century Mongol chronicles. See ANT, 47. Cf. also the biography of Altan Qan of the Tümed (ETNS, 8): *degere tngri-yin ĵayaya-bar törögsen ... Temüĵin suu-tu Činggis Qayan*; and *ibid.*, 15. As is known, the *qayans* of the Orkhon Turks were also designated as 'Heaven-born' (*täñridä bolmiš*, see GOT, 279b; cf. Bira 1974, 67; idem 1977, 197) and, indeed, the expression 'Heaven-born' (*t'ien-sheng* 天生) is also found in the Chinese sectional summary of § 1 of the SH (Y² 1, 1b) rendering *de'ere tenggeri-eče ĵaya'atu*. As Š. Gaadamba has conclusively shown, in the early Mongol world-conception reflected in the SH, to be endowed with a destiny from Heaven Above, i.e. to be born by the destiny of Heaven (and Earth), is not an exclusive characteristic of Činggis' legendary ancestor, but a quality shared by *all* living creatures (cf. §§ 197 and 281). See MNTSZA, 25-30. Cf. also Gaadamba in *MSu* 6:1969, 68-69, 106; Bira 1991, 42ff.; Onon 1996, 168. In my view, the fact that Heaven is mentioned at the very outset of Činggis' genealogy – as it usually is at the beginning of the Orkhon inscriptions – indicates a special intervention of the Supreme Power in the origin of the conqueror's lineage, as will be the case throughout the career of the future conqueror. See §§ 80, 113, 125, 187, 208, etc. Cf. de Rachewiltz 1973; Skrynnikova

1989a. For an example of the later usage of the expression 'born by (= with) a destiny of (= from) Heaven', cf. Cleaves 1951, 54 [18], 69 [18]. For an extensive discussion on the Turco-Mongolian conception of Heaven, see Roux 1956. See also Roux 1962, 19-24; Jagchid 1978, 89-90; IBŠ, 143-152, 225; MKSLT, 73-80; Yang Shao-yu 楊紹猷 in *MTYC*, 1983.1, 45ff.; Fletcher 1986, 30-32; Pritsak 1988, 753; Sárközi 1993; Beffa 1993; Beffa & Hamayon 1995; Fedotov 1996, 143ff.; Even 1999, 166ff. For the term *tenggeri* ~ *tenggiri* (*tänri*, *ngri*, *tengri*, *tegri*), see Pelliot 1944d, 169ff.; Ligeti 1965, 267-270, no. 1; VMI, 68; Krueger 1963; O. Maenchen-Helfen in *AJP* 87:1966, 80-83; HCWLYTT, 119-121, no. 27; Cleaves 1967, 260 and n. 68; UGPM, 199; RH, 198, no. 1; Kara 1990, 328; BT, II, 375a (Index); Tuguševa 2000; and, especially, TMEN, no. 944. In the SH, the form *tenggeri* occurs sixty-five times and *tenggiri* only five times. See R, 316b-317a. For the alternation *tenggeri* ~ *tenggiri*, cf. also *Matériel II*, 1-2 (1r, 2-3). For some remarks on the terminology of the SH and the Orkhon inscriptions, cf. L. Bold in *CMJS* 4:1995, 403-411. The etymology of the word *tengri* (tu. *tänri*) remains obscure. However, following Pelliot's perceptive remarks (op.cit., 170, n. 3; cf. also Ligeti 1950, 168-169, n. 2) and Doerfer's pertinent comments (TMEN, no. 944, 584-585), I am inclined to think that it is a very early borrowing from ch. *t'ien* 天 'heaven, sky' (ach. **t'ien*). The Chinese word may have passed into proto-Turkic or proto-Mongolian via a Tungus or paleo-Asiatic intermediary, which would account for the ending *-ri*, possibly a plural suffix of respect. This suffix is still productive as a plural suffix in Manchu, although its use is limited to only two cases, but significantly meaning 'male ancestor' (*mafa* → *mafari*) and 'female ancestor' (*mama* → *mamari*). For the plural of respect, cf. pmo. *degedüs*, lit. 'the supreme' (pl.) = 'the Emperor.' Cf. Cleaves 1949, 103, n. 46; idem 1950, 124, n. 206; *Lettres*, 79. For the passage (**t'ien* >) **ten* > *teng* (*tän*), cf. mo. Činqai ~ Čingqai (in Chinese transcription Chen-hai 鎮海 and Ch'eng-hai

稱海) < uig. *sinqay* < ch. *hsin-chiai* 新戒 'novice' [ach. **sǝñ-kāi*]). Cf. also mo. *tenc̄ire-* ~ *tengc̄ire-* 'to worry', etc. For the expression (*tenggeri*) *jaya'atu töreksen*, see also Pürevžav & Baasanbam 1996, 158; DO, 658b; and Cleaves 1951, 89, n. 87, where the SH formula is compared to a similar one in the Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1338 in memory of Jigün-tei. One can also compare it with the opening words of the so-called 'Pilgrims' Inscriptions' of 1323 from Tun-huang: *mgri-eče jayaritu törögsen* 'born with a sign from Heaven.' See MPr, 33; Mo, xv, n. 13. On the charismatic power conferred on a heavenly-ordained ruler, see also KHIV, 62ff.

For *aji'ai* (= pmo. *aji'ai* ~ *ajigi*), the feminine form of *aju'u* (= pmo. *aju'u* ~ *aju'ui*), praeteritum imperfecti of *a-* 'to be', see Doerfer 1955, 248ff.; UGPM, 156-157, § 34; JŠ, 132, § 223; YMT, 88-89. Cf. Mo, xvi; LSHM, 84, n. 70.

Tenggis, glossed in the interlinear translation as 'name of a body of water' (*shui ming* 水名) is otu. and uig. *teriz* 'sea, ocean', with the regular passage $\eta > ngg$ and $z > s$. For this word and its connotations in Turkic and Mongolian, see Mo, xvii; NMP, I, 298-299; ED, 527a-b; TMEN, no. 1192; Poppe 1955, 41; G. Kara in *JA* 269:1981, 320. Cf. also K. Shiratori in *KZ* 3:1902, 132. In § 199 a Tenggis Dalai, or Tenggis Sea, is mentioned, but in a metaphorical sense. However, AT¹, 4a, b, in the passage corresponding to § 1 of the SH, also has Tenggis Dalai and we cannot, therefore, exclude *a priori* that the word *dalai* has been dropped from the original recension of the SH. Tenggis can, of course, simply be rendered as 'the sea' or 'a great lake', as Jagchid and Murakami do (see Ja, 3; Mu, I, 5; cf. Na², 2); it is reasonable to suppose that it refers to a specific body of water, and various scholars in the past have identified it with different lakes and even with a river. According to Li Wen-t'ien (YC 1, 3a-4a), Shih Shih-chieh (YSCK, 1a) and Kozin (who, however, is uncertain, see Ko, 604), Tenggis is the Caspian Sea; for Pèrlée (Pèrlée², 9, Pèrlée⁴, 95; cf. also GGMGL, 35) and Ozawa (Oz¹, I, 4, 21-22, n. 12) it is the River

Tengis (Tengis Gol) of northern Mongolia (51° N 101° E), but, more recently, an unspecified 'lake' (Oz², I, 13); Tamura (Tamura 1973, 1-14) identifies it with Lake Khulun (= Hulun) or Dalai Nōr, in present-day northeastern Inner Mongolia; S.A. Gurulev (Gurulev 1974; cf. also TBG, 13-26; ČITB, 4, 13, 82ff.) is convinced that it is Lake Baikal; and, finally, T'ing Chien (YTL 1, 1b) thinks it is the same as the Tüנגgelik Stream of the SH (§ 5 et passim). But Tenggis appears to be a sea or large lake (*dalai*), not a river. As for Lake Hulun, the identification of Tenggis with this lake is not likely, because at the time the SH was composed the Hulun Nōr was called Kōlen Na'ur, see § 53. And, contrary to what is stated by Gurulev (TBG, 17), Tenggis was indeed the name of the Caspian in the 13th century. In the YS, the Caspian is mentioned four times under the name K'uan T'ien-chi-ssu 寬田吉思海, 'The Wide Tengis Sea' (see GGS, III, 2399a; cf. P. Pelliot in *JA* 15, 2:1920, 166), almost certainly corresponding to pmo. (Yeke) Tenggis Dalai. For the expression *yeke tenggis* 'the great sea', see Cleaves 1959, 44 [12v9]. In the 17th century the Caspian was still called Deñiz by Turkic-speaking people. See MR, I, 297, n. 722. The Aral Sea and Lake Balkash were likewise called Teñiz, as noted by Doerfer (TMEN, III, 206; cf. VWTD, III, 1045). This is not surprising seeing that the word *teñiz* designates any vast expanse of water, like the word 'sea' in many languages, a lake being regarded since remote antiquity as an inland sea. Cf. ger. *See* and *Meer* both meaning 'lake'; and the Dead Sea, Aral'skoe More, Ch'ing-hai (mo. Kōke Nayur 'Blue Lake'), Nio no umi (= Lake Biwa), etc. Hence, the term may certainly have been applied to the Baikal in early times as Gurulev claims, not without reason. ('Baikal' is a Tungus word meaning 'ocean.'). The Baikal is, geographically speaking, the best candidate for the First Ancestor's crossing, being just north of Mount Burqan Qaldun where he and his mate the fallow doe eventually settled. Furthermore, later sources, such as AT and AT (anon.), do indicate that the Tenggis Sea crossed by Börte Činua was 'in the

north.' See AT¹, 4a; LDAT, 53; and MCAT, 36, 113. Cf. Mo, xix. As we shall see, these indications are in no way decisive since the whole question of the migration of the Mongqol tribe is a very complex one. And, one might add, the second mention of Tenggis as Tenggis Dalai (see above) in § 199, which obviously does not designate a *specific* body of water, helps keeping the problem of identification in suspense.

Whatever is meant by 'Tenggis', the identification of Mount Burqan Qaldun is no longer doubtful. Burqan Qaldun corresponds to the present-day Khentei Khan (Xéntiī Xan), in the Great Khentei Range (Ix Xéntiīn Nuruu) in northeastern Mongolia (48° 50' N 109° E). From the top of Khentei Khan one can see the sources of both the Onon, the Onan of the SH, and the Kerulen (Xèrlèn) rivers. It was this sacred mountain – with its historical and legendary association as the ancestral home of Činggis' forebears – which the conqueror chose as his final resting place (see below, § 268). See RBC, 72, 95ff.; Poppe 1956, 33, n. 2; Pèrlée², 6 (cf. Pèrlée⁴, 87); Schubert 1973; Boyle 1970, 45; idem 1973, 75, 76; ČXĚBN, 8-35; and the discussion in de Rachewiltz 1998, 239-249 (also for further references). For the Khentei Range, cf. also Cegmid 1993. The name Burqan Qaldun has been rendered by Pelliot (NMP, I, 340) as 'Buddha-Cliff', but Rinčën, on the basis of Dagur and the Mongolian shamanistic tradition, claims that its meaning is actually '(Mountain of) the Willow-God', or '(Mountain of) the Sacred Willow.' See Rintchen 1950. Cf. On, 1, n. 6, for a somewhat different interpretation. Pelliot's rendering of *qaldun* as 'cliff' is supported by the Chinese gloss in § 164 and the fact that the name 'Buda Ündür' for Burqan Qaldun is used by Rašīd al-Dīn (*ündür* means 'heights' in Mongolian). See NMP, I, 342, 346. Cf. also *Successors*, 228, 310, 314; Barthold & Rogers 1970, 209, 215-216. The interpretation of *qaldun* as 'cliff' is accepted by Poppe, op. cit., 34, and other scholars; it should be emphasized, however, that the word *qaldun* meaning 'cliff' is not attested in Mongolian *except* in § 164 of the SH; in all other cases it is part of the mountain's name. Poppe, op. cit., n. 6,

refers to the mountain called 'Qaldud-un jirüken' ('The Heart of the Qaldud') west of the Tangsuɣ Tala ('Marvellous Plain') of the Tūla River mentioned in the famous inscription of Čoɣtu Tayiji at Čayan Baising, to prove that 'the word *qaldun*, plural *qaldud*, occurs in Written Mongolian [as an appellative noun meaning "mountain" – I.R.] as late as the XVIIth century.' See ITB, 10, 21 (cf. the Mongolian text, *ibid.*, 31-32, 44). However, in the Tibetan text Mount Burqan Qaldun is called 'Kaltun sÑin-po', i.e. 'The Heart of the Kaltun', and three lines later 'Purhan Kaltud.' The Mongolian text refers only to 'Qaldud-un jirüken', obviously combining the first name of the mountain with the plural form 'Qaldud' of the second name of the Tibetan text. The reason why a plural Mongol form was used in the Tibetan text is probably because the mountain in question is 'adorned' (according to the inscription) with six other high peaks, thus forming a mountain complex dominated by Burqan Qaldun. In view of this, the 'Qaldud' of the Mongolian text need not be taken as the plural of a noun signifying 'mountain' as stated by Poppe. We are still dealing with a proper name that *may* mean 'mountain.' For the meaning of *burqan* (uig. *burɣan* 'Buddha') in otu. and mo., see TMEN, no. 732; Rahder 1966. On the toponym Burqan/Pourkán, cf. D. Theodoridis in *AOH* 42:1988, 87-91. For Burqan Qaldun see also L. Dar'sürén in *Mongolica* 1 (22):1990, 129-132; and MBMTTS, 238 (where the proposed etymology of *qaldun* < *yal* + *-dun* is untenable).

For the Onan River (Onan Müren), i.e. the Onon, which, together with the Kelüren River (Kelüren Müren), i.e. the Kerülen (or Kerülen; kh. Xèrlèn), figures so prominently in Mongol history, see Poppe 1956, 35-36; Boyle 1973, 75-76; Hambis 1974, 33-34. Cf. also MBT, 230a (Index) for the form with *a*. For the word *teri'ün* (= mo. *terigün*) 'source', lit. 'head', cf. HCWLYTT, 44-45, no. 11.

Both the AT and AT (anon.) say that the clan name 'Mongyol' originates from Börte Činua and Fooa Maral (see AT¹, 4b; LDAT, 53; MCAT, 36, 113), but no such statement is found in the SH, possibly because this fact is already implied in

the opening line of the work: *Činggis Qa'an-nu huja'ur*. Later in the SH the tribe of the Mongols proper is called 'the Mongqol people (or tribe)' (*Mongqol ulus, Mongqol irgen*). On the basis of the SH account it would appear that the original nucleus of this tribe, represented by the blue-grey wolf of the legend, migrated from an area beyond the Tenggis to the region of the Burqan Qaldun/Khentei Khan, where it settled. We know that in the time of Činggis Qan, the habitat of the Mongqol tribe was in the Onon-Kerülen region, south and south-east of the Great Khentei – the 'Onankerule' of William of Rubruck's *Itinerarium*. See SF, 208; MM, 123; MWR, 125 and n.2; RCAC, 104. According to another ancient account recorded by Rašid al-Dīn, these early 'immigrants', led by Börte Činō, came from an enclosed valley of the Ergene Qun, a name which means, according to Rašid, 'steep cliff.' There they had lived and multiplied after their almost complete annihilation by the Turks two thousand years before the birth of Činggis Qan. On their journey to 'another country' (*dīgar valāyat*) they had to cross the arm or branch of a river (*šāxī az daryā*), which must have been wide as, in order to cross it, they had to build a *kalak*, i.e. a raft made of a large quantity of brushwood. (It is worth noting in this connection, that AT and other later chronicles state that Börte Činua went to 'another country' [*jad-un ɣajar*] after crossing the Tenggis Sea, see AT¹, 4a; MCAT, 36.4; WG, 81, 105, 106, n. 5, 255-256). Cf. SL², I/2, 9-10; I/1, 153-154; and SL¹, 13 (1868: Persian text), 6. In the legends about the origin of the Turks recorded in the Chinese sources we find the same themes: a cavern leading to a plain enclosed by mountains where the wolf's descendants lived and multiplied for several generations before coming out and eventually settling south of a mountain range. One of the legends has it that the original ancestors of the Turks lived to the west of the Western Sea (note again this reference to a large body of water), and that their tribe was defeated and exterminated by a neighbouring country. Only one boy survived, who was reared by the she-wolf. Later he had intercourse with her and made her pregnant. The wolf then fled

(or, according to another version, was transported by a spirit) east of the Western Sea, to a mountain north (or north-west) of Kao-ch'ang (Turfan). It was in a cavern in the mountain that the she-wolf took refuge and gave birth to ten boys. They took wives from the outside and their descendants eventually migrated to the south of the Chin-shan (Altai). In another tradition, likewise recorded in a Chinese source, there is mention of a white deer with golden horns coming out of the ancestral cavern. A useful comparison of these legends and their variants is found in Sinor 1982, where the Mongol legends of origin are also discussed (see, esp., pp. 240-242, 247-249). Cf. also PSIT, 32-34; RTM, 188-195; Boyle 1975; and, more recently, Gaadamba 1984, 118-119. The localization of Ergene Qun presents some problems. By taking Ergene = Argun, i.e. the Argun River, and on other grounds, Tamura placed the original habitat of the Mongols in the region of the middle Argun and the Khailar (Hailar) plain, from where they subsequently migrated in a southwesterly direction to the basin of the Onon, crossing the Hulun Nōr, i.e. the Tenggis of the SH. See Tamura 1973, 1-14. (For Ergene Qun = the Argun River, cf. SL², I/1, 74, n. 3, 153, n. 1; I/2, 9, n. 1.) On the other hand, the origin legends of the Turks recorded in the Chinese sources state explicitly that the ancestral cavern was in the mountains north, or north-west, of Kao-ch'ang; it was from there that the forebears of the Turks migrated to the southern slopes of the Altai. If, as Pelliot assumed, this is the same cavern connected with an enclosed valley or plain of the Ergene Qun, then the latter was clearly situated also in the west, and not in the east as inferred by Tamura. See Pelliot 1929, 214, n. 2. However, Sinor (op. cit., 235) is of the opinion that the 'ancestral cavern', where in later times the Turkish qayans went every year in person, or sent officials, to sacrifice, was a real cavern, whereas the Ergene Qun cavern is a legendary place, and the two should not be confused. I think that Sinor is right. Moreover, the first element of the name Ergene Qun is almost certainly an alternative form of Ergüne, i.e. the Argun (cf. SH, § 141), while Qun is mmo. qun

'cliff, rock, steep bank' (see HW, 72; TMEN, no. 309). In any case, whether Ergene Qun ~ *Ergüne Qun was a real place or not is of little or no relevance insofar as the Mongol legends of origin are concerned. As noted by Pelliot (loc. cit.), these are a borrowing from the Turkish legends and cannot therefore be regarded as reflecting historical events such as a movement of tribal groups from eastern or western Mongolia, or from the north. The ancestral wolf, the crossing of a large body of water (lake or river), the migration to a mountain site and even the presence of a deer – all these elements are common to the two traditions, of which the Turkish is historically the earliest and thus, presumably, the original one. Cf. RTM, 190; FFSSA, 321ff.; YSLT 1:1982, 220. In view of this, I believe that it is futile to attempt to identify the Tenggis with a real lake or river, and the totemic ancestors with real people. An illustration of a rock drawing of a female figure together with an 'elk-hind' on a cliff overlooking the Tūla River north of Ulan Bator is found in Lattimore 1963a (facing p. 5). Lattimore believes that this is a representation of Gooa Maral and 'the first corroborative evidence that she was a genuine 12th-13th century figure.' Such a conclusion seems unwarranted, particularly as there are serious doubts as to the genuineness of the rock drawing itself (E.A. Novgorodova, p.c.). I also consider as speculative the thesis proposed by Murakami, who contends that 'the Mongol legend is to be understood as a kind of story orally handed down by successive clan Shamans, and reflects partly the actual history of their migration from the place of their origin as well as later developments in the new settlements and partly the true picture of the dual system of Mongol tribal society' (Murakami 1964, 1243). All we can say is that the ancestors of the 'Mongqol' tribesmen, who in the 12th-13th centuries inhabited the Onon-Kerulen region (south and south-east of the Great Khentei), had at some undetermined time been under the political and cultural influence of the Turks to the extent of grafting their own body of traditions on the Turkish legends of origin with due modifications, such as the change in sex of the ancestral wolf

and the metamorphosis of the deer into the fallow doe and the wolf's mate. Conversely, we must assume that the Mongol legend is of much more recent origin and was borrowed from the Turks after the Mongols rose to power in the 13th century to give the 'golden lineage' of Činggis Qan a fitting genealogy and an origin worthy of the great conqueror. Personally, I am in favour of this assumption. Cf. HCG, 118. On this and other issues raised by § 1 of the SH, see de Rachewiltz 1992. Thus the only reliable datum is the establishment of Mongqol tribesmen in the Burqan Qaldun/Khentei Khan area several generations before Činggis Qan, a fact illustrated by the unfolding of the story in the subsequent sections of the SH. As to the actual origin of these tribesmen, i.e. their history from T'ang times (when the tribal name 'Mongyol' appears for the first time in a Chinese source, the *Chiu T'ang-shu*, see de Rachewiltz 1996, 199ff.), through the Sung, Liao and Chin periods, the task of re-examining the various and often contradictory references found in the Chinese sources is beyond the scope of the present work. One problem that deserves special attention is the critical analysis of the data found in the Chinese sources collected and published by Wang Kuo-wei in the light of the information contained in Rašid al-Dīn's work and in the SH. See, provisionally, MKK; KSK, 422-442; Pèrlèè 1963 (highly conjectural and unreliable); Ratchnevsky 1966; Hambis 1970; Tamura 1973; LCSTMKK. Cf. also Pelliot 1929a, 126-128; CLC, 145-157; Aubin 1974, 11-12 and 15, n. 11; Ch'en Te-chih in *NCTHHP*, 1981.1; Cheng Ying-te 鄭英德 in *CNHP*, 1983.2; ČK¹, 5-11 (= ČK², 7-12); Serruys 1982, 475-476; ASK, II, 24-37. Some Chinese sources have so far escaped the attention of western scholars; among them TCHP which contains (19, 21a-b) the earliest Chinese account of Mongol origins (Pelliot had no access to this work except through Naka's occasional quotations). Cf. below, n. 7. At the same time, it is necessary to take into account the ethnographic data collected by medieval travellers, perceptively discussed in

Viktorova 1978. For the later Turco-Mongolian tradition of common origin, see Dobrovits 1994.

Although the blue-grey wolf has earlier been referred to as the First Ancestor, this designation should properly apply to Batačiqan, the offspring of the wolf and the fallow doe, for he was the first *human* ancestor in the lineage, and according to Rašid al-Dīn, the first to achieve royal power; he is in fact called Batači Qa'an by the Persian historian (SL², I/2, 9). Rašid, whose genealogy of Činggis Qan does not agree in many respects with that of the SH, recorded a different tradition. It is debatable whether the name Batačiqan should be read Batači Qan, following Rašid, as some scholars do (see, e.g., Do¹, 14; Du, 1; Ma, 3; cf. GGMGL, 91). The attribution of *qan*-ship to this early forebear of Činggis Qan is no doubt a later development and indeed at variance with the SH account, which makes Qabul the first in the lineage to bear the title of qan (§ 52). Furthermore, AT¹, 4b, calls the son of Bōrte Činua 'Bata Čayan' (cf. the 'Bata-Čigan' of Ko, 79, and the 'Batcagaan' of Da⁵, 19), almost certainly a corruption of Batačiqan or Batačiqan. The endings *-qan*, *-yan* are fairly common in Mongol names, e.g. Čormayan, Daldurqan, Ča'urqan (*-qan* is the so-called diminutive suffix; *-yan*, as a den. noun suffix, is an ancient suffix, no longer productive in pmo., which deserves investigation; cf. below, nn. 40, 280). It is difficult to determine whether we should read Batačiqan or Batačiqan. The etymology of this name remains obscure in spite of suggestions that it may derive from tu. (*Kara-Kirghiz*) *badači* 'herdsman' (VWTD, IV, 1518). See Mu, I, 10-11, n. 8; cf. Doronatič in CKMKS, 1, n. 2; and Ž. Tömörčērēn in *Mongolica* 1 (22):1990, 151-153. For the problem of Mongol names and their interpretation, see below, n. 2.

The complex issue of the lineage of Činggis Qan and its ramifications into the various clans of the Mongqol tribe has been dealt with by several scholars. See, in particular, Yamaguchi 1951; Poucha 1954 (but cf. Bese 1979!); Tamura 1973, 15-19; Yoshida 1984; Whitaker 1984; Murakami 1985;

Hesse 1985. See also Šastina 1975. Unfortunately, many of the problems concerning Činggis' own lineage and the origins of the Mongol clans cannot be solved because the traditions recorded in the Persian and Chinese sources and in the SH cannot be reconciled with each other. Some of these discrepancies will be pointed out in the Commentary.

For the verb *nuntuqla-* (= mo. *nutuyla-*) 'to set up (a nomadic) camp, to settle down', see Oz¹, I, 27-29, n.17. For *nuntuq* ~ *nutuq*, see also Vlad.², 283b (Index); IMCS, 166.

§ 2. Many proper names in this and the followings paragraphs are accompanied by epithets or form meaningful compounds, e.g.: *mergen* 'skilful (archer), clever' (on this term, see TMEN, no. 363; Oz¹, I, 34-35); *boro'ul*, probably from *boro* 'grey' (cf. HCG, 374); *qača'u* 'obstinate, stubborn'; *qo'a* 'beautiful, fair'; *bayan* 'rich'; *soqor* 'blind (in one eye), one-eyed'; *mungqaq* 'fool, simpleton'; Yeke Nidün 'Big Eye'; etc. As we shall see, other personal names are followed by designations of kinship relationships (with overtones of respect), plain terms of respect, designations of rank and honorary titles, such as *ečiǵe* 'father'; *eke* 'mother'; *aqa* 'elder brother (or cousin)', used also as a term of respect; *otčiǵin* 'youngest son and guardian of the hearth'; *güregen* 'son-in-law'; *qatun* (~ *qadun*) 'qan's wife, lady of high rank'; *üjin* 'lady'; *ebügen* 'old man, elder' (a term of respect); *qorči* 'quiverbearer'; *ba'urči* 'cook, steward'; *čerbi* 'chamberlain'; *noyan* 'chief, commander, official, nobleman'; *beki*, an official title; *bökö* 'strong man' (applied to wrestling champions); *ba'atur* 'brave, valiant'; *sečen* 'wise'; and many more. Occasionally, an official title is used as a proper name, e.g. Qorči (see below, n. 120). Sometimes the epithet precedes the name, e.g. Yeke Čeren 'Big Čeren' (on this name see, however, n. 169 below). Some titles added to the names are of Chinese origin, e.g. *taiši*, from ch. *t'ai-shih* (**tai-ši*) 太師 'Grand Preceptor' (but see below, nn. 50 and 55). In fact, several ancient Mongol titles are of non-Mongolian origin, including *üjin* and *ba'atur*. See below, nn. 43, 50, and 55. Personal

names are often meaningful, but in many cases the original meaning is unknown. Names ending in *-dail-dei*, *-tail-tei*, and *-jin* (~ *-čin*) for female beings, indicate the ethnic origin of the bearer. Thus, Borjigidai Mergen means 'The Clever (of the) Borjigin (a Mongqol clan)'; Mongqoljin Qo'a 'The Fair (of the) Mongqol (fem.)'; and so on. Individual cases, where the meaning is clear and/or relevant, will be discussed in the Commentary, but I have not attempted to interpret all the proper names of the SH, as has been done in Ev-Pop. An important comprehensive study of these names, both Turkic and Mongolian, by the late L. Bese of Budapest, was partially completed but has not yet been published (as at April 2003). See the Introduction, n. 199; and, provisionally, Bese 1974, idem 1978, idem 1980, idem 1988; Poppe 1975; Šastina 1975; Li, 141, n. 3; cf. also Vlad.¹, 74 (= Vlad.², 93); Vinkovics 1985; Khabtagaeva 2001, 103 and n. 15.

Tamača is called Tamač and Tamač Qan by Rašid (SL², I/2, 9, 10), and Tamačin in AT¹, 4b. See HCG, 401.

Qoričar Mergen, id. in SL², I/2, 9, 10; Qoričir (read Qoričar) Mergen in AT¹, 4b. Qoričar is a name in *-čarl-čer* from *qori*, here probably the tribal name Qori, on which see below, n. 8. Cf. HCG, 30, 69, 423; Bese 1974, 92; Poppe 1975, 161.

A'ujam Boro'ul, incorrectly written Qujam Boraγul in SL², I/2, 10, and Uγujam Boyorul in AT¹, 4b. Cf. HCG, 374; Cleaves 1949a, 501. For *boro* 'grey', see TMEN, no. 785; Poppe 1977, 131-133.

Sali Qača'u, *deest apud* Rašid; AT¹ 4b, gives Sali Galčayu (for Gačayu). Sali is a fairly common name in Uighur. Its original – and correct – form was Šali, which is a transcription of ch. *she-li* 闐梨, a Buddhist title corresponding to skr. *ācārya* 'teacher.' See Hamilton 1984a, 425-431. *Qača'u* (w.f. *yačayu*) 'stubborn', a deverbal noun in *-u* (*-yu*) from *qača-* (= mo. *yača-*) 'to be obstinate.' Cf. GWM, 46, § 152; Bese 1974, 92, 93.

Yeke Nidün ('Big Eye'), id. in SL², I/2, 10, and AT¹, 4b.

Sem Soči, the Sim Sauči of SL², I/2, 10; Sem Soči in AT¹, 4b. *Sem* means 'silent', here probably in the sense of 'taciturn.' Cf. HCG, 54.

Qarču, the Qali Qarču of SL², I/2, 10; Qaračus in AT¹, 4b. 'Qali Qarču' is almost certainly the result of a confusion in the text or in Rašid's source between Sali Qača'u and Qarču, which accounts for the disappearance of the former in Rašid's genealogy and Yeke Nidün becoming the son of A'uĵam Boro'ul instead of Sali Qača'u.

§ 3. Borĵigidai Mergen, id. in AT¹, 4b. The genealogy recorded by Rašid al-Dīn follows a different tradition, with Dobun Bayan (the Dobun Mergen of the SH, see below) given as the son of Qali Qarču. For an important contribution to the study of genealogies in the SH, see Ardaĵab 1993.

Borĵigidai is the ethnicon in *-dail-dei* of Borĵigin (pl. Borĵigit). See above, n. 2; Poppe 1975, 162-163. The Borĵigin clan of the Mongqol tribe was the clan allegedly established by Bodončar several generations later. See § 42 and com. The etymology of the name Borĵigin is uncertain. The unreliable interpretation given by Rašid (*borĵigin* = 'man with dark blue eyes') accounts, through a further misunderstanding, also for the imaginary grey (pmo., mo. *boro*), or cat's eyes of Činggis Qan, regularly ascribed to the conqueror by modern authors. See Pelliot's important remarks in HCG, 118-120; cf. Vlad.¹, 47, 71ff.; Vlad.², 57, 89ff.; ČK¹, 13-14 (= ČK², 14-15). More likely, *borĵigin* derives from *borĵin* 'wild duck' + the suffix *-gin* (~*-kin*), see TMEN, no. 101 (esp. p. 224); Poppe 1975, 165; and Bese 1988, 20-21. For the Borĵigin clan, besides the fundamental work by Lomi (MBOT), see also Yamaguchi 1951; Badamxatan 1969; Murakami 1985. With regard to Borĵigidai Mergen, the AT¹, loc. cit., adds that he was born 'at the source of the Budayan Boyorčïn which flows at the southern side of Burqan Qaldun.' Cf. LDAT, 53. The Budayan Boyorčïn River is undoubtedly the present-day Bogdyn Gol, a right-bank tributary of the Kerulen (Xêrlên) River.

Mongqolĵin Qo'a is the Mongqolĵin Гооа of AT¹, 4b. Mongqolĵin is the feminine ethnicon in *-ĵin* of Mongqol. See TMEN, no. 367; MÜIT, 2838a; Rybatzki [2003], s.v.; and above, n. 2. This is the first mention in the SH of the tribal name Mongqol (= pmo., mo. Mongqol), on which see in particular MKK (and Pelliot's review in TP 26:1929, 126-128); Hambis 1970 and GK, 7-9; Mo, 8; Doerfer 1970, esp. pp. 73-77; Serruys 1982, 475-479; ČK¹, 5 (= ČK², 217-218, n. 37); HCWLYTT, 239-244, no. 76; CLC, 145; YSLC, 412-413; HSR, II, 24-37; Bosson 1992; and, more recently, de Rachewiltz 1996. The name Mongqol *tout court* occurs for the first time in the SH in § 52. As for *qo'a* (= pmo. and mo. *γooa*, not *γoya* as in Shi 1, 2b, and Ir, 4) 'fair, beautiful', see Mo, xvi; VMI, 44; MSMOS, 30.

Toroqolĵin Bayan is contracted to Torqolĵin Bayan in AT¹, 4b. According to Poppe 1975, 167, Toroqolĵin ~ Torqolĵin is a proper name in *-lĵin* from *torqon/torqan* 'silk' (cf. §§ 135, 238). For *bayan* 'rich', cf. TMEN, no. 714; BT, II, 84.

Boroqčïn Qo'a (AT¹, 4b: Boroqčïn Гооа) means 'Grey Beauty.' *Boroqčïn* (*boroyčïn*) is the fem. form in *-qčïn* (*-γčïn*) of the colour *boro* 'grey.' See Poppe 1975, 164-165; Khabtagaeva 2001, 135; Rybatzki [2003], s.v.

Ĵala'u(i) (= mo. *ĵalaγu*) 'young, youth' and, by extension, 'young manservant, serf, domestic.' Cf. lat. *puer* 'young boy, lad; a boy for attendance' → 'a servant, slave.' For *ĵala'u* see Vlad.², 86; VMI, 37; TMEN, no. 1797; RH, 263, no. 16. Cf. §§ 93, 156 and com.

Boroldai Suyalbi is the Boroldai Qubilai (an obvious textual corruption) of AT¹, 4b. Boroldai is another name derived from *boro* 'grey' + suff. *-ldail-ldei*, on which see Poppe 1975, 163; Khabtagaeva 2001, 110. For this name, see HCG, 51; NHHO, 63-64; Mo, 103.

Dayir 'brown', as in § 245 *dayir etügen* 'the brown earth.' The entry in HW, 34, is incorrect; see Mostaert 1962, 202; Mo, viii, n. 2; Cleaves 1949a, 501-503, 532. The form *büle'e* (the second past, or praesens perfecti, of *bü-* 'to be') alternates in the

SH with *büle'ei*, *büliyi*; on all these forms, which correspond to mo. *bülüge* ~ *bülügei*, *bülege* ~ *bülegei*, see 'Trois documents', 460; UGPM, 149-152, § 33; JŠ, 129-131, §§ 218-220.

'Fine geldings' renders *külü'üt aqtas* (= mo. *külügiüd aqtas*). *Külük* (pl. *külü'üt*), is a loan-word from tu. *külüg*, *külük* 'famous champion, hero', and also 'a fine (or race) horse, steed.' See HCG, 340; Poppe 1955, 40; TMEN, no. 1686; Chiodo 1994, 220. Cf., however, Choimaa 1997, where the author attempts to show that the term *külüg* in the SH must be understood only in the sense of 'famous, glorious, renowned, brave, intelligent' and the like, and not in that of 'steed, courser.' Cf. below, nn. 163 and 205. For *aqta* 'gelding', see TMEN, no. 8; RH, 275, no. 21.

Du'a Soqor (AT¹, 4b: Duua Soqor), the Mongol cyclop. *Soqor* means 'blind', or rather 'one-eyed'; cf. yak. *sozxor* 'one-eyed.' See also NHHO, 103, n. 3; Cl, 1, n. 2; RH, 275, no. 17. For this personage, cf. Murakami 1964, 1168-1179 (cf. MTSK, Index, 14a); Gaadamba 1968, 71; idem 1981, 76-77; Cérén-sodnom 1987, 154-156. According to Gaadamba, Du'a = kirg. *döö* 'giant', but this etymology is by no means certain.

Dobun Mergen, the Dobu Mergen of AT¹, 4b, and Dobun Bayan ('Dobun the Rich' instead of 'Dobun the Clever') of SL², I/2, 8-12. According to Rašid, Dobun Bayan was the son of Qali Qarču. *Dobu*, without final *n*, means 'hill, mound' (Les., 255b); it is also used as a proper name; however, *dobun* is probably the same word found in Yakut with the meaning of 'strong, cruel.' Cf. Uray-Köhalmi 1970, 249-250; idem 1987, 142-144.

§ 4. 'In the middle of his forehead' (*manglai dumda*). *Manglai* (mo. id.) means 'forehead' as here and in § 254; 'tip', as in § 116; and 'vanguard', as in § 142. For this word, besides HW, 107, see VMI, 53; TMEN, no. 369; and RH, 204, no. 17. Cf. also Les., 527a; and below, n. 142. *Ne'ürüt*, plural of *ne'üri* (= mo. *negüri*) 'nomadic stage', i.e. the distance between two nomad camps; from *ne'ü-* (= mo. *negü-*) 'to transmigrate, nomadize.' See HW, 116. The SH term is glossed *negüdel*, 'nomad camp, transhumance', in AT¹, 4b. Cf. Cérén-sodnom

1987, 153-154. For an estimate of the actual distance, see Če, 275, n. 6. For the usage of the number three in measures of time, space or distance and as a symbolic number in the SH, see Moses 1996, 79; MNTB, 14ff. Cf. also below, n. 60. For *qajar* (= mo. *γajar*) 'place' → 'distance', cf. MÜIT, 1237b.

§ 5. 'One day' (*niken üdür*). For mmo. *üdur*, mo. *edür* 'day', see IMCS, 48.

'A band of people' (*niken bölok irgen*). For *bölok* (= mo. *bölög*) 'band', see Cleaves 1953, 81-82, n. 18. The term *irgen* has the following meanings: 1) 'people' (in general) as here; 2) 'people' – as subjects real or potential (*ulus irgen*, *emčü irgen*, *Sartaqcin irgen*, *il bulqa irgen*), in which case it has a somewhat pejorative tinge; and 3) 'people' – as members of a particular group or tribe and, by extension, the tribe itself, in which case it is often unnecessary to translate it, e.g. *Merkit irgen* 'the Merkit people (or tribe)', i.e. 'the Merkit.' Cf. Vlad.² 73; TMEN, no. 16; KHIV, 14ff., 22ff. (also in relation to the term *ulus*); Kałużyński 1977, 79-81; and the remarks below, nn. 9 and 53.

'Following the course of the Tünggelik Stream', i.e. going downstream (*huru'u*, mo. *uruju*). The Tünggelik Stream (Tünggelik Qoroqan; *qoroqan* = mo. *γoroqa[n]* 'small river'), along which that migrating group of people was proceeding, could not originate from Mount Burqan Qaldun (Khentei Khan) since in this case the people in question, by following its course downstream, would have gone further away from Burqan Qaldun instead of approaching it (the text literally says that they were 'approaching coming in': *oroju ayisuqu*). This is, of course, assuming that the *huru'u* of the SH (which is confirmed by AT¹, 5a) is not a textual error. The text also implies that they must have been still a fairly long way from Burqan Qaldun, since Du'a Soqor, the cyclop with the long-range eyesight, spotted them from the top of the mountain. These migrants were coming from the country of the Qori Tumat (see §§ 8-9) who, as we know, at the time inhabited the Barqujin Lowland (Barqujin Tögüm). See HCG, 63, 288. In other words, they

were migrating from the Barguzin river valley in the north to the Onon-Kerulen region in the south, their ultimate destination being the territory of the Uriangqai lords of Burqan Qaldun. According to Pelliot, op. cit., 386, the Tünggelik Stream is one of the upper tributaries of the Kerulen, not better identified. Pêrlée², 11 (cf. Pêrlée⁴, 101), also failed to identify the Tünggelik Qoroqan of § 5 with a particular river in the Burqan Qaldun area (cf. also Pêrlée¹, 74, and below, n. 28; there is some confusion in Pêrlée² between 'Tüngelik Gorokan' and 'Tenggelik Goroka' – it is the latter which, according to Pêrlée, is in the vicinity of Burqan Qaldun). In his review of AT², Poppe wrote that in that work 'some place-names are identified with their modern equivalents, e.g. the name of the river *Tünggelig yoruqan*, mentioned many times in the *Secret History* is explained on page 8 and *passim* as *Čünggür tala*.' See HJAS 16:1953, 278. However, according to Pelliot, op. cit., 384, the '*čünggür tala*' (read *čöngkör tala*) of the AT³ simply means 'vallée creuse.' Cf. mo. *čöngkör* 'depression, hollow.' The identification of the Tünggelik is, indeed, controversial and has given rise to various misunderstandings. See HCG, 382-386. Cf. Badamxatan 1992, 91; IĖDGMT, 12-15; CKA, 8 (F9), 55b. For my part, I think that this river may well be the same 'Tengelik Gorikhon' described in detail by A.M. Pozdnev in his MIM¹, II, 472-475 (cf. MIM², II, 315-317). At the end of the 19th century, this 'little river' (*rečka*) originated in a marshy area called Tengelik Bürüdü (= Bürd), was fed by the Bain Göl, and flowed into the Tergeljiin Göl, (the present-day Têrêlž Gol) in a valley north-east of the Tsenkir, i.e. the Senggür (kh. Cênxêr) River, itself a left-bank affluent of the Kerulen. The valley in which both the Tengelik and the Tergelji flow is, according to Pozdnev, 64 km long and 6.4 km wide: 'It is bounded on both sides by low mountains whose summits are covered with woods. As you ride through the valley, you cannot help remembering the Mongols' antiquity' (MIM², II, 317). If this identification is correct, the Tünggelik Qoroqan and its valley – the 'hollow valley' to which the AT refers – must be, as

far as I can judge, about 80 km due south of Khentei Khan. This distance between Burqan Qaldun and the Tünggelik may seem excessive even for Du'a Soqor's extraordinary eyesight, but we must not forget that we are dealing here with a legendary or semi-legendary account, and one which is not even corroborated by Rašîd al-Dîn, who makes no mention of either Du'a Soqor or the migration of the Qori Tumat led by Qorilartai Mergen. The identification proposed above is supported, albeit indirectly, by the localization of the Bûrgi Escarpment (Bûrgi Ergi) mentioned in § 96, and the proximity of the latter to the Tünggelik Stream. See below, nn. 96 and 100. It is, however, pointless to speculate further on the route followed by the Qori Tumat tribesmen on the move.

The name Tünggelik derives from *tüingge* (= mo. *tüingke*) 'overgrown with feather grass; intermittently flooded area' (Les., 853b) + the denominal noun suffix *-lik* (*-lig/-liy*) denoting abundance of something. See GWM, 42, § 127; cf. Dondukov 1988. On the etymology of this name, see HCG, 384-385. It should be noted, however, that in Mongolian the word *tungyalay* meaning 'clear, pure, limpid, transparent' is often applied to water and streams. Tünggelik (Tünggelig) could be a front-vowel form of *tungyalay* (~ **tüinggeleg* ~ *tüinggelig*), but it is unlikely.

§ 6. 'In the front seat of a black covered cart' renders *niken qara'utai tergen-ü öljige-de*. *Qara'utai tergen* was the expression designating the fine two-wheeled carts covered with black felt described by Marco Polo, which were used by the Mongol chiefs. See MP¹, I, 168-169. They were also called *qara'u* (§ 55) and *qara tergen* (§ 244) 'black carts' – to distinguish them from the ordinary four-wheeled wagons. The etymology of *qara'utai*, an adjective in *-tai* formed on *qara'u*, is a subject of controversy, although the actual meaning is clear and confirmed by the AT gloss (although these are not always reliable). See AT¹, 5a, (cf. Poppe in HJAS 16:1953, 277); HCG, 259; Vlad.², 41; Cleaves 1949a, 517, 518; TMEN, no. 277. For the 'black

carts', the term *tergen* and Mongol carts and wagons in general, see Vlad², 50-51; MGVM, 140a; Ratchnevsky 1966, 236, n. 2; Khomonov 1970, 34; RAL, 198-199; MSR, 120; Aubin 1974, 12, 15, n. 15; Novgorodova 1975. 'Black carts' (阜車) are also mentioned by Li Chih-ch'ang in the HYC, A, 16b; cf. TOA, 65. For a different interpretation, see Oz¹, I, 51 (I cannot agree with Prof. Ozawa regarding *qara ūtai*, because the corresponding passage in AT¹, 5a, has *qarayutai*, one word, glossed as *sekür*, on which term see Poppe, loc. cit.). As for *öljige*, its meaning is 'the front seat (of a cart).' Cf. kalm. *ölžg* [*ölžeg*] id. (KaRS, 414b; p.c. from N.P.)

'If she has not been given to another man', i.e. in marriage. For the implications of this sentence in the Mongolian society of the time, cf. Ratchnevsky 1976, 515-516. *Gü'ün* ('ph. *kü'ün*, pmo. and mo. *kümün*) 'man': for an explanation of why the Chinese transcription of the SH renders the Mongolian syllable *kü* with *gü* in words like *kümün*, *küčü(n)* (*güčü(n)*), *kür-* (*gür-*), cf. HSR, III, 157-171, and 'Quelques problèmes', 240-243.

'He sent' (*ileba* = *ilebe*). The verb 'to send' in the SH is *ile-*, which I transcribed as *ilē-* (see R, 238b-239a). Cf. AT¹, 5a: *ilegebe*. Since the form *ilege-* is attested in Preclassical Mongolian alongside *ile-* (cf., e.g., Cleaves 1959, 49b), i.e. *ile-* ~ *ilege-*, I assumed that *ilē-* ~ *ilege-* (> *ilē-*). Cf. L¹, 16: *ilēbe* (the 'ilebe' of L², 23, is probably a misprint). Actually, this may not be the case. Cf. *Lettres*, 26-27; and Cleaves 1994, 17-18, n. 19. If so, all forms of *ilē-* in R must be changed into *ile-*. The same would apply to L² throughout. For the transcription of the perfective ending *-ba* instead of *-be* in the SH, see Hung 1951, 455.

§ 7. Alan Qo'a, mo. Alan Γooa, i.e. 'Alan the Fair', occupies a prominent position in early Mongol historical tradition. In later historical sources her name appears as Alun and Alung Γooa, as, e.g., in AT¹, 5a (the 'Alan' of ATL, 15, § 8, is an error for 'Alun'); ET³, 25r09, 13, 26 (cf. GOM, 59); MCAT, 38, 115. (The forms Alun Γooa and Alungyooa have been adopted –

erroneously in my opinion – by some modern scholars, such as Do⁵, 20, and, following him, Ma, 27-28, Du, 3, and Če, 36). On *qo'a* 'fair, beautiful' (not to be confused with *qo'ai* 'fallow', see above, n. 1, and TMEN, no. 293. Rašid al-Dīn has recorded a tradition concerning Alan Qo'a, her husband Dobun Bayan (= Dobun Mergen) and her children, which in part is at variance with that of the SH. See SL², I/1, 152-156; I/2, 9-16. Cf. HCG, 433b. In the YS, the genealogy of Činggis Qan begins with Alan Qo'a 'the mother of his ancestor in the tenth generation Bodončar.' See YS² 1, 1; CH, 8. The tradition regarding Činggis' ancestry recorded in the YS and the TCHP (19, 21a-b, which also confirms the reading Alan) differs from that of the SH and is close to that found in SL. For a comparison of the account in YS with Rašid al-Dīn's work and the SH, cf. Tamura 1973, 15-19; Yoshida 1984; Hambis 1970; Boyle 1975; HCG, 5 et passim. On Alan Qo'a, and the name Alan (Alun), see also Murakami 1964, especially pp. 1162-1168; Pèrlèè's contribution in *Mongol Ard Ulsyn ert, dundad üeiin xot suuriny tovčoo*, Ulan Bator, 1961 (not available to me; for a Japanese translation, see Pèrlèè³, 2-4; Oz¹, III, 573-576); MW, 172-174, n. 12; and Rybatzki [2003], s.v.

For the words *ökte'ei üdü'üi* 'had not yet been given', cf. the words *iregei üdügüi* 'had not yet come' of the great Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1362. See Cleaves 1949, 102, n. 39. On *üdü'üi* (= pmo. *üdügüi*; mo. *edügüi*, *edüi*) 'not yet', see Ozawa's remarks in Oz¹, I, 59-62.

§ 8. 'As for that (lit. "those") band of people' (*tede bölök irgen ber*). The plural demonstrative pronoun *tede* is due to the presence of the collective noun *irgen*. Cf. Street 1990, 187.

Barqudai (Mergen) and Barqujin (Qo'a) are both names derived from Barqu or Barqun, the tribe then inhabiting the region of the Barqujin (modern Barguzin) River east of the Baikal. The respective forms of these names in Written Mongolian are Baryudai Mergen, Baryujin Γooa, Baryujin and Baryu(n). Cf. above, n. 2, and Rybatzki [2003], s.v. The

descendants of these tribesmen are the Barguzin Buriat, who still live in the same region, and the Bargu Buriat or Bargut, who several centuries ago migrated from the Baikal to that region in Manchuria (NW Inner Mongolian AR, Hulun Buir Meng) called Barga after them. The Barqun (sing. of Barqut) tribe is mentioned in the SH, § 239, and many references to it are found in the YS and Rašid al-Dīn's work. Cf. HCG, 6, 63, 288-289; NMP, I, 77-78. See, in particular, SL², I/1, 121-122, where it is stated that the Barqut, Qori, Tulas and Tumat tribes lived close to each other in the same region on the side of the Selenga River called Baryujin Töküm. This name appears several times in the SH as Kōl Barqujin Tögüm (as in the present section), as Barqujin Tögüm (~ Töküm, §§ 157, 177) and simply as Barqujin (§§ 109, 177, 244). From these references it appears that Barqujin Tögüm, lit. 'Depression of Barqujin' or 'Barqujin Lowland', i.e. 'the depression where the Barqut live' ('Trois documents', 462, n. 49), was the name of the Barguzin valley encompassing, *sensu lato*, the vast area between and, probably, beyond the lower course and estuary of the Barguzin River in the north and those of the Selenga in the south. 'Bargu' and the 'Plain of Bargu' mentioned by Marco Polo (MP¹, I, 63, 70) are without any doubt to be identified with this area, as already pointed out by Pelliot (NMP, I, 78). Since in Mongolian *kōl* 'foot' designates the mouth or estuary of a river, the Kōl Barquzin Tögüm was, in all likelihood, the river valley of the Barguzin, extending from the present Ust Barguzin to Barguzin and Barguzinski. See *ibid.*, 77; HCG, 287-288; Zoriktuev 1990. Cf. Përlëe², 8 (and Përlëe⁴, 93); IBŠ, 273-274; and, more recently, PB, 34ff. Poppe 1956, 33-34, identifies Kōl Baryujin Töküm with Transbaikalia. However, Poppe renders *kōl* as 'lake' and takes 'Lake Baryujin' to be Lake Baikal. For *kōl* 'mouth (of a river)', see HCG, 288. According to the SH, Barqudai Mergen was lord (*ejen*) of the Kōl Barqujin Lowland. Because of his name, and that of his daughter Barqujin Qo'a, it is clear that he must have been the leader of the Barqut (he is not mentioned, however, by Rašid al-Dīn); but it is likely that the

term *ejen* also has a territorial connotation, as in § 9, implying that Barqudai Mergen was *the* Barqut leader of the Kōl Barqujin Lowland (as distinguished from other Barqut leaders?). For the term *ejen*, see K. Sugita in EM 10:1979, 49ff.; RH, 269, no. 6.

Qorilartai Mergen: Qorilartai is the ethnicon of Qorilar, the clan which, according to § 9, was established by this personage. Cf. Bese 1974, 92; Poppe 1975, 161. He is called 'a chief (*noyan*) of the Qori Tumat.' For the term *noyan* 'chief, commander, official, nobleman', see Cleaves 1959, 67, n. 33; TMEN, no. 389; Fletcher 1986, 17; HCWLYTT, 39-41, no. 9. Cf. also below, n. 216. (In RH, 201-202, nos. 27, 28, *noyin* [= *noyan*] is given as the equivalent of *tu. beg* 'chief', incorrectly rendered into English as 'the prince.' Cf. *ibid.*, 116, no. 11.) Neither Qorilartai Mergen nor the Qorilar clan are mentioned by Rašid al-Dīn. Qori Tumat is a double tribal name designating the two related tribal groupings of the Qori and the Tumat who, as we have seen above, inhabited the Barqujin Lowland. The two names appear together here, in § 9 and in § 240. In § 240 Boro'ul Noyan is sent on a campaign against the Qori Tumat; except for the first mention, these people are called throughout the section either 'Tumat' or 'the Tumat people.' From this we may infer that either the Qori Tumat were a 'branch' or subtribe of the Tumat, probably the dominant one, or that Qori Tumat was a loose designation of the Tumat, which we know were tribes of fur-hunting People of the Forest (*hoi-yin irgen*) scattered over a wide area at the time (see below, n. 240). Cf. the cases of the Ayiri'ut Buiru'ut Tatar, the Uduyt and U'as Merkit, etc. See HCG, 4, 63, 273-277, 287. For the Qori tribe, see *ibid.*, 62-64; Boyle 1975, 62. The name Qori has been preserved in the most important subdivision of the present-day Buriats, living between the Uda and Khilok rivers, east of Lake Baikal. AT¹, 5a, has erroneously conflated the (Kōl) Barqujin Tögüm with the Qori Tumat. For the form Tümed v. Tumad, see HCG, 400 (cf. Pelliot 1920, 175); Šastina 1975, 233.

'At Ariq Usun ..., that girl named Alan Qo'a was born ...', lit. 'That girl was the girl named Alan Qo'a born ... at Ariq

Usun ...' (I have rephrased the sentence because of the words 'a girl named' in the previous sentence). Ariq Usun ('Clear Water') is identified by Pèrlée², 4 (cf. Pèrlée⁴, 86) with the Arik River (Arigiin Gol) just east of Lake Khubsugul at 50° N 101° E. This is a distinct possibility, for some of the Tumat tribes did indeed live in the forest region between the Baikal and Khubsugul lakes; however, according to the Chinese gloss (Y², 1, 5b and 6b), Ariq Usun is the name of a place and not of a river, but such a designation carries no weight. For the word *ariq* (= mo. *ariγ*) 'clear, pure', cf. TMEN, no. 469; Poppe 1955, 38. *Usu(n)* 'water' is a term used to designate *any* expanse of water, including rivers. See SMT, 25; Cév., 601a; TMEN, no. 47.

§ 9. 'In their land the Qori Tumat', lit. 'in their land of the Qori Tumat.' The opening sentence of this section, having, as it does, two subjects (Qorilartai Mergen and the Qori Tumat) is somewhat ambiguous, and various translators have translated it differently. I am of the opinion that the Qori Tumat people are the subject of *both* the verbs *qorilalduju* and *ma'ulalduju*, although this interpretation is at odds with that of the Chinese sectional summary (Y² 1, 6b), which is followed by Haenisch, Pelliot, and others. Cf. Ha, 2; HCG, 60; CI, 2. See, however, Vlad.², 41. For *ma'ulaldu-* (= mo. *maγulaldu-*) 'to be on bad terms', cf. Mo, xix. Qorilartai Mergen was himself a Qori Tumat and therefore one of the people directly affected by these bans on hunting, hence his resentment which led to the establishment of a separate clan, the Qorilar, and the subsequent migration to Burqan Qaldun. In this and the following paragraphs the SH gives explanations for the origin of the Mongol clans, such as the Qorilar, mostly on the basis of popular and often fictitious etymologies suggested by word similarities. In the folk tradition recorded by the SH, the names Qorilar (< Qori) and Qorilartai (< Qorilar) are related to the verb *qorila-* 'to forbid, to ban', with a story woven around this etymology to support it. See HCG, 60; CI, 2, n. 4.

Buluqan (= pmo. *buluγan*) 'sable (*Martes zibellina*)' is mo. *bulaγa(n)* id. On it, see Colmon 2002, 163-164. *Keremün* is the common squirrel (*Sciurus vulgaris*). See *ibid.*, 167. By 'wild game (or animals)' (*göör'e, göör'esün*) are meant mainly deer, antelopes and wild goats (N.P., p.c.). On Mongol hunting in medieval times, see below, n. 27.

Qorilar oboqtu bolju is, literally, 'becoming one having the *oboq* Qorilar', i.e. 'taking (= assuming) the *oboq* Qorilar', obviously in place of that of Qori Tumat. In the Mongol kinship system of the 12th-13th centuries, the *oboq* (= mo. *oboγ ~ omoγ*) was a joint patrilinear descent group with a common name, usually also sharing a common legend of origin and a traceable genealogical relationship. The totality of the related *oboq*-clans and their subjects constituted the *tribe* (*irgen* or *ulus irgen*). The leaders of these *oboq*-clans originating from the same male ancestor (*ebüge*) had a common 'bone' (*yasu[n]*), i.e. lineage or stem (cf. ger. *Stamm*) and were regarded as members of the same family, i.e. kinsmen (*uruq*); hence they were bound by the rule of exogamy which was strictly observed.

In view of this, *yasu(n)* cannot be considered a 'subclan', as it is sometimes referred to, but rather a common line of descent from which originated, at each level, the separate, or 'segmented', lineages of the *oboq*-clans; it would then be more correct to say that *yasu(n)* was the 'clan' and *oboq* a 'subclan.' (In some instances *yasun* has been rendered as 'family' *sensu lato*, see Cleaves 1951, 53[3], 67[3], 75, n. 19.) However, in view of the fact that in the 12th century the *oboq* already plays an important role in social organization, we shall refer to it here as the 'clan.' At the beginning of Činggis Qan's career several of these clans, such as the Tayiči'ut, the Uru'ut and Mangqut, and the Jürkin, had greatly expanded and had become large, virtually independent 'tribes' (*irgen*), even though as *oboq*-clans they were still all branches, or subgroups, of the Mongqol tribe. Cf. also the case of the Dörben in § 11, where it is specifically stated that the four sons of Du'a Soqor 'took the clan name Dörben and became the Dörben tribe.' As noted by Munkuev,

the ethnonym 'Mongqol' referred, at least in the second half of the 12th century, to all the tribes whose leaders were the descendants of the legendary Alan Qo'a. See Munkuev 1979, 381. (Incidentally, Munkuev's article is one of the most perceptive descriptions of the growth and development of Mongol tribal society in the 12th-13th centuries.) It is therefore true that by then, as pointed out by M. Mori and others, the *oboq* as such no longer played a political role. In the SH the term *oboq* is consistently rendered as *hsing* 姓, i.e. 'clan name'; significantly, this term is absent from the HIIY and it is virtually ignored by the Muslim authors of the Mongol period. See Vlad.², 56-74 et passim; Kotwicz 1939/49, 160-163; Mori 1955; OSSSE, 47-65; SOMTPN, 326ff.; Nakamura 1967; Kałużyński 1977, 81-85; idem 1986, 213ff.; CW, 27; HCG, 122-123; TMEN, no. 572 (and no. 405 for *yasun*); MSR, 127; K. Sugita in EM 10:1979, 37, 41, 49ff.; Fletcher 1986, 16; Kałużyński 1989; Skrynnikova 1990a; idem 1994, 9ff.; Cleaves 2001a, 52-53, n. 84; KHIV, 13 et passim; and the vast literature quoted in the above works.

We have no information about Šinči Bayan, or Šinči the Rich, lord of Burqan Qaldun, who belonged to the Uriangqai (= Uriyangqai) tribe. On this important tribe, part of which inhabited at the time the forest region of the Khentei, see NMP, I, 337; Šastina 1975, 240-241, 244; Altanorgil in MNT, I, 142-152; Buyandelger 1996; Jackendoff 1977 (for the 'connection' between the Uriangqai and the Mongqol tribe, and the episode described in this section of the SH [p. 7ff.]); and, especially, Uray-Köhalmi 2002. On the 'forest' Uriangqai of the 13th-14th centuries and their modern descendants in eastern Tuva, see *Successors*, 108, n. 51; IËT, 13-14 et passim. Cf. also Badamxatan 1992, 90. For the tribal name, see below n. 12. The passage in which Šinči Bayan's name appears is a very controversial one. The text runs as follows: *Burqan Qaldun-nu ejet Burqan bosqaqsan Šinči Bayan Uriangqai-tur ne'üjü ayisun aju'u*. Most translators, relying on the Chinese interlinear version and on the strength of the plural *ejet* 'lords', regard the

words *Burqan bosqaqsan* as a proper name and read 'Burqan Bosqaqsan and Šinči Bayan, lords of Burqan Qaldun', even though 1) *Burqan bosqaqsan* is a most unusual name, literally meaning 'who has raised Burqan' (*bosqa-* is 'to elevate, raise, erect' – normally used in connection with monuments, buildings or any other structures); 2) this 'name' is absent in the sectional summary, which merely says (Y² 1, 6b) that Qorilartai Mergen moved with his whole family to 'Šinči Bayan, lord of Mount Burqan'; and 3) the corresponding passage in AT¹, 5a, makes no mention of *Burqan bosqaqsan*, but has instead *Burqan Uriyangqai* followed by *Singsing Bayan* (= Šinči Bayan). The 'two names' interpretation has been adopted by Haenisch, Pelliot, Shiratori, Ligeti, Cleaves, Bayar, Taube and myself among others. However, we should mention that Kozin, Damdinsürën, Gaadamba, Murakami, Doronatib, Ozawa, Onon and Even and Pop follow the 'one name' interpretation and regard the words *Burqan bosqaqsan* as qualifying Šinči Bayan. Naka (Na¹, 7; Na², 6) lists the names Burqan Bosqaqsan Šinči Bayan Uriangqai in succession, adding in a note that, translated, they mean 'Šinči the Rich, of the Uriangqai clan, who raised Burqan.' Jagchid (Ja, 11) ignores the two puzzling words, explaining (p. 12, n. 3) that they are perhaps a later Lamaist addition, since they are not found in the original translation (i.e. in the Chinese sectional summary), and on the ground that they cannot constitute a proper name. The two words *Burqan bosqaqsan* are, indeed, most difficult to interpret, for a literal rendering does not make much sense; to understand them as 'who has opened up (inaugurated, etc.) Mount Burqan' is, in my view, to stretch the meaning of *bosqa-* to the limit. Gaadamba is of the opinion that Šinči is not a person's name as generally assumed, but the name of a shamanistic forest goddess; he takes the word *burqan* in the meaning of *ongyon* (pl. *ongyod*) '(shamanistic) spirit inhabiting a material object, tutelary deity; shamanist ancestral idol' (see Les., 614a). The expression 'lord of Burqan Qaldun' would thus refer to this deity regarded by the ancient Mongols as the tutelary spirit of Mount Burqan. See

MNTSZA, 71-82 (his article originally appeared in *SE* 4, 1-5:1969, 17-27; cf. Aubin 1974, 13). This is an ingenious theory, but the linguistic argument adduced by Gaadamba has been criticized by Poppe in *UAJ* 43:1971, 237-238; the historical and folkloristic data are drawn from late sources and must be used with caution. Nevertheless, Gaadamba's interpretation of *Burqan bosqaqsan* as 'who has set up the *ongγod*' (*ongodyg bosgoso*) cannot be dismissed outright. Cf. Onon's interpretation 'Shinchi-bayan established (shamanistic) deities as the spirit-lords of Burqan-galdun' (On, 2001 ed., 40). Indirect support for the one name theory comes also from the text of the AT¹, 5a, which, instead of *Burqan Qaldun-u ejed*, has *Burqan Qaldun-a-ača*. This is probably a corruption of the original and the suffix *-ača* is almost certainly *eče* (read *eje*), a copyist's mistake for *ejen*. If so, the original ms. may have had *ejen* (in the singular), and the plural form *ejed* of the SH could well be either another copyist's error or a deliberate emendation (cf., e.g., the case of 'Dörbed' for 'Dörben' cited in Žamc.², 62; many other similar instances may be found). All this could easily have happened and if it did, then *Burqan bosqaqsan* must be an expression qualifying the single proper name Šinči Bayan. In such a case, my interpretation would be 'he who has erected the Burqan', and I would understand 'Burqan' not as the name of the mountain, but as a word designating either a religious image or statue, or perhaps more likely, a natural feature of the mountain, such as a rock formation or the configuration of a cliff in the shape of an image or figure with numinous connotations (which may in turn account for the very name of the mountain). *Burqan* meaning 'religious image, idol' (as an extension of its original meaning of 'Buddha' < uig. *burxan* id.; see n. 1) is well attested in Mongolian. See, e.g., the Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1346, line 6 (Cleaves 1952, 69, 79); Les., 139b; Do, 98b; Cév., 110a (2). The term is applied to both shamanistic and Buddhist images. Later folk tradition may have attributed the 'raising' of this 'image' – which in time would naturally come to represent the tutelary spirit of the mountain –

to one particular individual, Šinči Bayan, who may somehow have been associated with the cult of the mountain as surmised by Gaadamba. It is a fact that, after Činggis Qan's death, the Uriangqai tribesmen of Burqan Qaldun became the traditional guardians and keepers of the 'forbidden' precinct on the mountain where the *qan* and members of the imperial family were buried. I feel sure that this was due to a pre-existing and long standing special relationship between the Uriangqai chieftains and the sacred mountain of their territory. Cf. Ev-Pop, 42 and 254, n. 28. With regard to stone images of Buddhas or Bodhisattvas found in Mongolia, it should be mentioned that the 'Great Buddha' on the bank of the Khalkha River in eastern Mongolia – a 20-meter high statue which according to Okladnikov 1958 (cf. *MSt* 9:1985/86, 79-82) may go back to the Liao and Chin periods – is undoubtedly of a much later date. See Haining 1992. On the shamanistic images in human shape, such as felt 'dolls' and figures representing ancestors and deities used chiefly for domestic worship and later known as *ongγod*, see for the early period (13th c.) MM, 9, 10, 80, 96, 141, 184, 197; HDM, 143, n. 14; JWR, 59-60, n. 1; GR, 262; RCAC, 17-18; DBSS, 81-85 (cf. *MSt* 7:1981/82, 77-79); RTM, 233-234. All this is rather speculative, and the fact remains that, as pointedly noted by D. Cérénsodnom (Če, 277, n. 10), in the SH we have the form *ejet*, a plural, and that the Ming editors, who knew their Mongolian, 1) refrained from translating the two words *Burqan bosqaqsan* (which they could easily have done), and 2) they did not leave a blank in the interlinear version, as they would have done in a doubtful case; instead, they have glossed them as a 'person's name' (人名). According to Uray-Köhalmi 1987, 144-145, the form *ejet* is a *pluralis majestatis* (or, rather, *pluralis numinis*, as she calls it) and the words '*Burqan bosqaqsan šinči bayvan uriangqai*' comprise the long ritual name of the single tutelary deity of Burqan Qaldun, viz. 'Uriangqai Baian, zum Gott erhobene Erscheinung.' Cf. Uray-Köhalmi 2002, 255 and n. 6. This is, in my opinion, a most unlikely interpretation in view of the fact that we are dealing

here *specifically* with Qorilartai Mergen's migration to another territory, and the occurrence, only a few lines before, of the term *ejen* with the meaning of 'lord' of a territory (see § 8). I am, therefore, following the interpretation of the Ming editors, albeit with serious reservations on account of the complex problems outlined above. For some rather far-fetched etymologies of the name Šinči (< ch. *hsien-sheng* 先生 'a title of respect for a teacher and one's senior; Sir'; and = mo. *sinjiči*, *sinjigči*, *sinjigeči* 'fortune-teller, prognosticator'), see Bürinbatu 1991, 525-529; cf. Ev-Pop, 255, n. 28; On, 2001 ed., 40 and n. 87. I think that Šinči simply means 'Token (or Mark)', i.e. of good fortune = mo. *sinji*, *singsi* id.

§ 10. Bügünütei (*deest* in AT¹, 5b. The gloss 'Begünütei' opposite 'Belgünütei' in AT², I, 9, followed by AT³, AT⁴, and ATL [p. 15, where 'Bügünütei' is a misprint for 'Begünütei'] is an addition by C. Žamcarano, who incorrectly inserted it in the Ulan Bator ms. See Žamc.¹, 87, n. 1, and Žamc.², 62, n. 1; cf. Pelliot 1930a, 200. The name does appear as Begünütei in AT¹, 6a [= § 18], etc. Cf. ATI, 138b) and Belgünütei are the eponymous ancestors of the Bügünüt and Belgünüt clans respectively. See § 42. In SL², I/2, 10-11, the two brothers are actually called Belgünüt and Bügünüt and in this (inverse) order. In §§ 18, 19, 20, 23, 42 of the SH the order of the two names is likewise inverted, as in the AT and ET¹, 25r12 (cf. GOM, 59). It seems likely, then, that Belgünütei, not Bügünütei, was the elder of the two brothers. On this problem, see Pelliot, op. cit., 199-200; idem 1940/41, 4-5, n. 1. For the names Belgünütei and Bügünütei, cf. Bese 1978, 361, no. 10, and 362, no. 12 respectively.

§ 11. 'Before long (*tedüi atala*, lit. "while it was so much as that" = "in a short while") the elder brother Dobun Mergen died (*ügei bolba*).' For *ügei bol-* 'to become nonexistent, to disappear', i.e. 'to die', cf. Cleaves 1948, 313.

'As a member of the family', lit. 'in the kin' (*uruq-a*). For the term *uruq* (= mo. *uruy*) 'family, kin' < tu. *uruy* 'seed,

progeny', see TMEN, no. 468; Poppe 1955, 42; MSR, 132, 133; Fukushima 1985; KHIV, 18-22.

Du'a Soqor's sons were four (*dörben*), hence the clan name Dörben they took when they separated from their uncle Dobun Mergen – another example of popular etymology to explain the origin of a clan. As noted by Pelliot (HCG, 401), Rašid al-Dīn has recorded an analogous tradition, but it concerns the four sons of Tamač, i.e. Tamača (see § 2), who separated from their elder brother Qaiči (this name appears in different forms in the mss.) Mergen, i.e. Qoričar Mergen. See SL², I/2, 9-10. On the Dörben tribe and the later Mongol tradition concerning its origin, see Pelliot, loc. cit. Cf. also TMEN, no. 203; S. Colmon and T. Mönxcécég in MNT, I, 57-60; and EAH 10:Dec. 1995, 63, 71. The SH says that the Dörben clan became the Dörben tribe (*irgen*). On this point, see my remarks in n. 9 above.

For the verb *gē-* (= mo. *gege-*) 'to reject, forsake' used as an auxiliary verb, see Aalto 1973, 36-37.

§ 12. Toqočağ Heights (*ündür*): an unidentified mountain in the Khentei Range. Instead of Toqočağ Ündür, AT¹, 5b, has *dobučağ ündür* 'hillocks and heights', i.e. 'hills; elevated place.' Thus, according to the AT version, Dobun Mergen 'went out hunting in the hills.' Cf. LDAT, 306-307, n. 27. In view of the ambiguity of the Uighur-Mongol script and, possibly, a slight corruption in the text, the Ming editors may have misread the word *dobučağ* and turned it into the place-name Toqočağ (= Toqočağ). There is some disagreement between the interlinear version and the sectional summary. The former glosses Toqočağ as 'place-name' and *ündür* as 'name of mountain'; the latter says that Toqoča[q] Ündür is the name of the mountain (Y² 1, 8a). However, this may simply be due to inadvertence: the mss. used by the authors of the continuous and of the summarized translations evidently all had a *q*, not a *b*, in the second syllable of the word in question. For the term *ündür* (= mo. *öndör*) 'height(s)', see SMT, 22; TMEN, no. 57.

— ‘A man of the Uriangqai tribe’, lit. ‘an Uriangqadai man’, Uriangqadai being the ethnicon in *-dai(i-dei ~ -taii-tei)* of Uriangqa(n) (pl. Uriangqat) ~ Uriangqai. Cf. Poppe 1975, 163. The form Uriangqai (= Uriyangqai; cf. AT¹, 5a) appears in § 9; Uriangqan (= Uriyangqan; cf. AT¹, 31b) in § 120. The form Uriangqa is attested, *inter alia*, in the YS; see GGS, I, 161a, 162b. I have used the form Uriangqai throughout. (The ‘Uriyangqajin’ in Cl, 269a, last line, is an oversight for ‘Uriangqajin.’)

Abit (= pmo. *abid*) ‘entrails’ seems to be a plural of **abin*. According to Poppe (p.c.), **abin* < **arbin* ~ **harbin*. Cf. kh. *xarvin* ‘the lower belly.’ For the disappearance of the *-r-*, see Poppe in *UAJ* 26:1954, 340-342. Cf. mo. *qarbiray* ~ *qabirya* ‘rib’ (on this word, which occurs also in the present section, see TMEN, no. 267; and RH, 211, no. 6). See, however, the important remarks on *abidla-* and *abid* in Mo, 228-230. For roasting (*šira-*) and other methods of Mongolian cooking in the 12th and 13th centuries, cf. Buell 1999, 207-208. For the animal itself – a *buqu* (= pmo., mo. *buqu*; kh. *buga*), i.e. the red deer (*Cervus elaphus*) – see Colmon 2002, 162-163.

§ 13. ‘Friend, share the quarry!’ renders *nökör širołqa da*, lit. ‘Friend, the roast!’ Apparently it was an ancient and accepted custom for a hunter to share his quarry with anyone who shouted ‘*širołqa!*’, lit. ‘Roast!’ – an ellipsis for ‘Give me some of your roast (i.e. of your prey)!’ See Mostaert 1949, which critically reviews Pelliot 1944a, and which also contains a reference (p. 476, n. 9) to W. Eberhard’s important note on *širolyya* in *Oriens* 1:1948, 220-221. On *širalya*, *širolyya*, cf. also TMEN, no. 242, and Mo, 82, n. 77. According to Gaadamba (MNTSZA, 11-24), the expression *nökör širołqa-da* (dat.-loc.) reflects the ancient steppe custom of sharing the hunter’s prey as a way of showing one’s worth as a friend in need. Thus for him the meaning of this expression is ‘the friend (*nökör*) is known in the *širołqa* (*širołqa-da*)’, i.e. by the sharing of the roast (= prey). For the survival of this custom (and further references), cf. G. Kara in

MO 1993, 220-224. The episode is discussed in the wider context of the ‘Uriangqai connection’ in Jackendoff 1977, 8ff.

As for the word *nökör*, a key term in the tribal society of the time, it has two basic meanings: 1) ‘friend’, ‘mate’ (in the common Anglo-Australian usage); and 2) ‘companion-at-arms, comrade’ – a rather inadequate rendering. In this acceptation *nökör* is comparable to the *družinnik* ‘bodyguard’ (< *drug* ‘friend’) of Kievan Rus, the Merovingian *antrustion* and the Danish or late Old English *housecarl* (*huscarl*). The Mongol *nökör* was, in fact, a young man or fully-fledged warrior who, of his own free will, declared his allegiance and gave his support to a chief, or prospective chief, of another clan or tribe, thus forming with other liegemen like him a body of personal retainers bound in a special relationship of trust to the chosen leader and enjoying special privileges. The *nököt* (= mo. *nököd*, pl. of *nökör*) played a vital role in the transformation of Mongol society from tribal to feudal in the lifetime of Činggis Qan. They were the élite warriors of the leader’s bodyguard and in time of peace assisted him in domestic and administrative matters where personal loyalty and trust were paramount. On this important institution, see Vlad.¹, 87ff.; Vlad.², 110ff. (cf. the selections of salient characteristics in TMEN, I, 522-523); M. Mori in *THG* 5:1952, 56-68, and *SZ* 61:1952, 690-716 (cf. Sugita 1979, 42-43); Li, 147, n. 90 (particularly relevant); J. Németh in *AOH* 3:1953, 1-23; Cleaves 1959, 69-70, n. 69; Lattimore 1963b, 58-59; Munkuev 1977, 387; Lattimore 1978, 130-132; Isono 1978, 85-87; idem 1983, 40-41; Fletcher 1986, 17-18, 20. For the use and spread of the word *nökör*, see TMEN, no. 388; A. Róna-Tas in OUMÉIX, IV/3, 138; MNTK, 593a, s.v. ‘nyögér’; Shimo 1996; HCWLYTT, 205-207, no. 62; RH, 233, no. 11 and n. 4. (An important unpublished note on *nökör* by A. Mostaert is in a file in the C.I.C.M. Memorial Library at Kessel-Lo in Belgium.)

‘Keeping for himself the main portion of the animal which has the lungs, and the skin’, i.e. the main portion plus the skin, renders *a’ušgitu jildü arasun inu abču*. *Inu* is here the pronoun

'its', i.e. of the three-year-old deer. The word *jildü* is interesting. In the interlinear translation it is glossed 'the breast of the animal cut in half', i.e. the breast-half of the animal. There is no mention of the head of the animal, but the sectional summary says: 'The man of the Uriangqai, taking down (i.e. removing) the head and the skin together with the lungs, kept them for himself' (Y² 1, 8b; but Pelliot 1944a, 103, n. 1, understands differently). Mmo. and pmo. *jildü* corresponds to mo. *jülde*, kh. *zöld* and bur. *zülde*, which is a special term for that portion of the slaughtered animal comprising the attached head, trachea, lungs and heart. Cf. Cév., 290b; Les., 1055a; MED, 185a; and MNTSZA, 6-7, n. 1. In Buriat, *zülde* refers specifically to the *praecordia* and the liver region. This was traditionally considered the main or 'central' part of the carcass and the one which the hunter kept for himself by right. Cf. TH, 300 (= JTY, 520-521). Hence the secondary meaning of *jülde* as 'the core or kernel of something; the essential or necessary part' (Cév., 290b; MKT, 1349b; MKeT, 3041a [3]). Cf. below, n. 214. The trachea and lungs, as well as the heart, had no doubt also a symbolic value as channels and seat of the vital spirit. There is no question, therefore, of the Uriangqan keeping for himself 'the lowest kind of offal', as Waley 1960, 523, claims, largely because of a misinterpretation of the Chinese version; nevertheless, the hunter showed his generosity as a *nökör* by giving Dobun Mergen all the rest of the meat. Since there is no single word in English for *jildü*, I have rendered it as 'the essential portion of the animal.' For *a'ušgi* (= mo. *aγuški*) 'lungs', cf. MA, 108b: *a'uški*, and dag. *aurki*, with *sⁱ > š > r; see IMCS, 67, 125.

§ 14. 'Leading his son by the hand' (*kö'ün-be'en kötöljü*). For *kötöl-* ~ *kötel-* 'to lead (by the hand, on a leash)', cf. below, n. 66.

§ 15. 'Dobun Mergen asked him, "To which clan do you belong?"', lit. 'When Dobun Mergen asked him, saying, "What kind of person are you?"' Cf. § 38 and *Ordosica*, 53, n. 29.

'The man', lit. 'that man.' For the Mongolian demonstrative pronouns *ene*, *tere* 'this', 'that' having at times the value of the English article 'the', cf. Street 1990, 172.

'I am a man of the Ma'aliq Baya'ut' (*bi Ma'aliq Baya'udai*). For Baya'udai, cf. Poppe 1975, 162, and above, n. 12. Ma'aliq Baya'ut seems to be a double ethnic name. The first element is unknown; Baya'ut, on the other hand, is a well-known tribal name. The Baya'ut (= mo. Bayaγud) were the hereditary household servants of Činggis Qan's family – a role which finds its origin and justification in the legendary account recorded in the SH (§§ 15-16). See Yao Chia-chi's 姚家積 remarks in *YSLT* 2:1983, 95. On the Baya'ut tribe and Rašid al-Dīn's somewhat different version of the story, see HCG, 78, 86-89. Cf. also SH, §§ 120, 213.

'I am in desperate straits' renders *yadaju yabumu*, lit. 'I am going (*yabumu* = *yabun amu*, cf. AT¹, 5b) being unable to cope.' Note, however, that *yabu-*, as it is often the case in the SH, plays here the role of an auxiliary verb expressing the imperfective 'Aktionsart' of the main verb. See Aalto 1973, 35-36; cf. Mo, 195, 237, n. 221. On the role of the father in deciding the fate of his children in the Mongolian society of the time, see Ratchnevsky 1976, 511, 524, n. 15; idem 1987, 69.

§ 16. For *öre'ele* 'one of two, one of a pair', cf. Mo, 11.

'To be a servant in his house', lit. 'he employed him within the tent' (*ger dotora jaružu aqu büle'e*). *Jaru-* means 'to use, employ (for service, on errands or missions).' The derivation from *jar* 'order, declaration, promulgation, publication' proposed by K.H. Menges in *RP* 2:1949, 229, is subject to caution, as indeed his entire notice concerning ital. *ciarlatano* (ibid., 229-231).

§ 17. Buqu Qatagi is the ancestor of the Qatagin, Buqatu Salji of the Salji'ut and Bodončar Mungqaq, or Bodončar the Fool, the ancestor of the Borjigin. Cf. below, § 42. The same account is given by Rašid al-Dīn, but with variant spellings of the names of the first two sons. See SL², I/2, 14-15; cf. HCG, 394, 400, also

for the correct form Buqu Qatagi. The account in YS² 1, 1, ascribes the paternity of Buqu Qatagi and Buqatu Salji to Dobun Mergen (there is no mention of Bügünütei and Belgünütei); Bodončar is the only son born through supernatural intervention: a white beam of light which, in Alan Qo'a's dreamstate, entered the tent through the smoke-hole, changed itself into a 'gold-coloured supernatural man' (金色神人) and made her pregnant. Cf. CH, 8. A slightly different version is found in TCHP 19, 21a. On the names of the three sons of Alan Qo'a, see also Poucha 1954, 447-448; Bese 1974, 94; idem 1979, 57; MNTSZA, 77ff. (see also the various references to Bodončar in this work). With regard to Bodončar it should be noted that this name subsequently became synonymous with 'ancestor'; it still survives with this meaning in Kalmuck. See KW, 48b; KaRS, 104a. Cf. Ev-Pop, 255-256, n. 39. For Dobun Mergen's lineage see also the section in *Chapitre CVII*, 9-10.

The name Bodončar seems to be formed by *bodong* 'wild boar' + the suffix *-čar*, on which see Poppe 1975, 161. The epithet *mungqaq* (= mo. *mungqaγ*) is usually rendered as 'fool'; perhaps a more appropriate rendering would be 'simpleton' or 'simple', as in CW, 9. However, in § 121 he is called Bodončar Boqdo (= mo. Boydo), i.e. Bodončar the Holy One or, perhaps more aptly, Bodončar the Wise (cf. the Chinese gloss 賢明 for *boqda* ~ *boqdo* in the SH; HW, 16). Cf. U. Erdenebat in *CMJS* 4:1995, 365-376. For the word *mungqaq*, cf. Cleaves 1986a, 2-3. Bodončar was by no means a fool and behind his apparent foolishness, or rather eccentricity, there lay a good deal of practical wisdom as will become apparent. Bodončar is, in fact, the characterization of a human type that is found in, and has been described by, most other cultures in the past: the half-wit who in the end outwits those who had scorned and rejected him. In the YS² 1, 1, he is described as a man unusual in appearance, sombre and taciturn.

§ 18. 'Without brothers-in-law and male relatives', lit. 'without brothers, and without *üye qaya*.' By 'brothers' (*aqa de'ü*) are

meant the brothers of the deceased husband Dobun Mergen. *Üye qaya*, glossed as 'branch relatives' (房親), is a kinship term designating collateral paternal kinsmen, i.e. male cousins once or twice removed. See Cleaves 1949a, 503-504; OSSSE, 61-62; Les., 915b: *qayalid* (pl. in *-lid* of *qaya*) 'second cousin on the father's side.' Cf. also DO, 324b. Here we have a reference to the ancient Mongol and, generally, Inner Asian practice of levirate, according to which the dead husband's brother or next of kin had to marry the widow. See Vlad.², 58; Ratchnevsky 1968; Hambis 1979, 389; Holmgren 1986, 151ff. For *bö'etele* 'although, while', the converbum terminale of the defective verb *bö-* (= mo. *bü-*) 'to be' (see GWM, 103, § 384), see the interesting contribution by S. Ozawa in *ÖMYS*, 1988.1, 52-55.

'The man of the Ma'aliq Baya'ut' – but, according to § 15, it was the man's little son who had been taken into Dobun Mergen's tent. The contradiction has been discussed by various scholars; it seems that both father and son had joined the household, not merely the child. See Pelliot 1930a, 199; Li, 142, n. 18; Jackendoff 1977, 19ff.

For *te'ün-ü'ei* (= *tegünügei*) 'belonging to him, his', cf. *Lettres*, 78, n. 243; Mo, 5.

§ 19. 'One day in spring.' For some interesting remarks on the calendar and time computing of the medieval Mongols, see Ts'ai CC 1980; Clark 1998; and Rybatzki (in Add. & Corr.).

'While she was cooking some dried lamb', lit. 'while boiling dried sheep' (*köngšilemel qonin činaju*). *Köngšilemel* is a noun in *-mel* (*-mal*) from *köngšile-* 'to dry meat (by smoking, for the winter)', the original meaning of the verb being 'to singe the hair'; thus, 'dried meat' is, literally, 'that whose hair has been singed.' Cf. bur. *xünšüü* (= *köngšigü*) 'the bad smell of burnt hair or meat' (N.P., p.c.). For somewhat different etymologies, see TH, 216-217 (= JYT, 374); Oz¹, I, 111-112; El-Ar, 33, n. 1. Cf. also Vlad.², 47 and n. 3.

Niji'el 'one each' corresponds to mo. *nijeged* id. The form in *-l* is found only in dag. *nijel*. The development of this form is

explained by Poppe in IMCS, 108. Cf. THHTT, 163a; TH, 138 (= JYT, 240).

'Immediately' is, literally, 'how could they have stopped it?' (*ya'u bayi'ulqun*), i.e. they did it without interruption, right away.

'The five sons each took the five bound arrow-shafts in turn', lit. 'All five, taking turns, each person holding one of the five bundled arrow-shafts (*müsüt*).' *Müsüt* is the plural of *müsü(n)*, an obsolete word meaning 'rod, (arrow-)shaft'. Cf. § 240. Jackendoff's reservations (Jackendoff 1977, 20-22) on this score are unwarranted: the parallel passage in AT¹, 6a, has *müsün*, and there is no doubt that the *Urtext* of the SH had this word and not *sümün* or *sümüit* 'arrows.'

As for the story of Alan Qo'a, her sons and the bundle of arrows, it is, as pointed out by several investigators, an ancient folklore motif which purports to demonstrate the advantage of unity and solidarity, particularly – as in the present instance – in times of danger or under threat. The fable, with its obvious moral, is found in Aesop's collection ('The Father and his Sons' or 'The Husbandman's [Divided] Sons', see EF, 39-41, no. 86); this motif is also found in the body of traditions of various nomadic peoples of eastern Europe and Asia, such as the Scythians and the T'u-yü-hun, long before the Mongols. In Juvaini's work the parable is transferred to Činggis Qan and his sons. It is also reported in the later Mongol and Tibetan chronicles, albeit with some variations. See GGMGL, 45-46, and Poucha 1954, 448-449 (cf., however, Ligeti's criticism in Li, 142, n. 19; Bese 1979, 56); HWC, 41, 594; TYH, 5-6 (for the translation from the *Wei-shu* [6th c. AD] of the relevant passage concerning the T'u-yü-hun chief A-ch'ai and his sons); Serruys 1958, 285, n. 38; Gaadamba 1968, 71-72; Yao Ts'ung-wu in *TLTC* 22:1961, 1-3; Jagchid 1978, 95-96; Moses 1987, 63-65; Bira 1990a; idem 1990b, 14ff. Cf. also Ratchnevsky 1976, 524, n. 8, and Roux 1977, 20-21, for the symbolism of the arrow; and P. Khorloo in *OUMÉIX*, VI/2, 384-389. Commenting on the story concerning A-ch'ai, Pelliot wrote [P.P.-M.G.]: 'Alan Qo'a

et le paquet de flèches, cf. Pompée et la queue de cheval.' Cf. also his remarks in Pelliot 1936, 357: 'Dans l'histoire des flèches liées ensemble (*čuqlaju* non 'culaju'), analogue à l'apologue de la queue de cheval dans l'histoire romaine, ...' Pelliot no doubt refers in both instances to the well-known anecdote related by Plutarch in his Life of Sertorius, XVI; cf. also Valerius Maximus, *Fact. ac dict. memor. lib.* VII, 3. 6.

§ 20. 'You, my sons Belgünütei and Bügünütei', lit. 'You, my two sons Belgünütei and Bügünütei.' For this and other instances (e.g. §§ 23, 45, 49, 71, 76, 77) where the numeral plays the role of the conjunction 'and', cf. Bese 1987.

'Of what *clan* are they the sons?' Cf. above, § 15: 'To which clan do you belong?', lit. 'What *kind of person* are you?' In both instances, 'what' (*ya'un*) refers to the clan or tribe to which the person(s) in question belonged and which, more than anything else, established his/her or their identity and affiliation. See Vlad.², 56-57.

§ 21. The resplendent (*čeügen* = *če'ügen*; see below, n. 72) yellow man (*šira gü'ün*) who visited Alan Qo'a and who crept out of her tent in the guise of a yellow dog (*šira noqai*) is obviously a personification and metamorphosis of Heaven (*tenggiri* ~ *tenggeri*, see above, n. 1), as Alan Qo'a explicitly says in the alliterative passage ('They are the sons of Heaven'). The story reminds us of the numerous transformations of Zeus, for similar purposes, in Greek mythology. The colour yellow (*šira*) associated with both the man and the dog is the colour of gold (*altan*) which is, in turn, a symbol of supreme power and leadership, of royal authority (see below): the offspring of such a union is destined 'to become the rulers of all', as Alan Qo'a prophetically says in the same passage. The brightness of the personage, the 'light' element (radiance, moonbeams, sunrays), and the smoke-hole and door top, which permit the light to enter, are all elements associated with the sky, and hence with Heaven. (The smoke-hole, the door top, the door frame and the threshold have all numenous connotations, see §§ 105 and 246;

cf. MM, 11, 63, 118, 178.) The involvement of Heaven goes back to the very origin of the family line (see above, n. 1). The mystical connotations of the dog, on the other hand, are not so clear and perhaps of no special significance: the dog is traditionally associated with, and often assimilated to, the wolf and symbolizes fierceness. See, e.g., §§ 78, 195; cf. also § 66. (The traditional image of the dog among the Mongols is discussed by Gaadamba in MNTSZA, 31-40; cf. Poppe 1964b, 166; Hashimoto 1976; Uray-Köhalmi 1987, 147-149). We may infer from this legend that Alan Qo'a's descendants conceived by the heavenly man-dog were destined to rule the world as fierce and fearsome masters. This element of 'fierceness' is especially highlighted, in the case of Temüjin, in the poetic passage of § 78. In a strong military and aggressive society, fierceness and inspiring awe and fear in the enemy were the qualities most sought in and expected from the leader. This, I believe, has an important bearing on the later choice of the title Činggis Qan borne by Temüjin. See below, nn. 59 and 123. For 'yellow' = 'golden' = 'royal, imperial, pertaining to the supreme chief', see Serruys 1962, and the important remarks in CEME, 60-70. Cf. the designation *syra orda* (= *šira ordo*) 'Yellow Camp' of Güyük's encampment near Qara Qorum and of Batu's encampment on the lower Volga (> 'Golden Horde'). See HDM, 28, 141, n. 9; SDM, 230, 339. Cf. also the reference to the 'golden tent' (*altan terme*) of Ong Qan in § 184; and the 'golden smoke-hole' and 'gold-capped pavilions' in the Dede Qorqut epic (BDK, 11, 39, 54). N. Poppe (p.c.) suggests that by a 'yellow man' is meant, perhaps, a blond man; and that by a 'yellow dog' a light-coloured dog (not necessary yellow) is meant. Cf. Poppe 1977, 128-129, nos. 56, 57. Pelliot, on the other hand, suggested (Pe, 124, n. 1): "Jaune" = idée d'or; allusion aux images divines dorées du bouddhisme? The point is discussed further in HCG, 118, 120-121, in relation to the story, current in the 13th-14th centuries, that the descendants of Yisügei (and hence of Alan Qo'a) were 'yellow in colour' – probably a reference to the light colour of the hair of some of

them. Pelliot (op. cit., 120) refers to the colour yellow in our passage as 'en quelque sorte "solaire", et correspond en outre aux images dorées des divinités.' For the legend of the supernatural conception of Alan Qo'a's children in the Persian, Tibetan and late Mongol sources, and its diffusion, see SL², 1/2, 14; GGMGL, 42-45 (also for some interesting parallels); CLC, 282-283; MHW, 4ff., 41-43; Bira 1990; idem 1990b, 14ff., 1991, 40-42; and Bira 2000, 59-61 (for a possible Manichaen influence on the legend). Cf. also MAR, 17-19. For the correct interpretation of the passage 'Every night ... the door top of the tent', see Cleaves 1949a, 504-505. For *erüge* 'smoke-hole, sky hole (of a tent)', cf. Khomonov 1970, 36; and below, n. 230.

'How can you speak so rashly (*or* wildly, inconsiderately) (*deleme*)?' For *deleme*, see DO, 137b.

For *bili*- 'to rub, stroke', see Ligeti 1960, 237.

'When one understands that', lit. 'When (*or* if) one understands by that.'

'To *ordinary* black-headed men (*qara teri'ütü gü'ün*).' The 'common people' at the end of the passage are called *qaraču*, a noun deriving from *qara* 'black' (for the den. noun suff. -*ču*, see GWM, 41, § 115; Khabtagaeva 2001, 134). For *qaraču*, see also TMEN, no. 274. One of the several connotations of 'black' in Mongolian is 'ordinary, low-class.' See Poppe 1977, 121, no. 12. Cf. SOMTPN, 202. The same usage is found in Turkic, see ED, 643b; cf. Choi Hyong-won in AH 9:1999, 291. Thus, *qara teri'ütü gü'ün* and *qaraču* are synonymous. 'Black' refers to the colour of the skin through constant exposure to the sun and weather, a characteristic of common, poorer people; 'white', by contrast, being a sign of wealth, nobility and rank. Cf. the expression '*panza nera*', i.e. 'black belly', which in the old Roman dialect designated, for the very same reason, people of the lower working classes and paupers in general. Cf. also BDK, 10; Khabtagaeva 2001, 93. For other parts of the body called 'black' in a derogatory or insulting way in Mongolian, cf. the expression 'blackish face' in Ordos (DO, 310b). I think that 'black' in the present passage is contrasted with the

'yellow/golden' characteristic of the supernatural being and, by implication, of his and Alan Qo'a's exalted descendants, viz. the future rulers of the 'black-headed ones.' It is worth noting in this connection that, although in the SH the blue-grey wolf appears as the totemic ancestor of the Činggisid line, the supernatural intervention responsible for the birth of Bodončar – Činggis' direct forefather – makes the line of descent from the wolf a purely 'formal' genealogy. Cf. the case of Jesus Christ's traditional genealogy from Abraham and David to Joseph as given in the Gospel according to Matthew. Neither Dobun Mergen nor Joseph were the *real* fathers of Bodončar and Jesus, but in both cases the genealogy was not invalidated. Since the supernatural conception motif is common to many cultures in the ancient world, a key story in Buddhism and the central theme in Christianity, it is impossible to determine whether Heaven's intervention in the case of Alan Qo'a is a purely native tradition, or due to some culture contact through a Central Asian intermediary. In view of the fact that the early legend of Mongol origins and Činggis' ancestry is, in all probability, a later fabrication and that it owes much to Turkish influence, one cannot exclude the direct or indirect contribution of Nestorian Christianity, which was present already (as is well known) in Činggis' immediate entourage well before 1206 through personages of Turkish-Nestorian background like Čingqai, on whom see Section Three of the Introduction. For the motif of miraculous births in Mongolian (and Korean) myths, cf. Fedotoff 1996a.

§ 22. For *söyü'er* (= pmo. *soyüger*) 'admonition, teaching', see Mo, 242-243, and n. 227; and below, n. 260.

'Were born of one womb', lit. 'were born from a single belly (= womb).'

'Like those (lit. "that") single arrow-shafts' (*tere niži'el müsiüt metü*) and 'like the (lit. "that") bound arrow-shafts' (*tere čuqtai müsiüt metü*). For the unusual occurrence of a singular

pronoun (*tere*) with a plural noun (*müsiüt*, pl. of *müsiün*, cf. AT¹, 6b), see Street 1990, 186.

For the adverb *tuqar* (= mo. *tuqar*) 'just now, a little while ago', cf. Gantogtokh 1989, 121.

§ 23. 'The five brothers divided the livestock among themselves', lit. 'The brothers divided among the five of them their livestock and food (*adūsun ide'e*).' *Adūsun* ~ *adu'usun* (= pmo., mo. *aduʒusun*, *adaʒusun*), means 'four-legged, domesticated animal: cattle, livestock'; *ide'e(n)* (= pmo., mo. *idege[n]*) means 'food.' These two words together form a so-called '*mot-couple*' (for this expression, see Pelliot 1944, 75; Mo, 42-43), the meaning of which is the same as that of the first element of the compound, i.e. *adūsun* 'livestock.' The expression *adu'usun ide'en* appears again in § 272, in a passage translated and discussed by Mostaert (Mo, 225-233; see, especially, p. 231). In §§ 39 and 132 we find *adu'u ide'en*. *Adu'u(n)* (pmo., mo. *aduʒu[n]*) means 'herd (of horses or cattle): horses, cattle' (cf. TMEN, no. 10; HCWLYTT, 244-246, no. 77); and, as pointed out by Ozawa (Oz¹, I, 135, n. 2), this word together with *ide'e(n)* forms a compound which is synonymous with *adūsun* (*adu'usun*) *ide'e(n)*. The expression *adu'u ide'e(n)* has survived in Buriat with the meaning of 'cattle; herd of horses', and in Ordos with the meaning of '(herd of) horses.' See Mo, 231. Cf. Kałużyński 1992/93, 277-278. In the interlinear version and sectional summary these expressions are translated *literally*, i.e. 'livestock (or herds of horses) and food', except for § 23, where in the sectional summary (Y² 1, 15a) *adūsun ide'e* is rendered as 'family possessions, property' (家私), the livestock representing, of course, the wealth of the family. We find the same rendering in Li, 11. Most scholars, including Mostaert and Cleaves (see Mo, 233; Cl, 5, 8, 62, 212), follow the Chinese version and understand 'herd(s) (or cattle, or horses) and food (= provisions)', as I have done in my earlier translation. However, in 1979 N. Poppe pointed out to me that the expression *adūn id'əŋ* occurs in the Buriat epic *Jirensai* with the meaning of

'horses and cattle (lit. "food").' See Poppe 1980, 263, lines 3352-3353. The correct interpretation of the two synonymous expressions in the SH had already been given in 1947 by Damdinsürén, who rendered them as *aduḡu mal* 'livestock.' See Da¹, 28, 30.

For *qubi* 'share (of the patrimony)', see TMEN, no. 294; Murakami 1961 (cf. MTSK, 191-196, 198, 204, 214); Murakami 1983, 102; Sugita 1979, 45. For inheritance in early Mongol society, see Vlad.², 62-68; Ratchnevsky 1987, 73.

With regard to the term *buda'u* 'stupid, foolish, half-wit', Cleaves stated: 'In *buda<u>'u* we have a folk etymology based on a consonance (*buda<u>'u* and *Bodončar*)' (Cl, 5, n. 13). I am not sure whether in this particular instance Cleaves is correct, since *Bodončar* already had the nickname, or epithet, of *munḡaq*. For *buda'u* = pmo. *budaḡu*, mo. *bidaḡu*, see Cleaves 1949, 127, n. 230.

§ 24. 'Why should I stay here?', lit. 'While here (= so long as I am here), what (is the advantage)?'

'He got on a white horse with a black sore back and a mangy tail' (*qol da'aritu qodoli se'ültü oroḡ šingqula unūju*). A literal translation would be: 'He rode on a white (or grey-white) horse with a black stripe along the backbone having mid-back wounds caused by the saddle, and a hairless tail.' For *oroḡ šingqula* see Ozawa's remarks in Oz¹, I, 140-141, n. 2 (where, however, 苞灰 is, I think, a printing error for 苍灰); and Rassadin 1995, 113. Cf. § 193 *šingqulaqan* 'little white horse.' For the important term *qol* (= mo. *ḡool*), meaning here 'mid, part in the centre' of the horse, i.e. his back, cf. TMEN, no. 307; Poppe 1967, no. 7. *Da'aritu* is a denominal noun in *-tu* formed on *da'ari* (= mo. *dayari*) 'wound or sore caused by the rubbing of the saddle'; see TMEN, no. 1868 (p. 177). *Qodoli* (= mo. *ḡodoli*), is the name of a particular type of arrow with a blunt, knob-like head, usually made of bone (see below, n. 77). A 'qodoli tail' may have been an expression meaning 'a tail like a qodoli-arrow', i.e. bare and with a butt-end – a hairless stub of a

tail, but this term is simply glossed 'bald' in the interlinear version.

'If I die, I die; if I live, I live!', i.e. 'Whether I live or die it's all one to me!' See VG, 54; Waley 1960, 523; and Cl, 5. Cf. also AT¹, 6b ('If I die or live, let my destiny decide!'), and Γa, 233, nn. 79 and 80. However, Ligeti, Ozawa, Even and Pop, and others (including, formerly, Cleaves and myself [in Ra, I, 122]) are of the opinion that the passage should read 'If he (i.e. the horse) dies, I shall die; if he lives, I shall live', or 'If he dies, let me also die! If he lives, let me also live!' See Li, 11; Oz², I, 22; Ev-Pop, 24. Cf. also Cleaves 1949a, 505; Cl (1956 unpubl. version, 5); Mo, 95; Vietze 1994, 654. Disagreement on the correct interpretation of *Bodončar*'s words will no doubt continue.

For *talbi-* 'to ride fast', see Mo, 49; cf. Aalto 1973, 36.

Baljun Island (Baljun Aral) is an unidentified island, or more probably a peninsula on the Onon, possibly at the confluence of this river with the river Balj or Boldja, i.e. the present-day Balž Gol (the Balji Gol and Balj Gol of GM) at 49° 07' N 111° 50' E. See HCG, 41-42; Hung 1956, 21-23. Cf. Poppe 1956, 40. It is not to be confused with Dalan Baljut and Lake Baljuna of §§ 129 and 182. On these place-names, cf. L. Dar'sürén in *Mongolica* 1 (22):1990, 132-134. *Aral* usually means 'island', but it also has the meaning of 'peninsula; area at, or near, the confluence of two rivers (i.e. comprised between them)', as in the case of Talqun Aral (§ 105) and of the famous Ködö'e Aral. See SMT, 16; TMEN, no. 11; and below, n. 136 (for Ködö'e Aral).

'A grass hut' renders *ebesün nembüle ger*, lit. 'a grass hut-tent.' For *nembüle* (= mo. *embüle*) '(grass) hut', cf. dag. *nembelge* 'roof.' For the expression *embüle ger* 'thatched hut', see Gol., I, 91c. Cf. Khomonov 1970, 36!

§ 25. For *qarčiqai* (= mo. *qarčayai*) 'hawk, falcon (*Astur palumbarius*)', see TMEN, no. 278. Cf. RH, 227, no. 20.

For *qara quru* ‘black grouse’, cf. Vietze 1990, 387.

For *kilqasu(n)* (= mo. *kilyasu[n]*) ‘hair from the mane and tail of a horse, horse hair’, see TMEN, no. 1607. The word is of Turkic origin (< *qıl* ‘hair, horse hair’). On it cf. also Rozycki 1996. Since Bodončar’s Rocinante had a hairless tail, the hair used to make the snare must have come from the mane, *pace* the Chinese gloss and sectional summary, both of which render *kilqasun* as ‘hair from the tail of the horse’ (Y² 1, 16a-b). However, in Middle and Written Mongolian, as in the modern dialects, this term designates *both* the mane and tail hair.

§ 26. ‘When he had nothing to eat’, lit. ‘When he had no food to eat.’

For the nature of the ‘wild game’, see above, n. 9.

For *qun* (= pmo. *γun*) ‘cliff’, see TMEN, no. 309; Oz¹, I, 147-148, n. 1.

‘They *also* gathered up and ate the food *left over* by the wolves (lit. “what the wolves had eaten”).’ For *temgü-* ‘to pick up, gather’, see the discussion in Hashimoto 1992.

‘And so, feeding his own gullet and his hawk’, lit. ‘feeding together to (= with) his own gullet also his hawk.’ Cf. J. Street’s somewhat different interpretation in Street 1981, 152; and Oz¹, I, 149-151, n. 5.

‘He got through that year’, i.e. through that winter, as it is stated in the sectional summary (Y² 1, 17a).

§ 27. ‘He starved his hawk and let it loose.’ For Mongol hunting (including hawking) as described in 13th century sources, see Harayama 1972, 4ff.; Katayama 1982; Jacquesson 2000; and below, nn. 54 and 115.

‘Every tree stump (*qoǰi’ulas*) .../Every dead tree (*hünjī’üles*)....’ For *qoǰi’ulas*, plural of *qoǰi’ula* (= mo. *qoǰiyula*, *qoǰuyula*) ‘tree stump’, see Oz¹, I, 152-153, n. 2. *Hünjī’üles* is the plural of *hünjī’üle*, glossed in the interlinear version as ‘dried-up tree’ (乾樹). AT¹, 7a, has *ügǰigüle* (not *üngǰigüle*, as in ATL, 19), no doubt a scribal error for *ün(g)ǰigüle*. Poppe 1969, 271, writes *hünjī’üles* but does not discuss its transcription or

meaning. This term is undoubtedly related to the word *hünjī’ü* of §§ 196, 247, 251 and 272 meaning ‘dead, rotten wood/tree’ (爛木, see Y² Sup. 1, 2a, 13a; Sup. 2, 20b); the form found in AT¹, 110b, is *ünǰigü*, cf. ATL, 181. The ‘*önǰikü*’ of ATI, 78, line 3428, 79, line 3492, and 223a, is not correct. Unfortunately, these forms with initial *h* are likewise not discussed in Pelliot 1925. Pelliot was obviously in doubt regarding the correct reading of the words in question, as can be seen in Pe, 8 (§ 27: *hönǰi’üles*), 71 (§ 196: *hunǰi’u*; n. 5: ‘Corr. *hünǰi’ü*’), 99 (§ 247: *hönǰi’ü*; n. 7: ‘Corr. *hünǰi’ü*’), 101 (§ 251: *hünǰi’ü*). Cl, 129, n. 66 (to § 196), transcribes *hunǰi’u*, not *hünǰi’ü*, but the form with front vocalism is confirmed twice by the AT¹. Nevertheless, there are cases of words containing initial *ü* in Middle and Preclassical Mongolian that underwent a passage from front to back vocalism (e.g. *ümere* > *umara* ‘back, north’). If *hünǰi’ü* > *unǰi’ü*, we obtain a verbal noun in *-γu(l-gü)* from mo. *unǰi-* meaning ‘hanging, droopy.’ See Les., 878b. This interpretation was adopted in Oz¹, IV, 354, 357, n. 6; but it was rejected later by the same author, who reverted to the form *hünǰi’ü* in § 247. See Oz¹, VI, 216, 222-223, n. 7. Ozawa’s explanation of the word *hünǰi’üles* as being the same as *hünǰi’ü* and merely a phonetic calque of *qoǰi’ulas* is, however, not very satisfactory. The etymology of these words, as well as their exact relationship, remains unclear. Cf. Vietze 1990, 385. As for Bodončar’s handling of the birds caught by his hawk, the text says only that he ‘placed’ (*talbiba*) the ducks and wild geese until (*or so that*) all the dead wood (around) stank (of rotting flesh). The sectional summary (Y² 1, 17a) interprets this as meaning that Bodončar ‘hung’ the birds which he could not consume on (the branches of) every withered old tree, so that there was stench all over. Like other investigators, I accepted this interpretation somewhat uncritically. See Ra, I, 122; cf. Pe, 125; Li, 12. However, I now regard it as unjustified and think that what Bodončar did was to *lay* the dead birds on tree stumps and fallen trees around his grass hut. Cf. Cl, 6.

§ 28. Mount Düyiren has not been identified; it is, in all probability, an elevation in the mountainous area between the Onon and the Balji (Balž) Gol. The Tünggelik Stream mentioned in this section apparently is not the river by the same name mentioned in § 5. According to Pêrlée², 9, it corresponds to the present-day Têngelêg Gol, or Ugalzar Têngelêgiin Gol, an affluent of the Balji (see above, n. 24). Cf. Badamxatan 1992, 91; IÊDGMT, 14-15; CKA, 8 (F9), 55b. It is indeed difficult to reconcile the situation of the Tünggelik Qoroqan of § 5 in the Senggür-Kerulen region with that of the Tünggelik Qoroqan in the Balji-Onon region. However, Pelliot seems to have held the view that both § 5 and § 28 refer to the same river. See HCG, 383ff.

'Kumis', i.e. fermented mare's milk (*esüg*). On this beverage see NMP, I, 240; Mo, 26-27; MSR, 149; Underdown 1977.

'To sleep', lit. 'to spend the night' (*qonoqu*).

§ 29. For the correct interpretation of the passage *Tede irgen ... yabulduba*, see Mo, 4-6. See also Cleaves 1955, 28, n. 6, regarding the use of the postponed conjunction *ba ... be*. Cf. Street 1981, 161. For a further elaboration of the story of Bodončar's encounter with that band of people, cf. the Chinese account in YS² 1, 1-2; CH, 9.

§ 31. 'The people said', lit. 'Those people said.'

'Where he spends the night no one really knows' (*maqa qa'a qono* [for *qonon*] *aju'u*), lit. 'Who really knows (*maqa*) where (*qa'a*) he has spent the night?' – a rhetorical question. *Maqa* (= pmo. *mayā*) is a word expressing doubt, often implying a negative answer in interrogative sentences as here ('who knows?' = 'no one knows'); but also possibility and even likelihood ('perhaps, possibly, surely') as in § 189 ad fin. In the preclassical language it is sometimes a synonym of *mayad* 'really, truly.' Both *maqa* and *maqat* (= pmo., mo. *mayad*) appear in the SH. See HW, 106. *Maya* has disappeared in the later literary language, coalescing with mo. *mayad*. See 'Trois

documents', 463, 474; *Matériel II*, 16, 57. In view of the above, I have rendered *maqa* in the SH (§§ 31, 141, 155, 167, 189, etc.; see R, 263a) in different ways according to the context, keeping in mind that this word cannot be semantically disassociated from *maqat*. *Qa'a* 'where' corresponds to pmo. and mo. *qamiya* (~ *qamiya*). The mmo. form *qa'a* of the SH (§§ 31, 83, 174, 194) and the HIIY (IIA, 6a) are due to *qamiya* > *qamā* > *qa'a* > *qā*. For *iya* > *ā*, and *iya* > *iya* (*qamiya* ~ *qamiya*), see IMCS, 64; SG, 198; for *-m-* > *-'*, see IMCS, 102. In Middle Mongolian we find the form *qama* (= *qamā*), as well as *qana* (= *qāna*). See VMI, 42. Cf. the modern forms *xaa*, *xaana* (kh., bur.), *χamā* (kalm.), *χā*, *χāna* (ord.). *Qamā* < *qamiya*; *qāna* < *qā* (< *qamiya*) + the local adverbial suffix *-na/ -ne*; cf. GWM, 58, § 213). See KMG, 44, § 71 (1°). The reading *qamiya* of the SH is confirmed by AT¹, 7b (§ 31), 19b (§ 83) and 64b (§ 174). However, Shi 1, 19a; Oz¹, I, 393; Ba, I, 44; and El-Ar, 50, give the written form of *qa'a* as *qaya* by transcribing *a'a* as *aya* (cf. IMCS, 60). This establishes a form *qaya* alongside *qamiya* which in my view (and *pace* Oz¹, IV, 307, n. 10) is not justified, for the latter is the only form, together with *qamiya*, attested in Preclassical Mongolian. See the Preclassical Mongolian version of the *Hsiao-ching*: *qamiya*; and the fragmentary Mongolian poem from Turfan: *qamiya* (MPrI/2, 110, 186; Poppe 1959/60, 262, 271, n. 29). With regard to Written Mongolian, DO, 320a (s.v. *χā*) gives both *qaya* and *qamiya*. Kow., 804a, gives only *qamiya*, *qamiy-a*, but on p. 732b we find the entry '*qaya yaya* très rarement, de temps en temps, quelquefois', and on p. 819a '*qa-ya, qaya yaya* un jour, parfois, quelquefois, ci et là' (cf. Gol., II, 57c). Les., 905a, has the entry '*xay-a*, 2. See *xamiy-a*, 1. - - *jay-a* = *xa ja* = *xaja*. Here and there, now and then, from time to time, occasionally.' See also *ibid.*, 923b: '*xamiy-a*, 1. [= *xay-a*, 2 = *xa*] adv. Where.' Further, Kow., 736a, registers the entry '*qayasi kereg* quelque chose, d'une manière quelconque; etc.' Les., 907b, has '*xayasi*' referring the reader to '*xamiyasi*'; the entry on p. 924a, '*xayasi*'

is given as an alternative reading. It would thus appear that in Written Mongolian there is, indeed, a word *qay̆a* = *qamĭya*. I doubt this. The word *qay̆a* cited above appears *only* in the compound expression *qay̆a yăya* ‘occasionally’ (kh. *xaayaa*, w.f. *qaya*; cf. Cév., 633b), and as far as I know it is never used independently with the meaning of ‘where?’ I suggest, therefore, that in that compound, *qay̆a* is also a mechanical transcription of the colloquial *qa’a*, *qā* (*χā*), ultimately deriving from *qamĭya* as shown earlier. As for *qay̆asi* in *qay̆asi kereg*, this word is an incorrect form for *qasi*. The correct reading *qasi* (*kereg*) is given in WTCWC, II, 2422; Gol., II, 70c; MKT, 568c; and MKeT, 1209b. Cf. kh. *xaas̆* (w.f. *qasi*) *xer̆eg* in Cév., 633b. Mo. *qasi* (= *qāsi*) < *qamĭyasi* (= *qamĭya* + adv. suff. *-si*; cf. GWM, 59, § 216) ‘to what place?’ Therefore, the form *qay̆a* in DO, 320a, and in *Matériel* I, 85 (following DO) should be deleted; and *qay̆a* in Shi, Oz¹, Ba, and El-Ar should be changed to *qamĭya*. The etymologies given in Poppe 1926, 13, § 5, and SG, 278, are to be amended accordingly. Cf. below, n. 155. For *qono aju’u* instead of *qonon aju’u*, cf. § 168 *quyu büle’e* for *quyun büle’e*. See below, n. 84. For *qono-*, cf. above, n. 28.

‘When the wind blows’, lit. ‘when (*or* if) there is a wind from the north-west (*hörene üm̆ere-eče*). For *üm̆ere-eče*, see Cleaves 1952, 101-102, n. 122.

‘Caught by his hawk’, lit. ‘which he had caused to be caught by the hawk.’

‘Like swirling snow’ renders *burqaliq časun metü*. For the expression *burqaliq* (w.f. *buryaliq* ~ *buryaniq*) *časun*, see Oz¹, I, 164, n. 3.

‘Wait a little!’ (*qorumut güliče*). *Qorumut* is the plural of *qorum* ‘a short time, a moment, an instant’, hence, literally, ‘(a few) moments.’ The word *qorum* occurs at the beginning of § 32. For this word, cf. below, n. 273.

§ 33. ‘It is right (= it is proper, it is necessary) for a body to have a head, and for a coat to have a collar.’ On this proverb, which emphasizes the need for a group of people to have a chief so as

to ensure proper leadership (and, ultimately, the order of society), see Vlad.², 83 and n. 8; TOO, xv, 517 (nos. 155, 156; cf. FO, 539, nos. 155, 156); Aubin 1975, 507 and n. 19; Jackendoff 1977, 28; Khomonov 1981, 57; Cërënsodnom 1986, 79; WTY, 11. (For an old Russian saying which is but a variation on the same theme, cf. the *Lay of Igor’s Campaign* [*Slovo o polku Igoreve*], where we read, ‘It is difficult for a head to be without shoulders. But it is also a misfortune for the body to be without a head.’ See MRECT, 189.) Buqu Qatagi was no doubt acquainted with this saying, but paid no attention to it because he could not relate it to anything: he merely took it as an inane utterance of his simple-minded brother. It should be noted that the term ‘collar’ (*jaqa* – this word can also mean ‘cape’, see Serruys 1957, 154 and n. 56; TMEN, no. 1802) was used metaphorically for ‘leader’, as in § 126. Cf. ch. *ling* 領 ‘neck, collar; to lead’ in expressions like *ling-hsiu* 領袖 ‘collar and sleeve’ → ‘leader.’

‘Did not attach any importance to these words of his’, lit. ‘these words of his, he did not regard them even as anything.’ See Mo, 71. Cf. Street 1990, 179: ‘His elder brother Buqu Qatagi was unable to make anything of that remark of his’; and On, 7, more freely: ‘His words had no effect on his older brother Buqu-qatagi.’

§ 34. ‘When he repeated the same words’, lit. ‘Again, when he spoke the same words.’

‘Ignored them’, lit. ‘not regarding them even as anything.’ Cf. above, n. 33.

‘To which’, lit. ‘at those words.’

‘What kind of words are those you have just been repeating?’, lit. ‘What same words have you been saying since a little while ago?’ *Tuqar* (= mo. *tuyar*) means ‘just (*or* right) now, just; before, earlier, a little while ago’, referring to the immediate past. Cf. Gantogto 1990, 125.

§ 35. ‘High and mean’, lit. ‘head and hoof.’ *Ši’ira* ‘hoof’ = mo. *sigira* id. In general, this term designates that section of the

animal's leg comprising foot, shin and ankle, with the skin (N.P., p.c.). Cf. DO, 621b. See Vlad², 83.

For the verb *ha'ul-* (= pmo. *aγul-*) 'to run, ride ahead or fast (against)' → 'to raid, capture, attack', cf. HW, 63 and 74, 75 (with considerable confusion among the entries); Pelliot 1925, 203-204, no. 5; Mo, 202, n. 184; *Lettres*, 39-40.

§ 36. For the verb *eyetüldü-* 'to take counsel with, consult with', see the pertinent remarks in Cleaves 1986, 193-194, n. 15. Cf. below, n. 191. The account of these events in YS² 1, 2, is shorter and somewhat different. See CH, 9.

§ 37. 'As a scout.' The word *alginči* 'scout, spy' is an important military term and one, like *manglai* 'forehead' → 'vanguard', frequently occurring in the SH (see R, 182a, 262b), sometimes also with the meaning of 'advance guard or party, vanguard' (see, e.g., §§ 123, 179, 195, 276, 279). This word is possibly related to tu. *alqa-*, *alqan-*, *alyan-* 'to praise'; cf. ma. *algindambi* id. < *algin* 'rumour, hearsay, fame, renown' ? > 'knowledge, information, intelligence.' Cf. TH, 90 (= JYT, 160); Če, 287, n. 36. Both *alginči* and its derivative verb *alginčila-* 'to reconnoitre; to be (form) the vanguard' are not found in Written Mongolian and the dialects. They are, in fact, omitted or misunderstood in the AT text of the SH. The word *algin* deserves further investigation. The connotations of the terms *alginči* and *manglai* are discussed in Hasumi 1982 where, however, the explanation of *alginči* is not wholly convincing. Cf. also Róna-Tas 1986, 136-137. For *alginči* 'vanguard', see Poppe 1967, 509, no. 2; Rassadin 1995, 113.

§ 38. 'Reconnoitring', lit. 'as a scout', see above, n. 37.

'To which clan do you belong?', cf. above, n. 15, and *Ordosica*, 53, n. 29.

For the Uriangqai tribe, see above n. 9. Here we are dealing with a branch or subtribe of the Uriangqai called the Adangqa(n) Uriangqai (or Uriangqan/Uriangqat; see above, n. 12); cf. above, n. 8, the case of the Qori Tumat. An Adangqa Uriangqai

tribesman is also mentioned in § 44 as the putative father of Ĵe'üredei. Cf. Jackendoff 1977, 24ff. (however, Jackendoff, p. 24, misinterprets Mostaert in Mo, 5, regarding 'Bodončar's hosts' as being Uriangqais). We have no information about the Ĵarči'ut, but in § 97 the story is told of how Old Ĵarči'udai of the Uriangqai tribe, coming from Burqan Qaldun, brought his son Ĵelme to Temüjin. His name indicates that he was an Uriangqai tribesman of the Ĵarči'ut clan; we may therefore assume that the woman captured by Bodončar was also a member of the same Ĵarči'ut clan, belonging to a subgroup of the Uriangqai, which, as we know, was a tribe spread over a wide territory.

§ 39. 'Got enough livestock, people to serve them, and a place to live', lit. 'attained to livestock and food (*adu'un ide'en*, see above, n. 23), *subject* people and servants (*haran tutqar*), living and dwelling.' For *gür-* 'to reach, attain to' = 'to obtain a sufficiency of', cf. below, n. 118. *Haran tutqar* (= pmo. *aran tudqar*) may be compared to the expression *gergen tutqar* 'domestics and servants' of § 124, and *gergen tudqar* id. of the Preclassical Mongolian version of the *Hsiao-ching*, see Cleaves 1949a, 522-525. The term *haran* (pl. *harat*) = pmo. and mo. *aran*, *arad*, designated both 'the people' = 'the common people', i.e. the ordinary tribesmen, and 'people doing service for others' (= ger. Dienstleute), obviously because this was normally the case with the former group; cf. mo. *aran köbegün* 'serfs, slaves.' However, to render *haran tutqar* merely as 'servants' is, I think, to restrict too much the meaning of this expression. In spite of various attempts to trace the origin of the word *tutqar* 'servant' to Turkic, its etymology remains obscure. Cf. TH, 268 (= JYT, 464); Oz¹, I, 183-184, n. 2. For the term *haran* (*aran*), see Vlad², 280a; HCWLYTT, 152-153, no. 42; VMI, 34; RH, 203, no. 9; Fletcher 1986, 16; and below, n. 147.

From an examination of §§ 23-39 of the SH one can deduce that after Alan Qo'a's death and Bodončar's departure from home the family fortunes must have declined. This may account for Buqu Qatagi's search for Bodončar, and for the subsequent

joint attack on the people who had settled along the Tüנגgelik Stream whereby the family 'attained to' (*gürbe*) a certain prosperity (cf. Jackendoff 1977, 23). Presumably, the inheritance was not substantial in the first place and it is in this light, I think, that Bodončar's exclusion from it can best be explained (as the youngest son he should have received most of the domestic patrimony or 'yurt').

§ 40. From this paragraph on we have more explanations of personal and clan names based on popular etymologies relying, as we noted before, on sound affinity. Thus *Ĵajiradai*, *Ĵadaran* and *Ĵadaradai* are related to the word *ĵat* (= pmo. *ĵad*) meaning 'foreign, other (different)', possibly with the addition of (*h*)*aran* 'people', thus *Ĵadaran* < *ĵad* + (*h*)*aran*. *Ĵajiradai* is the ethnicon of *Ĵajiran* or *Ĵajirat*, a form no doubt related to *Ĵadaran* (pl. **Ĵadarat*) through an intermediate form **Ĵadiran* or **Ĵadirat*. Cf. HCG, 28-29; Oz¹, I, 186, n. 1; Cleaves 1956, 273, n. 784; Poppe 1975, 162; and, on *Ĵadaran* ~ *Ĵajiran*, Bese 1988, 23-24.

For *ebüge* 'ancestor', see *Lettres*, 65.

'Of that *Ĵadaradai*', i.e. 'of that man of the *Ĵadaran* clan', namely *Ĵajiradai*. For the word *ĵat* < tu. *yat* 'foreign, irrelevant', cf. Poppe 1955, 39; MSR, 132; Oz¹, I, 186, n. 1. On the value of these (often fictitious) genealogies, see Pelliot's pertinent remarks in HCG, 344.

For the position of clan members in early Mongol society whose paternity was doubtful, see Vlad.², 64.

In the genealogy given in this section, *Ĵamuqa* of the *Ĵadaran*, the great friend and then rival and foe of Činggis Qan, is only four generations removed from Bodončar. This is certainly incorrect. See HCG, 27. *Qara Qada'an* ('Black Qada'an'): *Qada'an* was a common name in Mongolian, formed on *qada* 'rock' + the denominal noun suffix *-'an* (= *-yan*; see 'Trois documents', 452-453). Cf. HCG, 457b (Index); Rybatzki [2003], s.v. For *qara* 'black' in proper names, see Bese 1974, 92. For *Ĵamuqa*, see below, n. 104; cf. also n. 141.

§ 41. The clan name *Ba'arin* (= pmo. *Bayarin*) and its ethnicon *Ba'aridai* (= pmo. *Bayaridai*) are erroneously related in folk etymology to the verb *bari-* 'to seize, catch; to take by force, abduct', while *Menen* is related to *mene* in the expression *mene metü* which is glossed in the interlinear translation as '(uncomfortably or undesirably) numerous (in terms of times or quantity), overburdened' (繁多). In § 260 the same expression is glossed 'incessantly, pressingly, repeatedly' (頻繁). In Written Mongolian *mene* means 'there! here! suddenly, immediately, just like that, really so.' Cf. Les., 536a; Gol., III, 213b. N. Poppe (p.c.) rendered the expression *mene metü* as 'in the same way, likewise; in great numbers.' Cf. Cleaves' rendering 'as if in heaps' (Cl, 8). Cf. also Oz¹, I, 188, n. 3, 197, n. 1; Cleaves 2001a, 22, n. 11; TH, 224 (= JYT, 386). However, *mene(n)* as such does not seem to be attested in the ancient language and is one of the words deserving further study. As pointed out by Ligeti (Li, 142), the derivation *Ba'arin* < *bari-* is inadmissible. For the *Ba'arin*, see HCG, 34, 300; Cleaves 1956, 202, n. 2; Serruys 1986. On *Ba'aridai* see Poppe 1975, 162, and below, n. 216.

Bökö (= mo. *böke*) means 'strong man, wrestler', wrestlers being then, as now, chosen from among the strongest men in the land. This word has retained both meanings in the living languages and dialects; see, e.g., DO, 85b ad fin.; MED, 63b. Cf. Les., 126b; TMEN, no. 803.

For polygamy in early Mongol society, see Ratchnevsky 1987, 71.

§ 42. 'From *Belgünütei* stemmed the *Belgünüt* clan; from *Bügünütei* the *Bügünüt*; etc.', lit. '*Belgünütei* was the ancestor of those with the clan name *Belgünüt*; *Bügünütei* was the ancestor of those with the clan name *Bügünüt*; etc.'

For the *Belgünüt*, see HCG, 398; Bese 1988, 20; for the *Bügünüt*, see *ibid.*, 21. For *Buqu Qatagi* and the *Qatagin* (< *Qataqin*) ~ *Qadagin*, see the important note by Pelliot, *ibid.*, 393-397; and Poppe 1975, 165. The *Qatagin* were closely

related to the Salji'ut, see HCG, 394, 397-400, and the other references listed on p. 462a; Bese 1988, 33; and Poppe, loc. cit. See also QAGAT, passim. In the present passage the name of the eponymous ancestor is written Buqutu Salji *pro* Buqatu Salji; cf. §§ 17, 19, 23.

Bodončar is presented here as the ancestor of the Borjigin clan – the royal clan of the Mongqol tribe – but the clan name Borjigin is already attested in the ethnicon Borjigidai of Borjigidai Mergen, who was Qarču's son (see § 3) and the great-grandfather of Bodončar. On this question, see HCG, 118; for the Borjigin clan, see also the references given above, n. 3.

§§ 43, 44. According to Rašīd al-Dīn, Bodončar had two sons called Buqa and Buqtai (SL², I/2, 17); Barim Ši'iratu Qabiči is listed (ibid., 29) as the second son of Tumbina Xān, i.e. the Tumbinai Sečen of the SH, §§ 47-48. Barim Ši'iratu, lit. 'Having the Legs the Size of a Fist', i.e. very short-legged, was Qabiči's nickname. See Cleaves 1949a, 506; Bese 1978, 360, no. 9; Būrinbatu 1991, 110, 127. For the title *ba'atur* (= *mo. bayatur*) 'brave, valiant' added to his name, see below, n. 50. According to YS² 1, 2, Bodončar had one son, Barim Ši'iratu Qabiči, who was the father of Menen Tudun. Cf. CH, 9. On Barim Ši'iratu Qabiči's genealogy, see below, n. 45, and Ligeti 1972, 9.

'Bodončar *also* took as concubine a housemaid of Qabiči Ba'atur's mother, who had come as dowry', lit. 'Bodončar took as concubine (*tataju büle'e*) the one who had come as *inje* of Qabiči Ba'atur's mother.' *Inje* is glossed as 'one who follows the bride' (從嫁), i.e. the person who goes with the bride as part of her dowry. These persons were domestic personnel (servants, housemaids, cooks and the like) forming at times entire families and consisting, in the case of the chiefs' daughters, of hundreds of individuals. On this important institution, see the extensive literature cited in n. 208 below.

For *Je'üredei* (ethnicon of *Je'üret*) and the *Je'üret*, see HCG, 448a (Index); Poppe 1975, 162. It is not clear whether *Je'üret*

should be read *Je'ürēt* in view of AT¹, 8b: *Jegüriyed*. Cf. HCG, 142; St, 8, n. 69; Γa, 15: *Jegüred*; Će, 43: *Jegüriyed*. The text actually has *Jeüret* (= *Je'üret*). Cf. the forms *niuća* for *ni'uća*, *Mau* for *Ma'u*, etc. See below, n. 170. For the clan name *Je'üreyit*, cf. also Poppe 1975, 166.

'Could take part in the *Jügelī*', lit. 'was in the position (*oron*) of having *Jügelī*', i.e. was eligible to participate in the sacrifice. This is the interpretation of the words *Jügelitü oron büle'e* proposed by N. Poppe (p. c.). For the reading *jügelī-dur* for *jügelitü*, originally proposed by Shiratori (see Shi 1, 25b), and *oron* taken as *converbium modale* of *oro-* 'to enter' following the Chinese interlinear gloss, see Oz¹, I, 190, 193, n. 6 (1). *Jügelī-dur* is the reading found in AT¹, 8b; however, none of the editions of Y supports the emendation nor does the interlinear gloss indicate that this word is in the dative-locative case. The reading *jükeli-dü* of Bese 1986, 241, is unlikely because the suffix *-tul-iü* (*-dul-dü*) is unknown to the language of the SH and the HIIY, although attested in the MA. See R, 218a, 320a; SMD, 38; Kuribayashi 2002. Whatever the reading (still doubtful), the meaning of the sentence is not affected and is perfectly clear.

The term *jügelī* designating this particular ceremony is glossed in the interlinear translation as 'to hang meat on (lit. "with") a pole and sacrifice to Heaven' (以竿懸肉祭天). For the etymology of *jügelī* (= *jükeli*), see the remarks in Bese 1986, 242-243, and below, n. 272. The word *jüküli* is registered in Kow., 2424a, with the first meaning of 'mouton suspendu au bout d'une perche par les chamans.' In Buriat, the first meaning of *zүxeli* (obs.) is 'the hide of a sacrificial animal with the head and legs (raised on a long pole).' See BRS, 270b. For a more detailed description we must turn to BŠDT, 55b-56a. According to this work, *zүxeli* consists of the head, the four limbs, the skin and the tail of the sacrificial animal, cut off from the body and in the fashion of a stuffed animal, which is placed on a birch pole stuck firmly in the ground. The head of the animal is decorated

with many-coloured ribbons and fir bark is placed between its teeth. The animal is left on the pole until it is totally disintegrated through rotting and weathering. The beliefs relating to this ceremony among the Buriats as described in BŠDT show a contamination with Buddhism (concept of transmigration) which must be due to later influence. For further details and bibliographical references to this sacrifice, see the informative article by Bese on the subject (Bese 1986). As indicated by the historical data collected by Boyle, this form of sacrifice, in which the victim is usually a horse, was widely practised among various peoples of Inner Asia from ancient until recent times as a funeral ceremony and as an offering to Heaven, i.e. to the Sky-God Tengri. See Boyle 1965 (esp. pp. 147-150); Tomka 1965, 173-174. Although the Chinese gloss referred to above confirms that *jügelü* was indeed a sacrifice to Heaven, Ligeti is no doubt right in assuming that in this particular case it may have been one offered to the ancestors of the family or the tribe, since *Ĵe'üredei* was excluded from it because he did not really belong to the family (see § 44). See Li, 142-143, n. 43. Cf. also QAGAT, 6 et passim. Poppe (p.c.) saw this sacrifice still carried out among the Ekhirit-Buriats of the Baikal in 1932. See Bese 1986, 243 and n. 3. Cf. IBŠ, 249; Chiodo 1992, 133; Gantogtox 1994, 147-150.

Regarding the paternity of *Ĵe'üredei*, cf. the doubts surrounding the paternity of Alan Qo'a's three sons born after the death of Dobun Mergen, their paternity attributed to 'the man of the Ma'aliq Baya'ut' (§ 18). In the present instance, it was the case of a son (*Ĵajiradai*) siring a child (*Ĵe'üredei*) from one of his father's secondary wives. This must have been a fairly common occurrence. For the Adangqa Uriangqai, see above, n. 38. Cf. Jackendoff 1977, 24-26.

'Was constantly in the house (lit. "in the tent").' For *daru'a* (= pmo. *daruṣa*) 'constantly', see Cleaves 1953a, 246-249; idem 2001c, 99, n. 102.

'They made him take the clan name *Ĵe'üreyit*.' As noted by Aubin 1975, 561, n. 86, it seems that in the ancient Mongol

society it was the custom for an illegitimate son of a noble household to leave the family at the time of the division of the family patrimony and to establish a new clan, of which he became the eponymous ancestor. Cf. Vlad.², 63.

The names *Ĵe'üredei*, *Ĵe'üreyit* and *Ĵe'üret* are all related, in popular etymology and merely on assonance, with the word *jügelü*.

§ 45. The genealogy given in this section is at variance with that found in AT and SL. See *Chapitre CVII*, 14-17, nn. 6, 9, 11; Ligeti 1972, 9-10 and n. 17; HCG, 54, 65, 75, 167; and below, n. 46.

For the epithet *tudun* (an old Turkic title of Chinese origin) in the name Menen Tudun, see TMEN, no. 1194; Ecsedy 1965, 89; de Rachewiltz 1969, 285, n. 16; Bese 1974, 94-95; and, most important, Oda 1987. The names *Qači*, *Qači'u* and *Qači'un* are regarded as variants of the noun *qači(n)* 'strange'; see Bese 1974, 93. For the etymology of *Qači'un* see HCG, 395.

For *Qaraldai* (< *qara* 'black' + *-ldai*), see Poppe 1975, 163. Cf. above, n. 40.

For *küliik* (= mo. *küliig*) 'steed' → 'hero' and its etymology, see HCG, 340; NHHO, 59; Poppe 1955, 40; TMEN, no. 1686.

For the word *načün* 'falcon (*Falco peregrinus*)', see TMEN, no. 1728; Mo, xviii.

§ 46. The genealogy given in this section is again at variance with those found in other sources. According to the SH, Qaidu was the son of Mother Nomolun (Nomolun Eke), wife of *Qači Küliik*; however, according to Rašid al-Dīn (SL², I/2, 18-20), Monolun (= Nomolun) was the wife of Dutum Menen (= Menen Tudun), from whom she had nine children, Dutum Menen being the son of Buqa, Bodončar's eldest son. According to the AT, *Qabiči* (called Barim Sigiratu *Qabiči Bayatur* = SH Barim Ši'iratu *Qabiči*) had a son named Bekir Bayatur, not mentioned in the SH, who was the father of Maqa Tudun (= Menen Tudun). Menen Tudun married Nomalun Torγun (= Nomolun Eke), mother of his seven children. Cf. AT¹, 8b; Ligeti 1972, 9-10,

and n. 17. According to YS² 1, 2, Menen Tudun's wife Monolun also bore seven children. The story of Monolun and her children has no counterpart in the SH. Indeed, both Rašīd al-Dīn and the YS have a lot to say about Monolun/Nomolun, Način (~ Najin – according to Rašīd's account the uncle of Qaidu, but according to YS an elder brother of Qaidu's) and Monolun's youngest son Qaidu. See YS² 1, 2-3. Cf. CW, 12-14; EM, 37-40. On Rašīd's authority, supported by the YS (YS² 1, 3), Qaidu is the first Mongol tribal chief to establish control over other tribes and to assume, on the strength of that, the title of *qan*. See SL², I/2, 20ff. It should be noted, however, that no such title is conferred on him by the SH account. For the name Nomolun (Monolun through metathesis), formed on *nomon* 'mole-rat or rodent mole (*Myospalax*)' + the denominal noun suffix *-lun*, see Poppe 1975, 164; Bese 1980, 319, no. 9; and Rybatzki [2003], s.v.

The origin of the clan name Noyakin and of the name of its founder Noyagidai is explained on the basis of popular etymology with the word *noyamšik* (= *noyamšiq*; pmo. *noyamsi*?) 'acting like a chief', or 'prendre des aires de noble' [A.M.]. Cf. On, 9: 'lordly.' For the term *noyan*, see above, n. 8. On the Noyakin, see HCG, 33. Cf. Poppe 1975, 165; Bese 1988, 28-29. Likewise the Barulas and its chief Barulatai were so called because the latter was a 'voracious eater' (or 'glutton': *baruq*). For this clan name, see Poppe, loc. cit.; Bese, loc. cit. On the word *baruq* and the name Barulas, cf. Ligeti 1966, 132, 136, n. 22; TMEN, no. 86. For the Barulas, see also Grupper 1992/94. *Erdemtü* means 'knowledgeable, able'; and the meaning of *tödö'en* is probably 'belt loops on trousers.' Cf. HCG, 126, 157; Les., 831b-832a. The Buda'at got their name because they did not observe seniority (lit. 'did not have a head [= chief]') when they cooked (lit. 'stirred') porridge (*buda'an*, mo. *budayan*, 'gruel made with millet'). The meaning is: at mealtimes they did not observe distinctions of rank and rules of precedence, and each one tried to grab as much of the food as possible [A.M.]. Cf. Ligeti 1971, 145; for the Buda'at,

see HCG, 64-65. The Adargin, or Adarkin, and their clan founder Adarkidai, got theirs because Adarkidai 'spread slanders' (*adar-*) among his brothers. Adarkidai is called Adar Mergen in SL², I/2, 30-31. For the name Adar, cf. Cleaves 1951, 93, n. 103. For this clan name and Adarkidai, see Poppe 1975, 162, 165; Bese 1988, 17-18. On the passage relating to this clan and the corresponding passage in the AT, see Ligeti 1972; cf. Mo, 169-172, n. 155. See also § 164.

For the Uru'ut and the Mangqut, see HCG, 32-33, 167-169; Šastina 1975, 234-235; Bese 1988, 39 and 27-28 respectively.

Doqoladai (= Doḡoladai < *doḡolang*) means 'lame, limping.' Cf. 'Trois documents', 473; Mo, 103; Poppe 1975, 162.

§ 47. Bai Šingqor Doqšin means 'As Fierce (or Cruel) as the Rich Gerfalcon.' See Cleaves 1949a, 507. 'Rich Gerfalcon' (*bai šingqor* < tu. *bay* 'rich' and mmo. *šingqor* 'gerfalcon') is the designation of a particular bird of prey, which however cannot be identified with any degree of certainty. In modern Turkish it designates the lanner falcon (*Falco biarmicus*) of Asia Minor, but the lanner is not found in Central Asia and Mongolia. See TEL, 1195b, s.v. 'sungur.' Cf. VWTD, IV, 1940. On *šingqor*, see also below, n. 54. For a different interpretation of the name Bai Šingqor Doqšin, see Bese 1978, 357-358, no. 6.

Regarding the passage on Čaraqai Lingqu, the text actually reads 'The sons of Čaraqai Lingqu, Senggüm Bilge and (-*tan*; see below, n. 72) Ambaqai, took the clan name Tayiči'ut.' However, Ambaqai was not the son of Čaraqai, but of Senggüm Bilge (cf. the sectional summary in Y² 1, 29b; and § 52); as shown by Pelliot (Pelliot 1940/41, 5-7; HCG, 132-133), the text has a lacuna at this point which can be filled by the corresponding section in ATⁱ, 9b. The amended text reads: *Čaraqai Lingqu-yin kö'ün Senggüm Bilge büle'e Senggüm Bilge-yin kö'ün Ambaqai Qa'an teri'üten Tayiči'ut oboqtan bolba*. Cf. Li, 143, n. 47; Ligeti 1972, 9; Clark 1978, 42-43; MNTLAT, 16. Street 1986/87, 35 (43), renders the SH passage: 'The son of Charaqay-lingqu was Senggüm-bilge; [he], with

others including [his son] Ambaqay, formed the Tayichiud clan.' However, this rendering is forcing the grammar of the text. On Čaraqai Lingqu (< *lingqum* << ch. *ling-kung* 令公, a polite designation of the Grand Secretary, here used as an honorary title), see HCG, 23-24; *Chapitre CVII*, 11-12, n. 2; 13-14, n. 5. For Čaujin Örtegei see below. In the name Tumbinai Sečen, *sečen* is the epithet ('wise, prudent'; see TMEN, n. 207). In Ev-Pop, 47, Tumbinai is rendered as 'Mafflu', i.e. 'Heavy-jowled', but I do not know on what authority. On this personage, see HCG, 53, 54, 65; and below, n. 48. The name Senggüm Bilge is composed of *senggüm* (< *senggün* << ch. *hsiang-kung* 相公, a polite designation of the minister and also a complimentary title given to members of the gentry) and of the epithet *bilge*, a Turkic borrowing meaning 'wise.' See HCG, 334, 250; and Pelliot 1930b, 45-46; idem 1944b, 54; TMEN, nos. 1221, 1274; HCSL, 434; Pritsak 1988, 770. On Senggüm Bilge, cf. also HCG, 14, 132-133; and below, n. 162.

On Ambaqai ('Isalai' in AT¹, 9b – the Hambaqāi Qāān of Rašid al-Dīn) and the important Tayiči'ut tribe, see HCG, 464b and 465b, s.vv. 'Taiči'ut', 'Taičiut' and 'Tayiči'ut'; Poppe 1975, 165; Clark 1978, 33-39; Yoshida 1986; S. Šinkevič in MNT, I, 61-69; and below, n. 52. For the section devoted to the Tayiči'ut in Rašid's work, see SL², I/1, 180-183; for Ambaqai and his descendants, cf. also *ibid.*, I/2, 22ff. Ambaqai's widows are mentioned in § 70.

For the SH form *berigen* (= mo. *bergen*) 'wife of an elder brother', cf. dag. *berigen* id. See TMEN, no. 88; Pürėvžav & Baasanbam 1996, 157. The word *berigen* is in assonance with the name Besütei and the Bəsüt clan, on which see HCG, 156; cf. DO, 67b.

On Čaujin (AT¹, 9b id.) Örtegei and his descendants, from whom originated several important clans, such as the Oronar, Qongqotan, Arulat, Sönit, Qabturqas and Geniges, see the relevant entries in HCG; *Chapitre CVII*, 12-13, n. 3; Hambis 1975, 40-41; TMEN, no. 18 (Arulat); CLC, 54-60; and Bese

1988, 32 (Qabturqas). Cf. also Cleaves 1949a, 507. (The reading Ča'uĵin in Cl, 10, is incorrect.)

For the lineage of Qaidu, from his three children to Yisügei and Dāritai Otčigin, see the section in *Chapitre CVII*, 10-20, which contains the important commentary by Pelliot.

§ 48. The information handed down by Rašid al-Dīn continues to be at variance with that of the SH. The former ascribes nine sons to Tumbinai Sečen, two of whom (the sixth and fourth respectively) correspond to the Sem Sečüle and Qabul Qa'an (*read* Qan) of the SH. See SL², I/2, 29-30. However, the SH form Sem Sečüle is erroneous; the correct form of the name is Sam (*or* Sem ?) Qačula(i). See Cleaves 1949a, 507-508; Pelliot's remarks in HCG, 53-55, and *Chapitre CVII*, 14-15, n. 7; 16, n. 10, also with regard to the conflicting genealogies. As noted by Pelliot, in the genealogical tradition there has been an obvious confusion between the lineage of Menen Tudun and Tumbinai: in SL², I/2, 30, Sam (Sem) Qačulai is actually called Sam (Sem) Qači'un, the second element of this name being in reality the name of Menen Tudun's fifth son and the father of Adarkidai (see above, n. 45).

For Bültečü (*read* Bultaču) Ba'atur, see HCG, 54-55. His son was Mergen Sečen, whose name is suppressed in the SH. Rašid is also silent about him. However, his name has been preserved in the AT (AT¹, 9b). Cf. Ligeti 1972, 10.

Qabul is erroneously called *qa'an*; he was only a *qan*, like Qutula (who in the SH is twice called Qutula Qa'an and three times Qutula Qan). Cf. above, n. 1; and YS² 1, 3, where he is correctly named Qabul Qan. There is a fairly long account on Qabul Qan in SL², I/2, 32-36; he, like his great-grandfather Qaidu, obviously played an important role in Mongol tribal history before Činggis Qan. Cf. EM, 40-43; ČK¹, 8-9 (= ČK², 9, 10); and below, n. 52.

As for Qabul's lineage, Rašid's account also ascribes seven sons to him. On them, see the relevant entries in HCG (in particular pp. 19-21, 66-67, 76-78, 117-118); *Chapitre CVII*, 17-

19, nn. 12-18. For the eldest son Ökin Barqaq (= pmo. Barqaγ), elsewhere called Ökin Baraqaq, see the account of his capture by the Tatars and the cruel death ordered by the Chin court in SL², I/2, 33 (cf. EM, 44); see also below, nn. 53 and 139. Qutuqtu Mönggür (id. § 50) is called Qutuqtu Möngler in § 140. Some components of their names are titles or epithets, such as *ba'atur*, *qa'an* (for *qan*), *qutuqtu* 'blessed, favoured (by Heaven)' (see below, n. 105) and *otčigin*, the designation of the youngest son as the custodian or keeper of the family 'fire', i.e. the hearth and, by extension, the yurt *sensu lato*; in other words, the family domain or apanage. Mongolian *otčigin* < tu. *ot + tigin* (> *čigin*) 'fire-prince' (cf. tu. *otqan* = *ot + qan* 'fire-sovereign'), i.e. lord or master of the hearth. On this important term, see Vlad.², 60 et passim; TMEN, no. 38; HCG, 176-177; SWPB, 80-84; Temir 1981; and below, n. 60.

Qulan means 'wild ass, onager', i.e. *Equus hemionus* (the kulan or dziggetai), here as elsewhere used as a proper name. See HCG, 125; Mo, xviii; Rybatzki [2003], s.v.; and below §§ 197, 257. For the term *qulan* (pl. *qulat*, see § 188, etc.), cf. Poppe 1955, 41; TMEN, no. 1574; RH, 223, no. 25; and Colmon 2002, 166-167.

§ 49. Qutuqtu (= pmo. Qutuγtu) Yürki is an error for Sorqatu Yürki or Jürki. Cf. §§ 122, 139. See Pelliot 1930a, 200; *Chapitre CVII*, 17, n. 12; Cleaves 1949a, 508. Seče Beki is probably to be read Sača Beki, cf. §§ 122, 123 et passim. On him see HCG, 66-67, 179-180. *Beki* was an important Mongol title and there are several personages holding it who are mentioned in the SH: Toqto'a Beki, Bilge Beki, etc. See RWMNT, 36-37. According to Vladimircov (Vlad.², 60-62), we should distinguish *beki* from *begi*, the latter being a title conferred only on princesses. Pelliot had reservations on this question, cf. *TP* 28:1931, 231; Pelliot 1935, 916, 931, n. 24, 933, n. 30; HCG, 180; cf. also Pelliot 1930b, 49-51. Doerfer (TMEN, nos. 114 and 828) goes so far as to actually deny the existence of a Mongolian form *begi*, but *begi* is well attested in

the Chinese sources, such as the SWCCL, the YS, and others, where the transcription *pieh-chi* 別吉 = *begi*, not *beki*. The reliability of the Chinese transcription can of course be questioned, particularly in view of the fact that in most cases where the SWCCL has *begi* the SH has *beki*; furthermore, while for example the title of Tolui's wife Sorqaytani (= pmo. Sorqaytani) is regularly *begi* in Chinese (except for the SH, cf. § 186), the Persian sources always write *bēki*. However, the SH form *beki* is not conclusive, because in the SH system of transcription mo. *g* is often rendered by *k* (e.g. SH *niken* for *nigen*, *ketül-* for *getül-*, etc.; see 'Quelques problèmes', 240-243); moreover, *begi* 'princess' is the form also found in the earliest Mongol-Chinese vocabulary (MKIY, 8a; cf. Kara 1990, 284). *Begi* cannot, therefore, be dismissed as an aberrant form. I think that we are dealing here with the one and only honorific title conferred on both men and women (cf. eng. 'the Honourable'), and with a clear case of alternation *beki* ~ *begi* (for a completely hypothetical *böke* ~ *beki*, cf. IBŠ, 264-265). In my view, this alternation reflects the phonetic bias of the early transcribers – often persons of Turkish background (or who used Uighurs and other Turks as informants) – who were probably influenced by the well-known Turkic title *beg* 'noble, lord' (on which cf. Pritsak 1988, 764); moreover, in Uighur-Mongol script *beki* and *begi* are indistinguishable. (It is not even clear whether the name, or epithet, transliterated as P'KY occurring in Old Turkic proper names should be read *Begi* or *Beki*. Cf. CBBMP, 111a; DTS, 91b, s.v. 'begi'; see also BT, II, 367a.) This problem deserves further investigation.

For Taiču, see HCG, 66-67, 180-181.

As for the clan Yürki ~ Jürki, often mentioned in the SH as the Jürkin or 'the Jürkin people', its subsequent clash with Činggis Qan, and the defeat and death of Sača Beki and Taiču are described in §§ 130-136. Cf. also § 139 for the folk etymology of their clan name.

§ 50. According to the SH, Bartan Ba'atur had four sons, of whom Yisügei Ba'atur, Činggis Qan's father, was the third one – a fact confirmed by the Chinese and Persian sources. See Pelliot 1940/41, 13. According to the AT¹, 9b-10a, Bartan Ba'atur's sons were five (the four listed by the SH plus Mergen Yeketei), Yisügei being the first born. As shown by Pelliot (op. cit., 12-17), the AT text is the result of an early interpolation. In the same passage the AT mentions Süčigil Üjin (? Süjigil Üjin), 'Lady Süčigil (or Süjigil)', as being the mother of Bartan Ba'atur's five sons. Further on (AT¹, 13b), a Sučigil (? Sujigil) Eke, 'Mother Sučigil (? Sujigil)', is mentioned as the 'second wife' (*nököge gergei*) of Yisügei Ba'atur and the mother of Begter and Belgetei (= Belgütei), the two half-brothers of Činggis Qan. Pelliot (op. cit., 17) is inclined to think that the original text of the SH, in the passage corresponding to that of the AT (i.e. § 60), may indeed have contained the name of Yisügei's second wife Sučigil (or Sujigil) Eke, and that the latter could therefore not have been the wife of Bartan Ba'atur, as stated in the earlier, interpolated passage. On Sučigil or Sujigil, see below, n. 56, and § 60 and com.

Mönggetü (~ Münggetü) Kiyan: on him see also §§ 120, 213; and *Chapitre CVII*, 19, n. 19. For the name Kiyan, cf. § 67, where Yisügei Ba'atur is also called Yisügei Kiyan, i.e. Yisügei the Kiyan. Kiyan was, apparently, the *yasun*-lineage (on *yasun*, see above, n. 9) to which those having the *oboq*-clan name Borjigin belonged; however, as pointed out by Pelliot, the name Kiyan originates with the offspring of Bartan Ba'atur, whereas that of Borjigin goes back to Bodončar (§ 42). See HCG, 117-118, 121-123. Rašid al-Dīn and the YS have preserved different traditions, and it is not clear whether the Kiyat (pl. of Kiyan) were the descendants of one of the legendary leaders of the people who had sought refuge in the Ergene Qun (see above, n. 1), whose name according to Rašid's account was Qiyan, or whether the Kiyan lineage originates with either Qabul Qan or Bartan Ba'atur. See Rašid's statements that Qabul Qan's 'children and grandchildren are called Kiyat' (SL², I/2, 32), and

that all the Kiyat descend from Mönggetü Kiyan, i.e. from Bartan Ba'atur's son (ibid., 49). This complex question, and the relationship between the Kiyan (Kiyat) and the Borjigin, has been discussed in Vlad.², 89; Yamaguchi 1951; Tamura 1973; and Murakami 1985. Mönggetü means 'Who Has Beauty Spots (or Moles).' *Möngge* = mo. *mengge* 'beauty spot, mole, birthmark.' See HCG, 117; TMEN, no. 378. Cf. below, n. 68.

For Nekün Taiši, see HCG, 184-185. For the title *taiši* of Chinese origin (*t'ai-shih* 太師 'Grand Instructor' > mmo. *taiši*, pmo. *taiši* > mo. *tayisi*, where *s* = *š*), see Pelliot 1930b, 44-45; Tsen CM 1935, 446-475; HCG, 13, 149-151, 184; Ecsedy 1965, 89, 90; TMEN, no. 249; Serruys 1977. It should be noted that here, as elsewhere in the SH (§§ 53, 54, 56, 58, 122, 130, 152, 170, 171, 177, 179), this title is confused with that of *t'ai-tzu* 太子 'Heir Apparent' (mmo. *taidzhi*, *taiši*; pmo. *taiši* [where *s* = *š*] > mo. *tayiji*). Cf. MMHS, 114, Note 137; Cleaves 1964/65, 55-56, n. 32; Kara 1964, 162, n. 45. Whereas in R I adopted the transcription *taiši* to conform with the *t'ai-tzu* of Y, in the present translation I have restored the correct original reading *taiši* (which is confirmed by Rašid al-Dīn) throughout.

On the basis of the Chinese transcription, the name of Činggis Qan's father can be read either Yisügei or Yesügei, and scholars' opinions are divided on this point. See HCG, 1-2. I have opted in favour of the former mainly on the strength of the reading Yisüngge of the so-called 'Stone of Chingis', i.e. the stele in honour of Činggis Qan's nephew Yisüngge, and the form Yisügei of the AT. See de Rachewiltz 1974, 191; idem 1976, 500, n. 24. Moreover, the word for 'nine' from which these names derive is regularly written *yisün*, not *yesün*, in Preclassical Mongolian. Cf., e.g., Weiers 1967, 16, Text A, line 1; Herrmann & Doerfer 1975, 70, line 28. Cf. also Bese 1974, 92-93. The Persian-Arabic transcriptions are ambiguous in this respect, but al-'Umarī has Yisūkai (MW, 92), and so has the *Mu'izz*. Finally, RH, 242, no. 3, gives likewise *yisun*. I think that although the Preclassical Mongolian form of the name was undoubtedly Yisügei, the contemporary Middle Mongolian

pronunciation may well have been Yisügei ~ Yesügei, the alternation *yi-* ~ *ye-* reflecting dialect variations. See IMCS, 41, 127, 162, 246.

As for the title *ba'atur* (= pmo., mo. *baɣatur* < tu. *batur*, *baɣatur*) 'brave, valiant' which Yisügei bore (like his father), it is one of the most common epithets of the steppe 'aristocracy', either acquired through personal merit or by belonging to a noble lineage – hence one usually borne also by tribal chiefs. It has, of course, military connotations. See Vlad.², 93, 280 et passim; TMEN, no. 817; ED, 313b. Cf. also BT, II, 366b; and below, n. 192. Yisügei never bore the title of *qan* in his lifetime; it was conferred on him posthumously. Cf. ČK¹, 14 and n. 62.

Dāritai Otčigin, the most famous of Činggis' uncles, is called *otčigin* because he was the youngest son of Bartan Ba'atur; cf. above, n. 48. On Dāritai, whose name appears also in the form Da'aritari (> Dāritai, §§ 154, 242) meaning 'Who Has Sores', see *Chapitre CVII*, 19-20, n. 22; 20-22; HCG, 68; Bese 1974, 92.

Büri Bökö means Büri (< tu. *böri* 'wolf') the Strong, *bökö* ~ *böke* being the regular designation of an unusually strong man or athlete, hence the extended meaning of 'wrestler' that it eventually acquired. Cf. TMEN, no. 803. For Büri Bökö and the incident involving Činggis' half-brother Belgütei, see § 131; for another confrontation with Belgütei and Büri's death, see § 140. On him cf. also HCG, 189-190.

'Who split open' renders *qangqas čabčiqsan*. Cf. § 131 *qangqas čabčiju'u*. AT¹ (10a, 36a) has in both instances *qaya* 'asunder', an 'intensifying adverbial particle placed before verbs expressing breaking or cleaving' (Les., 905a) instead of *qangqas*. However, *qaya* is not *qangqas*. On the latter term, see Oz¹, I, 208, n. 1; TH, 164 (= JYT, 286). I am not convinced by the interpretations proposed so far and my rendering is therefore mainly (but not entirely) based on the Chinese interlinear glosses. I would like to draw attention to Kozin's statement that *qanqas* (i.e. *qangqas*) = mo. *χamχa* (i.e. *qamqa*). See Ko, 540,

593. Mo. *qamqa*, *kemke* means 'into pieces, asunder' (Les., 451b), and *qamqala-*, *kemkele-* 'to break to pieces, smash; to make a dent' (ibid.). I suggest that the relationship between SH *qangqas* and mo. *qamqa* (< *qangqa*) is the same as that between SH *qaqas* (= *qayās*) and mo. *qaya*, or between SH *ququs* (= *ququs*) and mo. *ququ*. For these words, and the function of the suffix *-s*, see below, nn. 55, 72 and 101. Cf., however, Murayama 1951, 52; and Oz¹, I, 208, n. 1.

'In the forest (*tün-tür*) by (lit. "of") the Onan', i.e. by or along the Onan (= Onon) River. The forest in question is the one mentioned in §§ 130 and 136. In § 81 the story is told of how Činggis, then Temüjin, having been captured by the Tayiči'ut, was taken to their camp which at that time was near 'the forest of the Onan' (see also the reference to this forest in § 82). From §§ 129-130 we can infer that the forest was in the area of the Jerene Gorge (Jerene Qabčiqai) where Temüjin sought refuge after the defeat at Dalan Baljut. We are, therefore, in the mountainous region south and south-east of Burqan Qaldun (Khentei Khan) between the Kerulen and Senggür rivers and the basin of the Onon. Clearly, by 'the forest of the Onan' was meant the wooded area along the upper course of the Onon, where the river meets its first right-hand affluents such as the Egin (Égiin) Gol and the Barkhu (Barxiin) Gol. This area is indeed known for its dense and rich vegetation; see Murzaev, 411. The word for 'forest' (mo. *oi*, *siɣui*) is *tün*, a rare word with, apparently, the specific connotation of a wooded area along a river. Cf. the *Tu'ula-yin Qara Tün*, or 'Black Forest by the Tu'ula', of § 96 et passim. There remains some uncertainty even with regard to its reading: *tün* or *tun* (Cleaves, for example, reads *tun*; see Cl, 256b). The reading *tün*, adopted here, is based on the consistent spelling of the word in the AT and on the form *tüing* (< *tün*) 'thick forest' of the Juu-uda Khorchin dialect of Inner Mongolia. See AT¹, 9b, 35b; TH, 271 (= JYT, 469-470). Cf. also Pelliot's remarks in HCG, 258.

§ 51. The eldest son of Qutula Qa'an (*read Qan*) was called Joči, like the eldest son of Činggis Qan. Both the reading and the meaning of this name have been subjects of controversy. Scholars are still divided on whether one should read Joči or Jöči: Mostaert, Cleaves, Ligeti, Ratchnevsky, Ozawa, Eldengtei, Ardaĵab, Onon, Street and Taube have adopted the former; Pelliot, Hambis, Aubin, Gaadamba, Cérénsodnom, and Even and Pop the latter. The problem is discussed in detail in NHHO, 10-28. Cf., however, ČK¹, 31, n. 124, where Ratchnevsky, siding with Poppe (*HJAS* 13:1950, 265) and Doerfer (TMEN, no. 167), is in favour of the reading Joči, which I also think is the correct one, the meaning almost certainly being 'guest (of honour).'

Girma'u is the Girmiġu or Kirmiġu of AT¹, 10a. If we split this name into two words, i.e. Gir Ma'u, as Ozawa does, its meaning would be 'Dirt Bad' – certainly an unusual name, but not impossible. See Oz¹, I, 210; cf. HCG, 125, and Murakami's remarks in Mu, I, 64, n. 20. Whereas Rašid al-Dīn knows the first and third sons of Qutula, whom he calls Jöči Xān and Āltān respectively, he makes no mention of the second. Cf. HCG, 124-125. For Altan ('Gold'), who appears in § 122 with the epithet *otčigin* (being the youngest son; see above, n. 48), see *ibid.*, 125. In the YS, the genealogical line goes from Qaidu to his son Bai Šingqor, to Tumbinai, Qabul Qan (!), Bartan and the latter's son Yisügei. See YS² 1, 3.

Qulan of § 48 is called here Qulan Ba'atur. As for Yeke Čeren (? Čaran), he is mentioned again in §§ 169, 187, 202 and 219, always in connection with Badaï and Kišilik, the two herdsmen who, by reporting to Činggis Qan the words spoken by their master, rendered him such a great service that they were subsequently rewarded with the title and privileges of *darqan* ('freeman'). See §§ 169 and 187 for the account of their deed and Činggis' reward, and my remarks in n. 169 concerning the name Yeke Čeren. The name Badaï is attested in Rašid al-Dīn's work, but that of the second herdsman is consistently written Qišliq, i.e. Kišliq. See SL², I/1, 171; I/2, 124, n. 7. The Chinese

transcriptions can be interpreted either way, but in at least two instances (HYC, B, 7a; YS² 136, 3291) they support the form Kišiliq. AT¹ has Kisiliġ throughout, see *loc. cit.* et *passim* (cf. ATI, 197a). On the strength of Rašid's text I adopted the form Kišliq in my earlier translation and in R, like Haenisch and Ligeti had done in their translations. Although Pelliot 1930b, 32, writes: 'Badaï et Qišliq (Qišliq dans l'*Histoire secrète*)', his transcription and translation of the SH have Kišiliq (Pe, 10, 128). The form adopted by Ligeti in his transcription of the text is Kišilik (L², 33), whereas Ozawa has Kišilig (Oz¹, I, 210), and Cleaves Kišiliġ (Cl, 247a). Vlad.², 87, writes Qišliq. I think that the original form of the name was indeed Kišiliq < tu. *kišilik* 'kindliness.' See ED, 754a; DTS, 310b.

The two Kereyit herdsmen were made *darqan* (pl. *darqat*), a title rendered somewhat inadequately as 'freeman', cf. Cl, 11 et *passim*; perhaps a better rendering would be 'privileged.' If under bondage, the person to whom this title was granted – usually as a reward for meritorious services – was released from servitude and enjoyed special hereditary privileges, such as exemption from taxes as well as remission of punishment for infringements of the law (*ĵasaq*) up to nine times (see below, n. 203). The institution of *darqan* is one of the cornerstones of Mongol medieval society and much has been written about it and its Turkish antecedents. See Vlad.², 281a; Pelliot 1930b, 32-33; Li, 164-165, n. 187; TMEN, no. 879; BT, II, 375a; CLC, 18-46; Etani 1963; HCWLYTT, 170-185, no. 50; Wang MS 1969; Róna-Tas 1986, 135; Pritsak 1988, 774; YShi, 26-27; Bazin & Hamilton 1991, 12, 15-16. Additional references can be found in the works of the Yüan authors. For Badaï and Kišiliq, see also Vlad.², 86-87, 125; and below n. 187.

For *uruq* 'family, kin', hence 'issue', cf. above, n. 11.

§ 52. 'Qabul Qa'an (*read Qan*) ruled over all the Mongols' (*qamuq Mongqol-i Qabul Qa'an meden aba*). For the tribal name Mongqol (= pmo., mo. Mongyol) 'Mongol', see above, n. 3. This sentence and the reference in the same section to

Ambaqai's rule over 'all the Mongols' (*qamuq Mongqol*) have been the subject of controversy. On the basis of this passage, some modern Mongolian and Soviet scholars have in fact assumed that there existed a large and important grouping consisting of 'Mongol' clans proper, ruled in succession by Qabul Qan, Ambaqai Qan and Qutula Qan, which was actually called Xamag Mongol (= mo. *Qamuγ Mongγol*) – a pre-Činggiside Mongol state, or state confederation, referred to also as Xamag Mongol Uls (= mo. *Qamuγ Mongγol Uls*). See IMNR, 102, 109 (cf. HMPR, 99, 106); BNMAUT², 140; and, especially, MT, I (*Xamag Mongol Uls [1101-1206]*). Cf. also Buell 1981, 137; Oz¹, I, 212-213; and Skrynnikova 1989a. I tend to agree with N. Munkuev that no such 'state' with that name existed, and that the assumption is simply due to an unwarranted extrapolation from the expression *qamuq Mongqol* of § 52, which means only 'all (or the entirety of) the Mongols.' See Munkuev 1977, 379ff. (Munkuev's important contribution has unfortunately not been included in CPE); cf. Yao 1964, 3ff., Ozawa, loc. cit.; Khazanov 1980, 30; NOW, 238; and MTSTBS, 355-356, where Š. Bira also rejects the notion of a 'state of *Qamuγ Mongγol*.' As Munkuev points out, the expression *qamuγ Mongγol ulus* does not occur in the SH: it is found, however, in the second line of the inscription on the stele in honour of *Yisungge*. See de Rachewiltz 1976, 487, for the text, and idem 1983, 275, for the revised rendering ('the entire Mongol nation?'). Since the inscription dates from 1225⁴ at the earliest, and by then we know that the Mongol state was called *Yeke Mongγol Uls*, 'The Great Mongol Nation' (or 'The Nation of the Great Mongols'), the expression *qamuγ Mongγol ulus* (w.f.) was obviously used in Činggis Qan's time in much the same way as when we say 'Great Britain' and 'all Britain', the former being the official designation of the state created by Činggis, the latter merely an expression designating the multitude or totality of the peoples of that state. Cf. the expression *qamuγ Mongγoljin* (= *Mongγol*) *keleten* 'all those having the Mongolian tongue', i.e. all those who speak Mongolian, in 'The

Bodistw-a čari-a awatar-un tayilbur of 1312' (Cleaves 1954, 54 [4-166b, line 6], 85, 122, n. 314); and the expression *qamuγ qari ulus* 'all the vassal states' in the Preclassical Mongolian version of the *Hsiao-ching*, 14a (de Rachewiltz 1982, 32, 44). On these problems, cf. de Rachewiltz 1983, 274-275; Hsiao CC 1985; Cleaves 1986, 191, n. 4; and, more recently, de Rachewiltz 1993, 94, n. 20; idem 1994, 374ff. For the term *ulus* see also below, n. 53. The expression *qamuγ Mongγol ulus* occurs also in ET¹, 53b (cf. ET³, 53v27-28) with the meaning of 'all the Mongols.' For *qamuγ ulus* in the ET, see ET², I, 72, n. 105. As for the expression *qamuq Mongqol* of § 52, cf. the expressions *qamuq Mongqol Tayiči'ut* 'all the Mongols and Tayiči'ut' (§ 57), *qamuq Merkit* 'all the Merkit' (§§ 104, 111), and *qamuq Qa'at Merkit* 'all the Qa'at Merkit' (§ 105). In §§ 164 and 254, we find the expression *qamuq ulus* 'all the people', 'the whole nation', as well as *olon ulus* 'many people', and *gür ulus* 'the entire nation', which from the context appear to be all virtually synonymous. From the above it is quite evident, I think, that the expression *qamuq Mongqol* in the SH refers to the totality of the 'Mongqol' people, i.e. of all the clans or subtribes forming this tribe, and that it was not a national appellation at the time, nor did it become one later with the establishment of Činggis Qan's empire. (It is noteworthy that no reference to 'Xamag Mongol' is found in MNR.) *Qamuq Mongqol* indicates that we must take the name *Mongqol sensu lato* as embracing all the *yasun*-lineages (and clans and subclans deriving from these lineages) issuing from Alan Qo'a's offspring, and not *sensu stricto* as designating only the clan formed by the members of the Kiyat Borjigin lineage to which Činggis belonged (see below). Cf. ČK¹, 9-10, n. 43. In all likelihood, it is to this early confederation of 'Mongqol' lineages that Chao Hung refers when he says (MTPL, 3b) that 'Formerly there was the Meng-ku-ssu 蒙古斯 (*Mongqus) nation.' Cf. MDBL, 50; CG, 16, 19-20, n. 3.

The leading role of Qabul Qan is stressed by Rašid al-Dīn, who calls him the 'ruler and leader of his tribes and subjects' (SL², I/2, 35), thus echoing what is said about him in the SH.

Not so the YS, which barely mentions Qabul, crediting Yisügei instead with the unification of all the tribes under his leadership (YS² 1, 3). Always according to the Persian historian, Qabul Qan had for a time close relations with the Jurchens of north China – the founders of the Chin 金 dynasty (1115-1234) – but these eventually deteriorated through mutual distrust and from then on the chiefs of the Mongols were at odds with the Chin court. See SL², I/2, 35-36 and ff. For a summary of these events, cf. EM, 40ff. See also below, n. 53.

According to the SH account, Ambaqai succeeded Qabul as leader (for *qa'an* read *qan*) by Qabul's 'word' (*üge-ber*), i.e. according to his will, even though the latter had a numerous progeny. Ambaqai was the son of Senggüm Bilge. In § 47 it is stated that Senggüm Bilge's descendants, beginning with his son Ambaqai Qan, took the clan name Tayiči'ut. In other words, Qabul appointed as his successor and chief of the Mongols proper a member of a collateral branch – Ambaqai was Qabul's cousin – in preference to one from his own line. Hambis is no doubt right in seeing in this event the origin of the later conflict between Činggis Qan and the Tayiči'ut chiefs. Hambis is of the opinion, however, that although the SH claims that Qabul acted of his own free will, this may not necessarily be true, and that Qabul and his family simply lost power, the leadership passing then temporarily to the line of Čaraqai Lingqu and Senggüm Bilge. See Hambis 1975, 20-21, 36; cf. GK, 14-18. We may add that the 'people' of this collateral branch from which issued Ambaqai, Qada'an Taiši and eventually Tarqutai Kiriltuq (see below, n. 81), i.e. the Tayiči'ut, are also regarded by the SH as separate clansmen from the Mongqol, i.e. the Mongols proper, as evident from the words 'all the Mongqol and Tayiči'ut gathered in the Qorqonaq Valley by (lit. "of") the Onan and made Qutula *qa'an*' (§ 57). We know from the same passage that the leaders of the two people were Qutula (the son of Qabul) and Qada'an (the son of Ambaqai) respectively. Thus the term 'Mongqol' is used here *sensu stricto* as the clan designation of the members of the principal Kiyat Borjigin

lineage – with their immediate dependants of course. The SH acknowledges the close kinship of members of this lineage with the 'collateral' Tayiči'ut relatives as evident in §§ 74, 76, etc., in which the latter are called *Tayiči'ut aqa de'ü* '(our) Tayiči'ut brothers', where 'brothers' = 'cousins (of the same generation)'. The line of Qaidu had branched off with his three sons forming lineages and clans of their own, clans that in time became fully fledged tribes, such as the Tayiči'ut, the Besüt, the Oronar, the Arulat, etc. On this process, cf. Vlad.², 89-92; Lattimore 1963b, 60; Munkuev 1977, 381-383. On the role of the 'will', i.e. personal designation in the case of succession to leadership, cf. Ratchnevsky 1987, 66, 73.

On the other hand, according to Rašīd al-Dīn, Qabul Qan's successor was Qutula Qa'an (*read* Qan) – Ambaqai, the great-grandson of Qaidu, being only the chief of the Tayiči'ut – and Qutula's successor was, in turn, Yisügei Ba'atur, the father of the future Činggis Qan. See SL², I/2, 41ff. Ambaqai, while prominent in the Persian historian's account, plays no part in the YS. See YS² 1, 3.

— For *mede-* 'to know; to rule', cf. rus. *védai'* 'to know; to manage, control.' For SH *meden aba* = AT *meden yabuba*, see Aalto 1973, 34.

§ 53. The Ayiru'ut Buiru'ut (*or* Ayiru'ut Buiru'ut) were one (? or two) of the major subdivisions (subtribes) of the great and powerful Tatar tribe, whose principal habitat at this time was in the region of the two lakes Buyur (i.e. the Buir Nōr) and Kōlen (i.e. the Hulun or Dalai Nōr) in northeastern Mongolia and northeastern Inner Mongolia respectively. The Ayiru'ut Buiru'ut lived along the Urši'un River, the Urshun (Wurshun, Orshun, Orchun) of our maps, kh. Uršun Gol. See HCG, 3-4; Pelliot 1944b, 44, 53, n. 3; Hambis 1974, 26-29. (When Pelliot and Hambis write 'Büyür', 'Büir', read 'Buyur', 'Buir'.) For this subgroup see also Bese 1988, 36. See also below, n. 153. For *na'ur* (= mo. *naγur*) > *nūr* ~ *nōr* 'lake', see SG, 88; IMCS, 163; TMEN, no. 381. Cf. also RH, 245, no. 2 (*naur!*).

Ambaqai was taking (for *hüde-* 'to accompany', see Pelliot 1925, 234, no. 61) his daughter to be married into the Ayiru'ut Buiru'ut tribe, following the exogamous custom of the Mongols, on which see Vlad.², 58-59, and below, n. 61. It was also the custom for the father of the bride to accompany his daughter to the bridegroom's house. See Holmgren 1986, 131ff. Cf. SH, § 94. Evidently, up to this time relations with the Tatars must have been cordial enough to warrant such an undertaking; however, on the way Ambaqai and, presumably, his party were seized by 'Tatar Jüyin men (lit. "people" – *irgen*)', who delivered him to the Altan Qa'an of the Kitat, i.e. to the Jurchen/Chin ruler of north China (more about him later). The 'Jüyin people' of §§ 53 and 266, and the 'Jüyin troops' (*Jüyin čeri'üt*) of §§ 247 and 248, designate people from various ethnic groupings along and beyond the Chin frontier zone, employed as border-defence corps in the service of the Jurchen rulers. They were drawn from such diverse populations and tribes as the (southern) Tatars, the Kitans and the Jurchens themselves (see the above-mentioned paragraphs of the SH). Some scholars have identified them with the Chiu Army (*Chiu-chün* 紂 [= 紂] 軍) of the Liao, Chin and Yüan sources. The so-called Chiu Army consisted of troops stationed along the northern frontier to guard the border areas from incursions from the north. Originally made up of Kitan soldiers during the Liao dynasty, it subsequently (i.e. during the Chin period) included auxiliary forces from other allied groups, although the Kitan element apparently predominated. Among the Chiu, the Chinese sources also mention Tangut troops as well as troops from other minor ethnic groups along the border (see Oz¹, I, 216, n. 1). R. Dannel (CHCAR, 207) defines them as 'tribally mixed border guards.' Textual evidence is overwhelmingly in favour of the identification of the Chiu with the Jüyin. However, contrary to opinions expressed in the past, I do not believe that there is any phonetic relationship between the Chinese and the Mongol term, since in the 13th-14th century *chiu* 紂 resulted in *giv*, not *jiv*. See, e.g., MKTY, 120b (= B, 17b). In my view, the relationship

between the two terms is semantic. The term *jüyin*, possibly of Kitan origin, derives most likely from the verb **jüyi-* (= **jüi-*) + the deverbial noun suffix *-n*. In Written Mongolian, *jüi-* means 'to assemble, put together from various pieces, arrange according to colour; to attach to.' See Kow., 2407b; Les., 1083b-1084a. For the suffix *-n*, see GWM, 49, § 175. Thus, *jüyin* would mean 'something assembled (i.e. put together, combined) from different sources *or* made up of different kinds.' In Chinese, the word *chiu* 紂 (= 紂) means 'to join, band together, unite (in a group, confederacy, etc.).' See CED, 171a; CEDMU, 1425c-1426a. The idea expressed by both terms is of something – in this case troops, an army – brought together from different places or made up of different kinds of people, as in fact these auxiliaries were. On the Jüyin problem (their identification, history and role, especially during the Mongol conquest of north China), see the comments and bibliographical references in n. 247. The Tatars had close relations with the Chin court, as they previously had with the Liao court (in the standard histories of these two dynasties they are usually called *Tsu-pu* 阻卜 [= 鞑] – a puzzling term); for the Chin period, besides the Chinese sources, conveniently tabulated by Wang Kuo-wei, there are also accounts of these relations in Rašid al-Dīn's work. They concern, in particular, the chieftainships of Qutula and Ambaqai, during which the Tatars, with the support of the Chin court, played a very active role against the coalition of Mongol and Tayiči'ut tribes, bringing to a halt their ascendancy in the steppe. See SL², I/1, 104-105, 181; I/2, 42-44; cf. EM, 43-48. On the Tatar tribe during the Liao and Chin periods, see TTK (cf. Pelliot 1929a, 125-126); HCSL, 101-102, and 742b (s.v. 'Tatars'); Chou LH 1980, Yü TC 1984, and the various other contributions on the *Tsu-pu* included in LCSTMKK; and Li, 143, n. 53. For the Mongol (Mongqol) tribe during the Liao and Chin, see MKK (cf. Pelliot, op. cit., 127-128); KCSK, 421-442; ČK¹, 7-10 (= ČK², 7-12); Klyāstor-nyĭ 1993. For the subdivisions of the Tatars in Činggis' time, see HCG, 2-9; YCS, I, 26-28 (cf. Han Ju-lin in *YSLT* 3:1986,

248-250). Further references to the Tatars and their history can be found in de Rachewiltz 1996.

Ambaqai was thus seized by the Jüyin and handed over to the 'Altan Qa'an of the Kitat.' This is the designation of the Chin ruler, Chin being the Chinese name meaning Gold (= jü. **alču[n]*, ma. *aisin*, mo. *altan*; for these forms, cf. Rybatzki 2002, 89-93), of the Jurchen (Jürčēn, pl. Jürčēt = mo. Jürčid) dynasty ruling over much of north China at that time. Cf. the identical designation – the 'King of Gold' or 'Roi Dor' – of the Jurchen sovereign in MP¹, I, 260 (Ch. 109). See NMP, II, 661. For an earlier, identical designation applied to a Khotanese ruler, see Hamilton 1984, 51-52. In the SH, the designation Altan Qa'an alternates with Altan Qan, the latter being the most frequent one. See R, 182b. This is due to faulty editing. Cf. below, n. 250. Kitan (pl. Kitat = mo. Kitad) was the name given by the Mongols to the inhabitants of north China, after the Kitan founders of the Liao 遼 dynasty (907-1125). Still today *kitad* (kh. *xyatad*) in Mongolian means 'Chinese'; and, of course, our 'Cathay' and rus. 'Kitai' 'China' both go back to the word 'Kitan.' Cf. NMP, I, 216-229, s.v. 'Catai'; Cleaves 1948, 317, n. 13; idem 1951, 104, n. 176; *Matériel II*, 15-16. See also below, nn. 151 and 247. We know from Rašid al-Dīn (SL², I/2, 42) that the Chin ruler put Ambaqai to a cruel and ignominious death (nailed to a 'wooden ass' – like Ökin Barqaq), but there is no mention of this in the SH or in the Chinese sources.

Balaqači, here a person's name, actually means 'storeman' (i.e. the person in charge of *balaqat* 'stores, granaries'), see §§ 279, 280. For a different interpretation, see Bese 1978, 359, no. 8. He was a Besüt man (Besütei), who evidently happened to be at hand when Ambaqai was captured and led south. (The Besüt clan [*oboq*] is mentioned in § 47 as being formed by a son of Čaraqai Lingqu called Besütei.) However, I do not think that Balaqači was there in the function of envoy or messenger (*elči*; on this important word see TMEN, no. 656; and Erdal 1993, 94-99) as implied in Cl, 11. With Pelliot (Pe, 128) I understand the passage to mean that he was merely used as such by Ambaqai in

order to convey his last instructions to Qutula and Qada'an Taiši. Regarding the choice of these two personages, we have seen how with Ambaqai political power had passed from the line of Bai Singqor Doqšin, Tumbinai Sečen and Qabul Qan to that of Čaraqai Lingqu and Senggüm Bilge, i.e. to the Tayiči'ut clan. By sending his final instructions to *both* Qutula and Qada'an Taiši, and by referring to their (i.e. to one of them) becoming the supreme leader, Ambaqai left open his succession to either line. (Qada'an Taiši is given here as one of Ambaqai's sons, but we know that the sixth son of Qabul was also called Qada'an. It is possible, as pointed out by Pelliot and Ligeti, that this is due to the confused tradition regarding the genealogy of Qabul and Ambaqai, and that in reality there was only one Qada'an; see HCG, 157; Li, 144, n. 53. For Qada'an's title of *taiši*, incorrectly transcribed as *t'ai-tzu* 太子 = *taisi*, see what has been said above, n. 50, about Nekün Taiši). However, it is worth noting that Qutula is mentioned first and it is quite clear from the sentence that Balaqači should speak to Qada'an Taiši *after* having spoken to Qutula. As we learn from § 57, a general assembly of 'Mongqol and Tayiči'ut' eventually elected Qutula as *qa'an* (read *qan*), thereby reverting the line of succession to Qabul's clan and reaffirming the tribal supremacy of the Mongols proper. Tribal leadership is expressed in the formula *qamuq-un qa'an ulus-un ejen 'qa'an* (read *qan*) of all and lord of the people': I render *ulus* with 'people' rather than with 'nation' because at this time one cannot yet speak of a 'nation' or 'empire' – meanings that *ulus* will acquire much later. For these connotations and the evolution of the term *ulus*, also in relation to the term *irgen* 'people; tribe', see Vlad.², 124 et passim; KHIV, 13ff., 24-32. Cf. TMEN, no. 54; Sugita 1979, 50-53; Fletcher 1986, 21; above, n. 52, and below, nn. 121 and 202. Oz¹, I, 215, and 216-217, n. 3, understands the passage relating to Ambaqai's message somewhat differently, viz. Balaqači was to deliver Ambaqai's message to Qutula, the message being 'Tell Qada'an Taiši ..., "When you become universal *qa'an* and lord of the nation"' However, Ozawa's interpretation is at

variance with both the sectional summary (Y² 1, 34a) and the corresponding section of AT. See AT¹, 10a-b. Cf. ATL, 26-27; LDAT, 61. For the formula *qamuq-un qa'an ulus-un ejen*, cf. the expression *qamuq-un ejen qayan* in ET³, 66v30.

'Learn from my example', lit. 'by me' (*nama'ar*).

'I have been seized by the Tatars', lit. 'I have been seized by the Tatar people.' The last section of § 53, from *qamuq-un qa'an* to *soritqun*, is discussed in Mo, 6-8. With regard to the verb *ha'ut-* (= pmo. **ayud-*, mo. *ayus-*) 'to wear away through rubbing; to dissolve', and the alternation *d ~ s*, see Pelliot 1925, 204-205, no. 7; IMCS, 109; Oz¹, I, 219, n. 7.

'Until ... /Strive to revenge me!' Cf. § 276. These words of Ambaqai expressed in alliterative form highlight the important role of vendetta in the tribal societies of Mongolia at the time, a theme discussed by several scholars in recent times. See, in particular, Hamayon 1978, and Clark 1978 (esp. pp. 35-37). See below, n. 58, for further references.

In this section, the word *ökin* 'daughter; girl, maiden' appears with and without final *n*, as elsewhere in the SH. See below, n. 54.

§ 54. Yisügei Ba'atur, already mentioned in § 50 as the third son of Bartan Ba'atur, was a contemporary of Qutula (his paternal uncle) and of Qada'an. If his son Temüjin, i.e. Činggis Qan, was born in 1162 (see nn. 59 and 104) and was therefore nine years old (= eight in Western reckoning) in 1170, Yisügei must have died in this year (see § 68); in any event, his death must be placed between 1170 and 1175. (On the chronology of Yisügei, cf. EM, 53-54, n. 3; and NMP, I, 290-291.) Consequently, the events related in this and the following paragraphs, i.e. Hö'elün's abduction, Qutula's election, the battles with the Tatars and the eventual capture of their chief Temüjin Üge, would all have taken place in the 1160s. At that time Yisügei's encampment was on the river Onon: in the present section there is the reference to his hunting with falcons along this river, and

(later on) to the fact that Temüjin was born at Deli'ün Boldaq, a place situated near the Onon. See below, n. 59.

For Mongol hawking, cf. § 27 and com. SH *šiba'ula-* 'to hunt with falcons' is a denominal verb from *šiba'un* (= mo. *sibaγun*) 'bird; falcon'; cf. HW, 139; *Matériel I*, 96; RH, 226, no. 17 (*šibaun*); and DO, 626a, s.v. '*šiwūla-*' (where *-wū-<-ba'u-*). However, mo. *sibaγun* means only 'bird' as in most present-day Mongol languages, but the meaning of 'falcon, hunting falcon' is still attested in Dagur, see DN, 101b; IMCS, 123; THHTT, 237a. *Šiba'uči* 'falconer' was an important function under the Mongols, the bird normally used for hunting being the gerfalcon (*šingqor*, mo. *singqor*, *šongqor*), which was a prominent item of tribute, especially the beautiful white gerfalcon. Gerfalcons came mostly from northern Mongolia, northern Manchuria and Korea. See NMP, I, 5, 77-79, 237; SJR, 33 and n. 60; TMEN, nos. 237, 1273; Esin 1977, 31-33; Katayama 1982. Cf. also the references to gerfalcons in the SH, §§ 63, 199 and 239. Although the *šingqor* proper was the gerfalcon (*Falco rusticolus*), this term was used loosely to designate other hunting falcons, such as the peregrine falcon (*Falco peregrinus*).

The Merkit tribe to which Yeke Čiledü belonged was the Uduyit Merkit. He was the younger brother of its chief Toqto'a Beki (see § 111). For the ethnicon Merkidei (~ Merkitei), cf. HCG, 227; Poppe 1975, 163. On the various Merkit tribes that formed one of the major peoples of Mongolia whose habitat in the twelfth century was the region of the Lower Selenga, south of the Baikal, see HCG, 227-228, 271-278. See also below, n. 102. Yeke ('Big') Čiledü is known only because of his bride Hö'elün, a girl of the Olqunu'ut. The Olqunu'ut (> Olqunüt; cf. AT¹, 10b: Olqunud) were actually a subtribe of the Onggirat or Qonggirat (see n. 61), another important tribal group living in the region of the river Khalkha (Xalxyn Gol) in eastern Mongolia – the easternmost Mongolian people at the time. The Olqunu'ut lived in close proximity to the Onggirat. See SL², I/1, 162, 164; cf. HCG, 424, 426, 428.

'An unusually beautiful young woman', lit. 'a young married lady (*öki qatu*) who had a different (= unusual) appearance.' For the term *öki(n)* 'girl, young woman; daughter' and its usage in the SH, see Ozawa 1977, where however *oki*, *okin* should be read *öki*, *ökin*. For *qatu(n)*, the feminine counterpart of *qan* and *qa'an*, and the polite designation of somebody else's wife and of any lady of rank, see TMEN, no. 1159; Vlad.², 93; Hung 1956, 32, n. 7; HCWLYTT, 71-74, no. 17.

In the SH the term *qatu(n)* (pl. *qatut*; mo. *qatun*, *qatud*) occurs 23 times, while the form *qadun* (pl. *qadut*) occurs 29 times (see R, 285b, 293b). Cf. *Matériel I*, 86, 89. For *t ~ d*, see 'Quelques problèmes', 244; *Materiel II*, 47 (17v, 5). On the form in *d*, cf. Doerfer's remarks in TMEN, III, 139 (no. 1159). With very few exceptions this form is found only in the Chinese transcriptions. For the sake of consistency, in the present translation the 'regular' Middle Mongolian form *qatun* has been used throughout. For the form *qatu* occurring twice in § 54, see below, n. 126. The expression *öki qatu* as a compound means 'young noble woman (married or unmarried)', and as two separate words 'maid (= young woman) and lady (= married woman of rank).' Cf. Kahużyński 1992/93, 280-282; Mo, 107; Cl, 12; Oz², I, 33-34. The girl in question, Hö'elün (her name appears in § 55), may have been very young indeed, perhaps not older than fifteen; however, her age at the time cannot be precisely determined. Cf. Hambis 1975, 31-32.

For Nekün Taiši and Dāritai Otögin, see above n. 50.

The events that led to the abduction of Hö'elün as described in the SH represent a tradition which is at variance with that handed down in later chronicles, such as the AT (anon.). See Uray-Köhalmi 1970, 262-263.

§ 55. 'At their coming', lit. 'with *their* arriving.'

This section contains some interesting words, such as *qubi*, a feminine form in *-i* of *quba* 'pale yellow (horse)' – a metonymy identical to eng. 'dun'; *quburi* 'hill', so far an

unattested word, but cf. mo. *γurbi* 'a small elevation', see QNTT, 473a, and Kow., 1042a-b; *nambalis* 'over, across', also otherwise unattested, but cf. ts. *nambas* 'jumping over or across', see TH, 134 (= JYT, 234); *qučilis* 'round about' from *quči-* 'to cover, wrap up; to surround.' Clearly, *-lis* (*-li-* + *-s*?) is a rare adverbial suffix, attested also in words like mo. *čegüliš* 'suddenly', which so far has not attracted sufficient attention. Cf. Murayama 1951, 53-54; Oz¹, I, 227, n. 4; Vietze 1990, 386. As for *qoši'un* (= mo. *qosiγun*) 'spur of a mountain, promontory' (lit. 'proboscis, snout'), and a term later designating important military and territorial divisions (the Manchu 'banner', etc.), see SMT, 28; TMEN, no. 282; Róna-Tas in OUMÉIX, IV/3, 136; Les., 970b-971a.

Hö'elün (= pmo., mo. Ögelün), whose name appears here for the first time, is already called 'lady' (*üjin*) in anticipation of her future status as the mother of Činggis Qan. The etymology of the name Hö'elün is doubtful; it certainly derives from the word **hö'e*, i.e. **höge* as indicated by the written form, with the feminine name suffix *-lün* (*-lun*). See HCG, 21-22; GWM, 43, §129; Bese 1980, 319, no. 10; Poppe 1975, 164; Rybatzki [2003], s.v. It is, however, tempting to relate **höge* with tu. *ögä* 'intelligent, wise.' Cf. mmo. *hoi* (= mo. *oi*) 'forest' and tu. *oy* 'valley.' See TMEN, I, 546 (no. 400); and Ardağab 1989. For tu. *ögä*, cf. also below, n. 59. On the title *üjin* < ch. *fu-jen* 夫人 (> mo. *vüjin*, *vüsin*, *üsin*) reserved for high-ranking ladies, see Pelliot 1925, 258-261; TMEN, no. 255; cf. MTSHP 15:1997, 139-146; BSYS 14:1979, 107.

'Their look is odd', lit. 'Their aspect (*čirai*) is different from any other aspect.' *Čirai* means 'a person's looks, facial appearance and expression, mien; figure, aspect.' See HW, 28; RH, 307, no. 37; Les., 191a. Cf. below, nn. 196, 208 and 246.

'If only you are spared', lit. 'If only (*ele*) there be life for you.' On the use of the particle *ele* in the SH, see Street 1986 (esp. pp. 6-7).

'In the front seat of every cart', lit. 'in every front seat of carts.'

'In every black cart', 'black cart' rendering mmo. *qara'u*. For this term, see above, n. 6. Cf. also Khomonov 1981, 59. Hö'elün is quoting an old saying here. Cf. Cérénodnom 1986, 72.

'You will *always* find a girl or a woman *like me*.' Cf. the corresponding passage in AT¹, 10b: 'A woman or a girl looking like me can surely be found.' Cf. LDAT, 62, where this passage is rendered differently. For the expression *öki qatu*, see above, n. 54.

'Name her also (*taki*) Hö'elün.' For *takilteki* 'also', see Oz¹, III, 228-229, n. 9; IV, 268; *Matériel II*, 88; and Cleaves 2001b, 67, n. 14. For its other usages, see below, n. 149.

'Save your life!' (*amin-ıyan qoroq*). For *qoroq*- (= pmo. *qoroγ-*) 'to save', cf. TH, 179-180 (= JYT, 312-313); Oz¹, I, 229, n. 10; and Mo, 52.

'Never forget to breathe my scent!', lit. 'Go smelling my smell!' Here, however, the verb 'to go' (*yabu-*) plays the role of an auxiliary denoting continuity of action. Yeke Čiledü was to keep Hö'elün's shirt, the smell of which would *keep on* reminding him of his lost bride. See Mostaert 1927, 151. On this auxiliary, see above, n. 15.

In the SH, the verb 'to take off' is *mültül-*. Cf. HW, 111; and the HIIY (*Matériel I*, 76). In Written Mongolian we have *möltül-*, *möltüle-* 'to detach, undo', as well as *multul-*, *multula-*, 'to take off, remove.' See SG, 128. It is impossible to say whether the form found in our passage is *mültüljü* or *multulju* only on the basis of the Chinese transcription.

For human odour as a medium for remembrance, cf. also the case in § 245, which describes how Father Mönglik took his son Teb Tenggeri's hat, smelled it and placed it in his bosom. This practice has been discussed by various scholars, who found modern parallels for it and have offered different interpretations of the significance and symbolism of Hö'elün's dramatic gesture. See Mostaert 1927, 151 and n. 2; Olschki 1947; C.R. Bawden in *BSOAS* 40:1977, 449. The term for 'shirt' in the passage in question is *čamča*, a Mongolian term probably of

Chinese origin (? < ch. *shan-tzu* 衫子 'woman's dress, shirt'). Olschki, op. cit., 56, suggests a possible Greek derivation and relationship with fr. *chemise* and ital. *camicia*.

The word *juqus* (= pmo. *juγus*) in the expression *juqus duta'a-* 'to go away swiftly, flee in haste', is an adverb in *-s* from *juqu* (= *juγu*). The word *juγu* is not attested as such in Preclassical and Written Mongolian, but Ordos has *Dzygyγy* 'abruptly, with a jerk', which corresponds to mo. *suγu* id.; the SH has *juqul-* 'to pull out, draw out' (= mo. *suγul-*, *juγul-*). See HW, 94; DO, 175a. I wonder whether SH *juqus* is not the same word still found in Ordos with the original initial voiced affricate *Dz* (= *j*), plus the suffix *-s*. Cf. SH *qaqas* (= mo. *qayas*) 'separately', and mo. *qaya* 'asunder' and *qayas* 'half, separately.' However, the meaning of *juqus* as supplied by the Chinese gloss is 'in haste, swiftly.' For the noun suffix *-s*, see 'Nominalsuff.', 98-99, § 6; Murayama 1951; LSHM, 38; and JS, 52, § 77. Murayama and Street regard *-s* as a converbial suffix, incorrectly in my opinion. Cf. Oz¹, I, 208, n. 1; 227, n. 4; and above, n. 50.

§ 56. Yisügei Ba'atur took the halter and guided *the cart of Lady Hö'elün*, lit. 'Yisügei Ba'atur led Lady Hö'elün by the halter (*delbege-deče*).' Mo. *delbeg(e)* means 'rein(s), bridle', as well as 'halter, tether.' See Les., 247b; MKT, 1158a. Cf. tu. (dialects of Tobol and Kazan) *tilbige*, *tilbi* 'reins' (VWTD, III, 1389). In the language of the SH *delbege* means only 'halter', as clearly indicated by the Chinese gloss *chiang-so* 韁索 'rein-rop(e) (= halter)', the term for 'reins' being *jilo'a ~ jilu'a*. See HW, 90.

The word *kiligü* 'shaft(s) of a cart' appears in the SH also in the forms *kilügü* and *kilgün*, see HW, 101, 102. The word is not attested in Written Mongolian nor in living languages and dialects. The term for 'shafts' in Written Mongolian is *ilau*, and it has been suggested that *ilau* < **ilayu* < **hilaγu* < **qiluyu* > *kiligü ~ kilügü*. See Oz¹, IV, 129, n. 18. The problem requires further investigation.

‘My good lord Čiledü’, lit. ‘My elder brother (*aqa*) Čiledü.’ Here *aqa* is simply a term of respect which I have rendered as ‘good lord’, *faute de mieux*. See Cleaves 1963, 66-69; cf. Cleaves 1949a, 508-509.

The tuft of hair typical of the hairdressing of the medieval Mongols was called *kegül* ~ *kekül*, corresponding to mo. *kekül*, *kükül* (or *keköl*, *kököl*; cf. kh. *xöxöl*) ‘long hair, forelock of a horse, tuft of hair, braids.’ On it, see TMEN, no. 320, and the numerous references contained therein, to which we must add Mostaert 1927, 154-155; Pelliot 1930, 258, no. 17; Serruys 1957, 151-152, n. 46; VMI, 48-49 (very important); Ledyard 1963, 230; Cleaves 1979, 74-75; and D. Bayar in MNT, I, 252-257. For the (? Kitan) term *ku-ku* 固姑, 故故, etc. and its possible relationship with mo. *kükül*, cf. below, n. 74. For some illustrations of the *kegül*, see below.

For the words *keyisümser* ‘has never blown’ and *ölösümser* ‘has never hungered’, both formed with the negative suffix *-msar* (*-msar*), see Lewicki 1939/40, 259-260; Hashimoto 1984 and 1985. Cf. also *Matériel II*, 52; MNTLAT, 21, n. 58. As for the auxiliary *büliyi*, a normally feminine form (see UGPM, 150, § 33; JŚ, 130-131, § 230) which also applies to a male, cf. the form *gürbi* in § 74.

‘In the steppe’, lit. ‘in the steppe-land (*ke'er qajar-a*).’ For *ke'er* (= mo. *kegere*) ‘uninhabited place, open country, desert; steppe, wasteland; plain, river valley’, see TMEN, no. 347; HCG, 449a (Index); SMT, 27; DN, 124. For a possible derivation from tu. *kögär* ‘verdant’, cf. L. Bazin in AOH 36:1982, 58. Hö’elün is again making use of a popular idiom to describe Čiledü. Cf. Cérénsodnom 1986, 70.

‘But how is it now? How fares he, ... now backward?’ For this passage, cf. Mostaert 1927, 152; Cleaves 1953, 72, n. 8; idem 1964/65, 50-51, n. 9; Street 1986, 209-210, 248-249, n. 16 (but see the revised translation in Street 1986/87, 29, which, like that of Damdinsürén following the AT, makes Hö’elün, not Čiledü, the subject of this sentence). As already pointed out by Mostaert, op. cit., 152-154; Serruys 1957, 151-152, n. 46; and

G. Kara in AOH 38:1984, 237-38, the term *šibülger* (~ *šibilger* in § 214) designates the plaits, or tresses, of twisted hair hanging behind the ears worn by Mongol men; they are described, together with other features of Mongolian hairstyle, by several 13th century travellers, Chinese and European. They are clearly visible in the surviving portraits of Mongol emperors of the Yüan dynasty (Qubilai, Temür Öljeitü), which also show the forelock of the *kegül* (*kükül*). See ISCP, pl. xxx; CKKTFSYC, 398, pl. 2. Cf. DO, 624a. Some interesting data on the subject can also be gathered from a rare work by the Yüan writer Wu To 吳鐸 entitled *Ch'ing-fa hsü-chih* 淨髮須知, preserved in the YLTT 14124-14125, 1b-16a, s.v. 剃法 (the original YLTT volume containing it is in the possession of the Tenri Library in Nara), which cites the now lost *Ta-Yüan hsün-hua* 大元新話. Cf. CKKTFSYC, 397. The Mongol hairstyle was also known to the Turks, and through them some features of it were introduced into Hungary, where they were preserved for a long time. See Li, 144, n. 56.

‘Until her voice stirred the waters of (lit. “raised waves on”) the Onan River, / Until it (i.e. her voice) resounded throughout wood and valley (*hoi jubur*).’ The sectional summary (Y² 1, 38b) renders this passage as follows: ‘The sound of *her* voice shook (振動了) both (lit. “all”) the waters of the Onan River and the woods (林木) in the valley.’ Cf. Wa, 222. In the interlinear translation the two words *hoi jubur* are bracketed together as if forming a single unit which is glossed *lin ch'uan* 林川. Here, the term *ch'uan* 川 rendering *jubur* means ‘river valley’ (cf. HCG, 268, 387, 389: ‘vallée arrosée’), as in the place-name Qorqonaq Ĵubur (‘Qorqonaq Valley’) of §§ 57, 104, etc. Cf. the expression *oi ayula* ‘wood(s) and mountain(s)’ in ÜD, 24. Mmo. *jubur* corresponds to tu. (čag.) *čupur* ‘thick wood’ (VWTD, III, 2182-2183); even though the meaning of this word in the two languages has clearly diverged, there is no doubt that *jubur* still designated the wooded area alongside the banks of a river and, by extension, the river valley itself. See TMEN, no. 166; Oz¹,

II, 319, n. 4. Although the expression *hoi jūbur* should not be taken literally, in the present instance it would obviously refer to the wooded valley of the Onon along which Hö'elün and her captors were travelling. As for Hö'elün's voice 'resounding throughout' wood and valley, the verb used in the SH is *da'uris-* (= mo. *dayuris-*) 'to (re)sound; to spread'; cf. ord. *Dūris-* 'se répandre partout (bruit, renommée)'. See DO, 164a. In our passage this word is glossed 'to shake, agitate' (震動), but must be understood in the sense of the resounding effect the loud wailing had in the forest, conjuring up the image of the trees being actually shaken, just as the waters of the river were being stirred by it.

'Has *already* crossed many streams', lit. 'has crossed many waters (*usut*).'

For *qa'ulqa* (transcribed *qa'uluqa* in both §§ 57 and 58, and in § 183), a puzzling obsolete word meaning (according to the Chinese glosses) 'path, way; ditch', see TH, 163 (= JYT, 284), where it is identified with oir. *qayalqa(n)* 'way, road.' Cf. MUJ, 187a, line 3 (where, however, the gloss [jam] is by Damdinsürén and almost certainly suggested by the meaning of the term in the SH). *Deest apud* OED. I wonder whether the Chinese transcription *qa'ul<u>qa* does not actually represent an original *γaulya*. Mo. *γau* (< ch. *kou* 溝) means 'ditch, hollow, trench'; cf. ord. *Gū* 'fossé; traces ayant la forme d'un sillon' (DO, 310a). Mo. *γaula-*, a denominal verb in *-la*, means 'to make a ditch, etc.' An alternation **γaula-* ~ **γaul-* would be quite normal, cf. *iljal-*, *iljal-* 'to boil until soft', *jadala-*, *jadal-* 'to unwrap', etc. **Gaulya* could then be a deverbal noun in *-ya* with the same meaning of *γau*, viz. 'ditch, hollow; furrow-like trails.' These meanings would fit the context in both §§ 56 and 57. (For the dev. noun suff. *-ya*, cf., e.g., *aysaya* 'a belt to which a quiver and a bow case are attached' < *aysa-* 'to attach to or suspend from a belt'; for the transcription *qa'u* [γa'u] ~ *qau* [γau], cf. below, n. 170.) However, this interpretation remains hypothetical since we do not know when the Chinese loanword *γau* and the verb

γaula- first came into usage in Mongolian. An unrelated word transcribed as *qa'uluqa*[t] occurs in § 75. See n. 75 below. Cf. Cérénsodnom 1991, 4-6; and Čoyima 2001a.

'If you call him .../He will not see you;/If you look for his tracks, /His trail you will not find.' This is a version of a saying that still survives in the Ordos dialect. See TOO, xv, 581, no. 436 (cf. FO, 579, no. 436). It is used with reference to a member of the family who is dead – or, as here, gone, never to return. The SH graphically (and, at the same time, poetically) describes the way Yisügei got himself a wife in one of the customary ways wives were obtained in the steppe societies of Inner Asia. See Holmgren 1986, 144-145. It does not say, however, that Yisügei already had a wife, but we know that Temüjin had two half-brothers, Bekter and Belgütei (§ 76). Bekter was killed by Temüjin and his brother (Joci) Qasar (§ 77). Later Belgütei's mother was seized by the Merkit and subsequently rescued by her son (§ 112). It is unlikely that Belgütei's mother, whose name is not mentioned in § 112, was Old Qo'aqčın (see §§ 98-103), as suggested by Ratchnevsky (ČK¹, 15, n. 65); almost certainly Old Qo'aqčın was a maidservant in Hö'elün's household. The name of the mother of Bekter and Belgütei and, therefore, of the other wife of Yisügei, is supplied by the AT¹, where (13b) it appears in the passage corresponding to § 60 of the SH in the form Sučigil (*or* Sujigil) Eke, i.e. Mother Sučigil (*or* Sujigil), the text specifying that she was Yisügei's 'second wife.' Cf. below, n. 60. (This is, however, at variance with the earlier statement in AT¹, 9b-10a, that Lady Süčigil, *or* Süjigil, was the wife of Bartan Ba'atur; see above, n. 50). Later Mongol chronicles give differing accounts. See Pelliot 1940/41, 7ff.; ČK¹, 15, n. 65. Cf. also HCG, 185, n. 14. Whatever the name of Bekter and Belgütei's mother, there is no doubt that Hö'elün was not the only wife of Yisügei; this is why the SH speaks of 'mothers (in the plural) and sons' in §§ 72 and 74. In fact, according to Rašid al-Dīn, Yisügei had several wives from various tribes, of whom Hö'elün was the principal

one. See SL², I/2, 51; and the discussion in Hambis 1975, 7-8, n. 12; 32 and n. 52. On his children, see also below, n. 60.

Hö'elün's abduction by Yisügei was the cause of a major feud between Čiledü's tribe, the Merkit, and the Mongols, i.e. the Mongqol tribe as represented by Yisügei's lineage and subjects. On this feud see Clark 1978, 37-38. For another aspect of this episode, see Sárközi 1978, 152-153.

As it has been noted on several occasions, the line of descent from Alan Qo'a to Yisügei differs in the various genealogical traditions that have been handed down in the Mongol, Chinese and Persian sources. For further details on these traditions, besides *Chapitre CVII*, 10-20, Tamura 1973, 15ff., and Yoshida 1984, cf. also MW, 176-178, n. 18.

§ 57. 'According to the message of Ambaqai Qa'an, which had nominated both Qada'an and Qutula', lit. 'According to (or in consequence of) the dispatch (*ilekse'er*) of Ambaqai Qa'an naming the two Qada'an and Qutula.' I read *ilekse'er*, converbum abtemporale of *ile-* 'to send, dispatch', like Pe, Ko, L², Ba, Ir, St, Γa, Če, and Daš, instead of *irekse'er* as in H, Shi, Oz¹, El-Ar, and Aalto 1973, 36. See § 53 and com. regarding the message Ambaqai sent through Balaqači after his capture by the Tatar allies of the Jurchens. Both Qada'an Taiši and Qutula had been 'named', i.e. nominated as candidates for the succession to the qan-ship of the Mongol (Mongqol) and Tayiči'ut clans. The election, lit. 'raising, lifting up' (see below), was done, *more mongolico*, at a general assembly of these clans held at a locality known as Qorqonaq Ĵubur, or Qorqonaq Valley. For *Ĵubur* 'river valley', see above, n. 56; as in § 56, here too this term is glossed *ch'uan* 川. This wooded region crossed by the river Onon, which is mentioned several times in the SH (§§ 104, 115, 116, 117, 201, 206) and which was the site of Möngke Qa'an's qurilta of 1257, has not yet been identified, but it must have been towards the sources of the river on the eastern slopes of the Khentei mountain range. See HCG, 42; Pèrlèè², 11; Boyle 1973, 75. (On the *qurilta* or great assembly, see below, n. 282.)

According to the SH, Qutula, the son of Qabul, was made 'qa'an.' As explained earlier (see above, nn. 1 and 48; cf. also below, n. 125), this designation is spurious – it was conferred retrospectively – and the original text had here simply 'qan', the correct title being given further on in this section in the form *qa* (= *qan*). This interesting form without final *n* occurs seven times in the SH (see R, 284a, s.vv. 'qa¹' and 'qa³'); in the corresponding sections of AT it is replaced by *qayan* in all but three instances (§ 141: *qa*, § 144: *qa*, § 249: *sang*; see AT¹, 41a, 42a, 111b). It should be noted that in all instances *qa* is the direct object of a verb; it seems, therefore, that in certain conditions, i.e. in suffixless oblique cases (of the type *usu wuqu* 'to drink water'), mmo. and pmo. *qan* could also drop the final *n*. See JŠ, 183-184 (D); cf. Ozawa 1977, 93ff.; and Oz¹, II, 382, n. 1 (where the form without *-n* is referred to as being the *casus indefinitus*); LSHM, 26; YAT, 22 and nn. 1 and 2; GWM, 149-159. Cf. also Hambis 1960, 150-151; de Rachewiltz 1983, 273; idem 1989, 298, n. 51; and below, nn. 244, 249. In 1974 H. Serruys sent me many references to the use of *qa* for *qan* in Mongolian and Chinese texts which may serve as basis for a future article on the subject.

With regard to Qutula's election, however, other sources do not agree with the SH about its outcome, or even about the election itself. As stated earlier (see n. 52), according to Rašid al-Dīn, Qabul Qan was succeeded by his son Qutula (the 'Coubilāi' of D'Ohsson, I, 32-35) who, in turn, was succeeded by his nephew Yisügei, the father of Činggis Qan (Yisügei being the son of Qutula's brother Bartan Ba'atur). According to the YS, Qabul's successor was his son Bartan (Ba'atur) who, in turn, was succeeded by Yisügei. See YS² 1, 3. As with Ambaqai, Qutula plays no part at all in the YS account. Hambis 1975, 21, n. 36, is of the opinion that Qutula may have been elected only by the Tayiči'ut. It is, indeed, difficult to reconcile the various accounts of events on this confused period, which was characterized by tribal warfare, conflict with the Jurchen/Chin, and succession disputes between the various clans (see on this

subject Khazanov's comments in NOW, 234ff.). Nevertheless, certain important facts emerge from these events, viz.: 1) the rivalry for tribal leadership between the two main branches of Qaidu's family, the one originating with his eldest son Bai Šingqor Doqšin (from which issued Yisügei and Temüjin), and the other originating with Čaraqai Lingqu (from which issued Ambaqai and the Tayiči'ut); this rivalry, put aside when unity was necessary to fight a common foe, be it the Jurchen or the Tatar, turned into alienation, then open conflict, after the death of Yisügei in the 1170s and '80s; it ended with the crushing of the Tayiči'ut in 1201 (according to the chronology of the SH); 2) an irreconcilable tribal feud between the Mongols and the Tatars, the causes of which are complex, but intimately related to the dominant coalition of the Tatar tribe before the emergence of the Mongqol tribe, and to the policy of the Chin court towards the tribes in the north in the middle of the 12th century; this, too, ended with the elimination of the Tatar grouping (in 1202 according to the SH); 3) a growing animosity against the Chin state which eventually also turned into open conflict, culminating in the destruction of Chin by the Mongols under Ögödei Qa'an in 1234; 4) a bitter feud with the Merkit caused by the abduction of Hö'elün by Yisügei and his brothers; this again ended with the annihilation of the tribe in 1204. Thus the antecedents of many important campaigns waged by Činggis are to be found in the policies and actions of his forebears, or in events in which they had been implicated generations earlier. On this question, cf. the above-mentioned contribution by L. Clark (Clark 1978), which highlights the role of revenge in the steppe society of the 12th-13th centuries as documented in the SH and the AT.

'After raising Qutula as *qan* (lit. "qa").' The verb 'to raise' (*ergü'e-*, pmo., mo. *ergüge-*) refers to the ancient Turco-Mongolian custom of lifting up the *qan* (or *qayan*) on a white or black felt rug as part of the inauguration ceremony. This custom was already followed by the T'o-pa and T'u-chüeh Turks, and it

is well attested for the Mongol period. See Boodberg 1939, 242-245; HCSL, 223; D'Ohsson, II, 528-529; MF, 21ff.

'Around the Leafy Tree of Qorqonaq' (*Qorqonaq-un Saqlaqar-un Modun horcin*). The term *saqlaqar*, mo. *saylayar*, denotes a tree that spreads downwards with dense branches and foliage. See QNTT, 529b; MKeT, 1936a; cf. Les., 658b. The meaning of the Chinese interlinear gloss is simply 'loose, dishevelled (as of hair)'; see HW, 131. The Leafy (or Branching, as in Cl, 14; cf. Mo, 58) Tree is referred to again in §§ 117 and 206 (written Saqlār [= Saylār] < Saqlaqar [= Saylayar]), always in connection with a celebration involving feasting and dancing. It is also mentioned by Rašīd al-Dīn in a passage concerned with this section of the SH: 'Thereafter, Möngke Qa'an held a *quriltai* in a place called Qorqonaq Jubur, which lies in the middle of Mongolia. It was in this place that Qutula Qa'an, when he had gained a victory, danced under a tree with his *nökers* until the ground fell into a ditch.' (*Successors*, 223.) In Rašīd's account, the celebration was not connected with the election of Qutula, but with a victory in a military campaign. In both the SH and the AT, the event immediately following the feast at the Leafy Tree in Qorqonaq Valley is the campaign of Qutula and Qada'an against the Tatars in revenge for Ambaqai's death (see § 58; AT¹, 11b). It is therefore possible that, as already suggested by Clark 1978, 51, n. 18, the feasting and dancing may have had some ceremonial significance in connection with a military campaign – whether specifically for revenge remains to be seen. There is no doubt. I think, that the Leafy Tree and the dancing carried out around it – largely consisting of stamping of feet, it seems – went together, and that there was a ritual (shamanistic) significance attached to them. See Pèrlée², 11 (= Pèrlée⁴, 100), also for references to this practice in later Mongol literature, and its survival in modern times. Cf. MBMTTS, 284-305; Išžamc 1974, 79; Chiodo 1992, 146, n. 106; Uray-Köhalmi 1994, 318; X. Sampildëndëv in MNT, I, 195-202; I. Kabzin'ska, *ibid.*, 245-249; MMS, 43-45,

and, especially, Wu C 1966. For *horcin* (= mo. *orcín*) 'around', see Pelliot 1925, 220, no. 35.

'Up to their waist' (*qabirqa-ta*), lit. 'to the ribs.' For the use of the dative suffix (-*ta*) for the terminative case, see Hashimoto 1977.

For the word *ölkek* 'dust', a *hapax legomenon* in the SH, see TH, 126 (= JYT, 221) (where, however, the reference to bur. *ülgenxé* is not relevant). For the saying in verse – a popular idiom – see Cérésodnom 1986, 82.

§ 58. 'When Qutula became *qa'an*': cf. § 124 for an identically phrased opening.

The first element of the name of the Tatar chief Kötön Baraqa is no doubt identical with the name of Ögödei's second son Ködön, the Kötön of Rašid al-Dīn. See *Successors*, 359b (Index); HCG, 154. The name Jali Buqa ('Flame [= Fiery, Powerful] Bull') of the other Tatar chief appears in § 141, in the form Jalin Buqa. On this name and the identity of this personage (or personages?), see below, n. 141. *Jalin* corresponds to tu. *yalin* 'flame' (= mo. *jali*). Bese 1974, 94, takes *jali* in its other meaning of 'crafty.' See Les., 1031b. There is a considerable amount of literature on the word *jali*; cf. MMHS, 90-91, Note 25a. Cf. also below, n. 141.

'To take revenge./To requite the wrong', lit. 'To avenge the vengeance./To requite the requital' (*ösöl ösön kisal kisan*): cf. §§ 154, 214 and 254 for the same idiomatic expression. For *ösöl* (= *öš*) 'vengeance' and its concept in medieval Mongol society and culture, see Hamayon 1986 (cf. Hamayon 1978, 89-90); Jagchid 1978, 97-98; Fletcher 1986, 14; and the contribution by L. Clark (Clark 1978), where the subject is discussed in detail. See also my remarks below, n. 149. As for the alliterative four-word idiom, it is recorded also in Turkic in a short rock inscription recently discovered near Bugat Sum in northwestern Mongolia. See Battulga 2000.

After the section corresponding to § 58 of the SH, i.e. between §§ 58 and 59, the AT (AT¹, 11b-12a) inserts a short

declamatory piece by a certain Küdei (?) Sečen addressed to Ambaqai's ten sons and Qabul's seven sons, which is undoubtedly of a later date (15th-16th c. ?), but interesting enough for Žamcarano to reproduce it and translate it in Žamc.¹, 93-96. See Žamc.², 65-68 (there are, however, several errors in the transcription of the text); and MNTLAT, 23.

§ 59. Regarding Yisügei's campaigns against the Tatars, cf. SL², I/2, 50, 57-58, 75; SWCCL¹, 1b; YS² 1, 3. The last two sources, which are very scanty, both agree that Yisügei fought the Tatar tribe and *captured* the chief Temüjin, i.e. Temüjin Üge (the SWCCL speaks, like the SH, of two chiefs, Temüjin Öke and Quru Buqa, the latter an error for Qori Buqa). Rašid's account, describing the dominant position Yisügei had attained as tribal chief, mentions the hostility of the Tatar and other tribes and how, in AH 549/1154-55 (this is the correct reading, against the 547/1152-53 of SL², I/2, 75) he fought the Tatars led by Temüjin Üge and Quru Buqa, i.e. Qori Buqa, whom he *killed* (but, in another passage, he says that they were brought under submission). Returning triumphantly from this campaign he stopped at a place called Delün Boldaq; soon after, that same year, Činggis Qan was born. See HCG, 9-11. In AT¹, 12a, the Tatar chiefs are called Tömüjin and Qoribuqa, and the place where Činggis Qan was born is written Deligün Bolday. Cf. LDAT, 65.

With regard to the names of the two chiefs, the first element of the name Temüjin Üge means 'ironsmith' (< *temür* 'iron' + den. noun suff. *-jin* ~ *-čün*; see below). The second element, Üge, may also be read as Öge or Öke, these words being indistinguishable in Mongol script. It is, in all probability, tu. *ögä*, originally meaning 'intelligent, wise; a mature man', used as a title roughly equivalent to 'Counsellor' (the same word may be at the root of the name Ögödei ~ Ögedei). See HCG, 9-10; TMEN, no. 614; DTS, 379a; ED, 101a-b; MBT, 185, 80r1 (where 'Üge' should probably be read 'Öge'). In Qori Buqa, the first element may be the ethnic name Qori already found in the

compound Qori Tumat (see above, n. 8); alternatively, it may mean 'twenty' (= *qorin*). Cf. HCG, 10, 62-64; Bese 1974, 92. *Buqa* means 'bull.'

Evidently, Yisügei succeeded in rallying a number of Mongol and Tayiči'ut clans under his leadership, possibly after the death of Qutula as suggested by Hambis 1975, 21, n. 36, but not enough to be elected *qan*, since the only title he bore in his lifetime was that of *ba'atur* (see above, n. 50). After his victory over the Tatars he returned to his encampment, which at that time was at Deli'ün Boldaq ('Spleen Hill') on the Onon (cf. above, n. 54) and where Hö'elün soon after gave birth to her first child, the future Činggis Qan.

Deli'ün Boldaq has been identified with a hillock, now known as Boldagiin Ėrėen Tolgoi, situated near the Balj (Balž) River (see above, n. 24), in the neighbourhood of the mineral spa and tourist resort of Gurvan Nuur ('Three Lakes') at Dadal (Sum), 49° 07' N and 111° 50' E. See Žam'yan 1958; Doržsürėn 1960; Pėrlėe², 9; RBC, 67-68; Aubin 1974, 15-16, n. 19; IėDGMT, 15-18. (This locality should not be confused with the other famous place in Mongol history, Dolo'an Boldaq, on which see below, n. 136.) *Boldaq* (= mo. *boldaq*, *boldoγ*) means 'an isolated hill or hillock', see HW, 17; cf. SMT, 16; HCG, 11. However, other localities have been suggested; see, e.g., CKA, 10 (E 11), 54a. In my opinion the identification of Deli'ün Boldaq with Boldagiin Ėrėen Tolgoi is not justified, and the site of Činggis' birthplace on the Onon is unknown. See de Rachewiltz 1998, 249-251.

'Right there', or 'right there and then' (*jöb tende*). There is no agreement in our sources on the date of Temüjin's birth. The question is discussed in detail by Pelliot in NMP, I, 281-288; cf. also HCG, 126; Hung 1951, 475-476. Pelliot's conclusion, now widely accepted by Western historians, is that the *most likely* but by no means certain year for his birth is 1167. However, the Chinese traditional date of 1162 is still the officially accepted date in China, Mongolia and Russia. Ratchnevsky, who has carefully reviewed the problem in ČK¹, 16-18 (= ČK², 17-19), is

of the opinion that Temüjin was born towards the mid-1160s. Certainly, the year 1155 obtained from Rašid al-Dīn and adopted by Barthold, Vladimircov, T'u Chi and other scholars earlier on is the least acceptable, as shown by Pelliot who has also dismissed the all too precise date given in the AT (see LDAT, 65) as a later interpolation. This date, corresponding to 31 May (not 1 February, as stated by Pelliot) 1162, was adopted as the official birth-date in the MPR. See BNMAUT², 147; cf. BHM, 166 (30 May 1162). The present official birthday of Činggis Qan in the Mongolian Republic is 3 May (as from 2002). The year of birth (1162) remains the same. See *The Mongol Messenger* of 10 April 2002. Articles on the year of birth of Činggis, such as Chou CS 1962, Shao HC 1962, and Katsufuji 1977, as well as the lengthy section on it in CHHC, 30-43, are largely reviews of previous theories and do not contribute anything new to the solution of the problem. For reasons that will become clear further on (see below, n. 104), I am also in favour of the year 1162 for Temüjin's birth.

The story of the new-born child holding a clot of blood (*nödiin*, cf. DO, 221b, 503a) in the palm of his hand is an ancient Asiatic folklore theme, possibly of Buddhist origin, portending the advent of a fierce and merciless conqueror. See NMP, I, 288-289; HCG, 12; Gaadamba 1968, 73; Meserve 2000, 37. The symbolic birth of a conqueror with blood on his hand(s) will later be attributed also to Timur Leng (Tamerlane, 1336-1405), and with good reason. The element of fierceness implied in the portent is brought out vividly in 'Hö'elün's Lament' in § 78. This undoubtedly early Mongol tradition may have played a not insignificant part in the choice of the epithet *činggis* in the 'title' Činggis Qan subsequently conferred on the conqueror, the meaning of which is probably 'fierce.' See below, n. 123. In the AT account, the blood clot is described as black (*qara nöjin*). See AT¹, 12b. The Mongolian term for 'to clutch, hold in the hand' is *hatqu-*, corresponding to mo. *adqu-* id., not *qatqu-* as in Pe, 17, L², 47, and R, 293b. See Poppe 1969, 270; idem 1975b, 155. Ši'a (= mo. *siγai*, *šayai*)

'knucklebone' is actually the astragalus or anklebone of the animal, usually a sheep, used by the Mongols in games (cf. § 116) – an almost universal practice. On this word see TMEN, no. 1248; DO, 600a; Oz¹, I, 246, n. 3. For the symbolism of the knucklebone in Altaic folklore and tradition, see Roux 1976.

As stated earlier, the name Temüjin ('Ironsmith') is formed on *temür* 'iron' + the suffix *-jin*, which is an ancient allomorph, now no longer productive, of the denominal noun suffix *-či(n)* designating names of vocations. See LSHM, 54, 4.111; JŚ, 28-29, § 25; Bese 1974, 93; Poppe 1975, 167. On this name see also the important note by Pelliot in NMP, I, 289-291; HCG, 9-10; NHHO, 32, n. 3, 109; Sinor 1982, 248-249.

One of the name-giving customs of the medieval Mongols was to name the newborn child after an object or person that attracted the mother's attention after she had given birth. In the present case, the person was a (presumably) valiant tribal chief: naming the child after him would also ensure the acquisition by the child of the chief's valour and martial spirit (on the Mongols' belief in the magic of names, see below, n. 267). From this we can infer that Temüjin Üge was probably slain on that occasion. Cf. SL², I/2, 58. For an interesting historical precedent of this practice culled by Lattimore from the *Tsochuan* 左傳, see Lattimore 1960.

For the story of Činggis Qan's birth and its development as a literary motif in later Mongolian historical and pseudo-historical works, cf. Sagaster 1995.

§ 60. The five children of Yisügei and Hö'elün listed in this section are Temüjin, Joči Qasar, Qači'un, Temüge, and the only female, Temülün. Qasar is called Qasar and Joči Qasar, a double name; Qači'un, the third son, is called Qači'un and Qači'un Elči, the name followed by an epithet. Temüge, the youngest son, is called Temüge and Temüge Otčigin, the second element of the name also being an epithet. Joči (the name also of Činggis' eldest son) means 'Guest' (see above, n. 51); Qasar was the name of a kind of wild dog (see below, n. 78). On

(Joči) Qasar see the important note (1) by Pelliot in HCG, 171-175. If Temüjin (Činggis Qan) was born in 1162, Qasar must have been born in 1164; he probably died in, or soon after, 1213. On his descendants, see *Chapitre CVII*, 24-29. Qači'un bore the same name as the fifth son of Menen Tudun, see above, n. 45. The epithet *elči* means 'envoy, messenger' – possibly because Qači'un may later often have been employed in this capacity. He was presumably born in 1166. On his descendants, see *Chapitre CVII*, 29-34. Temüge is a name formed, like Temüjin and Temülün, on *temür* 'iron.' Cf. Bese 1974, 93; Poppe 1975, 167. The epithet *otčigin* (on which much has been written) designates his role as 'guardian (or keeper) of the hearth' – Temüge being the youngest son and, therefore, the one who by tradition inherited the native domain and domestic patrimony, the so-called 'yurt' (< tu. *yurt*; see TMEN, no. 1914). The term *otčigin* means, in fact, 'lord of the hearth' (< tu. *ot* 'fire' + *čigin* [< *tigin*, *tegin*] 'prince'). On it, besides the references given above, n. 48, cf. also MSR, 136; NHHO, 109; Boyle 1956, 153 (4); Róna-Tas 1986, 135; and Fletcher 1986, 26. It is worth noting in this respect that Temüge's later domain or apanage was in the northeastern corner of Mongolia, just south-east of Lake Hulun (or Dalai Nör). See HCG, 178; HYC, A, 16b; TOA, 64-65. It was from this general area – broadly the region of the Hailar plain – that the Mongqol tribe had in earlier times migrated to the Khentei and Onon-Kerulen region, as we have already seen (above n. 1). The situation of Temüge's domain would confirm that the Mongols in Činggis' time still regarded this easternmost region as their ancestral and hereditary domain; and it is, perhaps, not purely accidental that it was also in this region (although somewhat further south) that Činggis and his faithful companions drank the muddy waters of the Balžuna, thus sealing their famous covenant (see below, n. 182). Cf. Paila-tu-ko-ch'i 白拉都格其 in ÖMYS, 1984.3, 35-38. If Činggis was born in 1162, Temüge was born in 1168. For his descendants, see *Chapitre CVII*, 34-48.

According to the same chronology Temülün, Činggis' only sister, would have been born in 1169 or 1170 (she was still in the cradle in 1170). Her name is also formed on *temür* with the feminine name suffix *-lün(/-lun)*; cf. above n. 55. For this name see also Pelliot in *TP* 29:1932, 51; Pelliot 1935, 930, n. 21; NHHO, 84, 109; Bese 1974, 93; idem 1980, 319, no. 14; Poppe 1975, 164; Rybatzki [2003], s.v.

For the feminine form *törebi* (praeteritum perfecti of *töre-* 'to be born'), see UGPM, 146-147, § 32; JŠ, 129, § 217, 206-207, § 325; YMT, 27-28, 84.

Besides the five children that Yisügei had from Hö'elün, we know that he had two more sons, Bekter and Belgütei, from another wife, called Sučigil or Suǰigil. In AT¹, 13b, in the passage corresponding to § 60 of the SH, we read the following: *Yisügei bayatur-un nököge gergei Sučigil (? Suǰigil) eke-eče Begter Belgetei qoyar bülüge* 'From Yisügei Bayatur's second wife, Sučigil (? Suǰigil) Eke ("Mother Sučigil [? Suǰigil]"), Begter and Belgetei were born.' Cf. ATL, 31; LDAT, 67. On Sučigil/Suǰigil Eke and Dayasi Qatun – Bekter's and Belgütei's mother according to the ET – see HCG, 185-186. According to Pelliot this passage was in the original text of the SH. See Pelliot 1940/41, 11-12; cf. above, nn. 50 and 56. I hold the same opinion as Pelliot and have, therefore, added the passage in question in brackets in my translation. Bekter (= Begter), the eldest, was killed when still a boy by Temüjin and Qasar, as related in § 77; Belgütei was spared and seems to have got on well with Temüjin. He had numerous descendants. On him see HCG, 185-187 et passim; *Chapitre CVII*, 48-51.

For the word *qunan* (= mo. *γunan*) 'three years old', cf. Cleaves 1949b, 432-433; Vietze 1990, 382. This term is still used for people in the Buriat sagas and epics; elsewhere its use is restricted only to animals (N.P., p.c.).

With regard to the ages of Yisügei's children as given in this section, a note of caution is, I think, called for. The figure of 'nine' for Temüjin's age (= eight according to Western reckoning) *may* well have been chosen for the special symbolic

value attached to this number; moreover, the exact spacing of two years between the children *may* also be artificial, the age sequence (with the child reckoned as one year old at birth) being 1, 3, 5, 7, 9. Cf. O. Purev's remarks in OUMÉIX, VII/Summaries, 39. As pointed out by other investigators, the number nine has a special connotation for the Mongols, as well as for other peoples (including Turks and Tibetans), because as the last of the simple numbers of the decimal numeration it is regarded as a 'complete number.' Hence, nine keeps on recurring in Mongol shamanistic rituals and in many aspects of ordinary life. For the same reason, it has often the meaning of 'all.' Cf. MB, I, 217; and LRČP, I/1, 53⁶; I/2, 40 and n. 109 [P.P.-C.R.A.C.]; Moses 1986 (esp. p. 290); idem 1996, 87-89; MNTB, 16ff. Much has been written about the symbolic value of this number since ancient times among the Altaic people, as well as in China. See, in particular, MP², I, 392, n. 2; HCSL, 730; TMEN, no. 976; PC, 167ff.; de Rachewiltz 1960, 247-250, n. 116; FTC, 21 and n. 20; Sárközi 1971, 43-44; Bese 1987, 47-48; Rybatzki 2000, 220-221. For other examples of the use of nine in the SH, cf. §§ 61, 77, 80, 103, 202, 203, 242, 245, 267. See also Li, 148, n. 99; 185, n. 267. For the ancient Japanese the mystic number was eight, and it is interesting to note that for them the number 80 (8 x 10) also meant 'innumerable, all.' As is well known, nine was also the canonical number for the ancient Greeks. As shown by D. Cédév, other numbers with symbolic values, such as three, occur frequently in the SH. See MNTB, 14ff.; *MH* 1:1993, 137-143.

§ 61. The Olqunu'ut were a clan of the Onggirat or Qonggirat, one of the leading tribes of eastern Mongolia, whose habitat was the region of the Khalkha (= Qalqa) River (kh. Xalxyn Gol), in what is the present border area between Mongolia and the northernmost part of Inner Mongolia. See HCG, 402-409; Vlad.², 58-59; and above, n. 54. For Qonggirat ~ Onggirat, see Pelliot 1944, 77-78, n. 1. Hö'elün was an Olqunu'ut. The tribes of Mongolia practised exogamy, i.e. it was forbidden to marry

within the clan and wives could only be taken from other, unrelated clans. A frequent practice was to get wives always from a particular clan. In such cases the parents of the bride and of the bridegroom called each other *quda*, a term designating the father of one's son-in-law or daughter-in-law, which has no counterpart in English. In the case of the Onggirat and the Mongols, we know that marriage relationships between these two tribes existed already at the time of Qabul Qan (SL², I/1, 104); they continued throughout the 13th century and well into the 14th, with many imperial brides being chosen from among the Onggirat. See Vlad.², loc. cit.; NMP, II, 869-870; Mu, I, 84-86, n. 13; Ratchnevsky 1976, 513; Yeh HM 1982; Holmgren 1986, 138-140; idem 1991, 85-86; however, cf. Okada 1985 for a different view on the role of the Onggirat in providing imperial princesses to the Mongol court. Several contributions (of uneven value) on the Onggirat have appeared in China; for a survey, see CKYSYC, 1981:1, 2; 1983:1, 6; 1983:2, 5; CKSYCTT, 1983:8, 9; YShi, 42-43. For the term *quda*, see below, n. 62.

'Relatives' renders the Mongolian *törgüt*, plural of *törgün* (= pmo., mo. *törkün*, *törken*, *törküüm*): this term designates the relatives from the mother's side. See Vlad.², 59, 74; Cleaves 1949a, 509-510; Oz¹, I, 249-250, n. 1. Hö'elün is called here, for the first time, 'Mother Hö'elün' (Hö'elün Eke).

For the term *naqaču* (= mo. *naqaču*) 'maternal uncle', see TMEN, no. 383; RH, 232, no. 29 (*naqaču*).

The two mountains Čekčer (= pmo. Čegčer) and Čiqurqu (= pmo. Čiquryu; the text has 'Čiqurgu') are as yet unidentified. On their situation in the region of the river Khalkha, see the long note (2) by Pelliot in HCG, 423-429; cf. RBC, 111 (where Schubert's incorrect reference to Pelliot and Hambis has unfortunately invalidated his identification). It is surprising that these two important landmarks have not yet been identified by Chinese scholars, Čekčer in particular, in view of the fact that this mountain is often mentioned in the Ming and Ch'ing sources, about which see Hambis 1974, 35-36; Franke W 1949, 16; and also TMITC 90, 25b and 27b. It is clear from such

sources that Mount Čekčer was west of the Urshun River and by taking into account Pelliot's discussion in HCG, it must be found in proximity of the northern shore of the Buir Nör. The two mountains are perhaps to be identified with the Dulan Qara Mts., between the Kerulen and the Urshun, in JA, 149, no. 385 (= Map 4, at 48° N and 117° E). Cf. also TSK, 34, 35, 138, where Wada Sei claims that Mount Čekčer was just south-west of Lake Hulun, hence in the same general area. The Olqunu'ut territory was somewhat further east, possibly in the area of present-day A-mu-ku-lang (Amugulang) in the New Barga East Banner, south-west of Hailar.

For Dei Sečen, i.e. Dei (= Deyi) the Wise, chief of the Onggirat of the Bosqur clan, see HCG, 411-414; YS² 118, 2915; *Chapitre CVIII*, t. 2bis (opp. p. 18); and Pai-la-tu-ko-ch'i 1979.

As noted by Pelliot, the SH account of Yisügei's meeting with Dei Sečen and the ensuing scene (§§ 62-66), rich in poetic flavour, has no counterpart in Rašid al-Dīn's account (which gives a different and more sober version), and bears all the marks of a 'romanesque' enlargement in line with the epic character of the work. See HCG, 413. The age of nine given for Temüjin's visit is also not accidental but of symbolic significance, as noted by other investigators. See Bese 1987, 47; cf. above, n. 60.

§ 62. Dei Sečen addresses Yisügei as *quda*, i.e. as a relative by marriage because of the special relationship that obtained between the Onggirat – one of whose clans was the Olqunu'ut – and Yisügei's family. See above, n. 61. For the term *quda*, besides Vlad.², 58-59, see MSR, 133, 137; TMEN, no. 296; Oz¹, I, 252-253, n. 1.

'Who has fire in his eyes,/Who has light in his face.' This expression, characterising looks of unusual radiance indicative of an exceptionally bright mind and personality, is a commonplace in Mongol oral literature, particularly the Khalkha epic. See MNTSZA, 104-106; Šastina 1977, 464; Cérénsodnom 1986, 74, 77, 79; Šagdarsüren 2000, 121-122. Cf. also § 66,

where the same words, but in inverse order, are applied to Temüjin's bride-to-be Börte.

§ 63. 'I had a dream last night, I did', lit. 'I, this night I dreamt a dream, I.'

Dei Sečen's dream is full of symbolism. The gerfalcon, a majestic and powerful creature, the king of hunting birds, is aptly chosen as a manifestation of the *sülde* of the Kiyat (see below); it is all-white – the auspicious colour par excellence. It holds both the sun and the moon, the two bright 'lords' of the sky, in its claws, an action symbolizing the bringing of glory and renown to Dei Sečen and his people. The timing of the dream coincides with Yisügei's and Temüjin's visit. All fits. For the gerfalcon (*šingqor*), see above, n. 54; cf. also RTM, 258; Skrynnikova 1992/93, 57-58. For white as an auspicious colour, and white animals, cf. the references in §§ 80, 189, 202, 216, 219, 239, 245 and 267; Na², 312; Pelliot 1930, 265; Cleaves 1949, 125, n. 212; KCHR, 13-14; MM, 61; MP¹, I, 222 (cf. MP², 273, n. 4, 390); NMP, I, 230; D'Ohsson, II, 529 n.; Vlad.², 60; RTM, 214; FTC, 20-21 and n. 20; de Rachewiltz 1960, 253-255, n. 119; Poppe 1977, 123, no. 27; Aubin 1978, 42ff.; Fedotoff 1997 (esp. pp. 34-35); and below, n. 202. Cf. also HCSL, 42, 121, 129 et passim; K. Shiratori in *TYGH* 18:1929/30, 235-241; IBŠ, 162-163; Chiodo 1992, passim; MNTB, 27. For white, black and colours in general among the Mongols, besides Poppe 1977, cf. also Cèvel 1959; and, especially, Khabtagaeva 2001. For another example, in a Turkic epic, of a dream involving a falcon, cf. BDK, 45 (see also *ibid.*, 10). The association of white with luck and a happy destiny is almost certainly a concept borrowed from the Inner Asian Turks (ultimately Manichean?). Cf. GFT, § 24. See also Choi Hyong-won in *AH* 9:1999, 286-288.

'I had my dream ... bringing your son', lit. 'I saw my dream ... leading your son.'

For the Kiyat (pl. of Kiyat) *irgen*, i.e. the members of the Kiyat *yasun*-lineage of the Borjigin to which Yisügei belonged,

see above, n. 50. A few paragraphs later (§ 67), Yisügei is called Yisügei Kiyat, i.e. Yisügei the Kiyat. A genealogical table of the Kiyat is found in Do¹, 29.

'The august spirit (*sülde*) of you, Kiyat people, has come in my dream and has announced your visit.' Both the Chinese interlinear version and the sectional summary render *sülde* as 'good (or lucky) omen' (*chi-chao* 吉兆), whereas in §§ 201 and 249 the same term is glossed 'august (or majestic) spirit, majesty' (*wei-ling* 威靈). *Sülde* (~ *sülde*) is an important term in the shamanistic conception of the world held by the Mongols, which is closely related to that of the early Turks and other Inner Asiatic people. *Sülde* is the vital force or powerful spirit that animates, guards and protects a being (and by extension, a lineage) so that he can fulfil his destiny, which, as we have seen (above, n. 1), is preordained by Heaven. The chief characteristics of *sülde*, which must be distinguished from the individual 'soul' (see below), are 'strength', or 'might' (*güčü[n]*) and 'good fortune', or 'charisma' (*su > sutu* 'fortunate, endowed with charisma'; see below, n. 74), both essential elements for achieving success with Heaven's protection (*ihe'el*, pmo. and mo. *ibegel*; for *b ~ h*, see *Lettres*, 72). This inborn 'virtue', or power, appears in individuals who are destined to become great leaders as a majestic aura, an august (imposing, awesome) appearance, conferring on them the qualities of what we may call today a 'charismatic personality.' Embodying, as it did, the concepts of 'strength', 'good fortune' and 'Heaven's protection', *sülde* in time came to assume the role of a protective spirit in relation to the family or clan so favoured by Heaven. Thus *sülde*, as a force resulting in Heavenly-bestowed good fortune, and as the tutelary genius of the clan, was the very essence of the might and grandeur which a ruler and his family and descendants enjoyed. Perhaps already in Činggis Qan's time it was believed that the *sülde* of the ruling clan could 'animate', as it were, a symbolic object like the great war standard (*tuq*), conferring special powers on it; we have ample evidence of sacrifices being offered to the standard at the beginning and at

the conclusion of a campaign, no doubt to propitiate the indwelling spirit. For these sacrifices, cf. §§ 106, 193; Cleaves 1956, 268. See also below, nn. 193, 202. Hence the close association between the *sülde(r)* and the great standard, and the eventual fusion of the two into a single entity representing the very spirit of the ruler in its role of 'protector.' This is, however, a later development with which we are not concerned here. On it see, provisionally, WG, 351-354; FTC, 21-22 and n. 23; MBMTTS, Ch. II; KHIV, 81ff. Cf. also Chiodo 1999/2000, 232ff. Of more relevance to us is the SH interpretation of *sülde(r)* as 'good omen', which is not, strictly speaking, correct, being merely a contextual inference of the translator(s). Dei Sečen's *sülde(r)*-inspired, allegorical dream was a dream of 'good omen', for it meant good fortune for his family and tribe, but the translator(s) quite naturally extended the concept of good omen to include also *sülde(r)*. By a similar process, *sülde(r)* in later usage came to mean not only 'might, grandeur, charisma; good fortune, blessing, prosperity, happiness' and 'protecting spirit, protector', as well as 'sülde(r)-standard; symbol, emblem', but also 'soul.' (In Written Mongolian and in the modern Mongolian languages and dialects, the form of the word is without final *r*; for *-r* ~ zero, cf. Mostaert 1957, 550, n. 37; Oz¹, I, 258, n. 6; and Cleaves 1952, 101, n. 122.) The assimilation of the concept of *sülde(r)* to that of the individual 'soul' (*sür*, *sünesün*, *sür sünesün*) is a complex phenomenon which may have started quite early; subsequently, Lamaism played a considerable role in equating *sülde(r)* with 'soul' by using *sülde* to render tib. *bla*. However, in the 12th-13th centuries the two concepts had apparently not yet become confused or merged. Clearly, the concept of *sülde(r)* in medieval Mongol shamanism was related to that of *ĵaya'an* 'destiny', and as far as one can determine on the strength of the scanty material available, it applied essentially to 'superior' beings, i.e. to individuals particularly favoured by Heaven who were born endowed 'with a destiny' (*ĵaya'atu*) to rule. It is not clear, though, whether it is *sülde(r)* that determines one's destiny, or vice versa; in any event, the

destiny cannot be fulfilled without *sülde(r)*. In the 12th-13th centuries *sülde(r)* seems to combine the connotations of both the Roman *virtus* and the Christian 'grace', devoid however of moral undertones. On the problem of *sülde(r)*, see provisionally Banzarov 1981/82, 75ff.; Vlad.², 187; Kotwicz 1934, 146; MMHS, 72-76, Note 1(d), 90-91, Note 25(a); Mostaert 1935, 333, n. 8; idem 1957, 548-550, n. 37; and ET², I, 29, n. 64; Sárközi 1971, 43-44; KCHR, 44, n. 71; FTC, 21-22 and n. 23; BŠDT, 94b; Heissig 1981; Bawden 1985, 10-14; Skrynnikova 1989c; idem 1992/93; idem 1993; idem 1994, 27ff.; and, more recently, KHIV, passim. For *sür sünesün* and its relationship with *sülde(r)*, cf. also Bawden 1962, 93-94 and n. 7; de Rachewiltz 1982, 71, n. 168; Cleaves 1985, 253, n. 79; RTM, 161-162; MSMOS, 65-66; BŠDT, 96a-b; TH, 242; IBŠ, 244-248; and, especially, Bazin 1987. For *su*, *gücü* and *ihe'el*, see below, nn. 74, 113, 125. For further comments on the problem of the soul, or souls, among the medieval Mongols, see below, n. 201.

For the use of the particle *ele* in the present section, see Street 1986, 8-9 (4), 11 (10).

§§ 64, 65. The entire section, from 'With us ...' to 'their beauty' (beginning of § 65), has been translated and discussed by Mostaert (Mo, 8-12, 194, 224). The following are a few additional comments.

Ĵe'e 'daughter of the daughter' is mo. *ĵige*. Cf. kh. *zëe*, ord. *džë* id.

'We do not strive for dominion', lit. 'We do not contend with others over the *ulus*', i.e. over the possession of territory (one cannot define *ulus* as 'empire' at this time).

'For those of you who have become *qa'an*': for *qa'an* read *qan* – *qa'an* would be anachronistic in this context and it must therefore be (as in other cases) a later substitution. See above, n. 1, and Section Four of the Introduction.

'On a large cart' (*qasaq tergen-tiir*). I have rendered *qasaq tergen* (i.e. a Qazaq [= Kazakh] cart or chariot) as 'large cart'

following the Chinese gloss, and also on the strength of Pelliot's remarks in NMP, I, 331; II, 870; and NHHO, 217-218. However, mo. *qasay terge* and bur. *xahag tērgē* designate a 'light two-wheeled one-horse carriage', i.e. a gig. In view of the subsequent reference to a 'carriage with front seat' (see below), a larger sort of two-wheeled cart must be meant. For other references to camel-drawn carts, see Poppe 1961. Cf. Vlad.², 47. *Bu'ura*, mo. *buyura*, is a Mongolian borrowing from tu. *buyra*, a term designating the (two-humped) camel stallion, and specifically, the Bactrian camel. See TMEN, no. 747; ED, 317b-318a. Cf. below, nn. 152 and 274, for further references to camels in Mongolian.

'We trot them off to the *qa'an*', lit. 'We go to the *qa'an* making the camel trot.' I use the word *qa'an* again to be consistent with the text (see above), but it should of course be *qan*.

'Seat them by him', lit. 'seat them together (*qamtu*).'

'We do not strive for dominion, nor for people (*ulus irgen*)', lit. 'We do not contend with others over dominion and people.' For *ulus* 'dominion, domain', see below, n. 202; for *irgen* 'people', cf. above, n. 5.

'Have the *qatuns* as shields,/Have their daughters as intercessors (lit. "petitions")', i.e. when the daughters and granddaughters of the Onggirat marry powerful chiefs and become *qatuns*, they serve as shields against the Onggirat's enemies; and by the requests they make to their husbands, they obtain favours for the Onggirat. In a letter to me of 29 September 1971, H. Serruys wrote: 'In connection with the custom of the Onggirat (§ 64) not to strive for dominion, but to build their influence on their girls married to the rulers, it is interesting that in the 16-17th centuries Austria had the same reputation:

Bella gerant alli, tu felix Austria nube;

Namque Mars aliis, dat tibi regna Venus.

I found this in a book on Charles V, but there was no reference. I thought it was very interesting to find a parallel so far from Mongolia.'

'With our boys, when they seek a bride, etc.' What Dei Sečen means is that, whereas the parents of a girl sought as wife for an Onggirat boy 'look at the camp', i.e. consider the wealth of the boy's family before the match is concluded, the parents of a boy seeking an Onggirat girl as wife consider only the latter's beauty, for which the Onggirat girls are famous. The above interpretation of Dei Sečen's words, which no doubt constitute a popular saying (for another example, see § 66), is based on the one proposed by Mostaert (Mo, 12); however, another interpretation is not only possible, but plausible, viz. 'Our boys look after the camp (i.e. they stay at home);/Our girls are looked at (= are admired) for their beauty (i.e. they marry into other clans and leave home).' This interpretation goes back to Kozin (Ko, 86-87); it was followed by Damdinsürēn (Da¹, 37; Da⁵, 31); it was defended by Gaadamba (MNTSZA, 106-111); and it was subsequently adopted by several other translators, including Ozawa (Oz¹, I, 266-268; Oz², I, 41). Mostaert's interpretation is supported by the Chinese sectional summary (Y² 1, 46a), and it may be assumed that the Ming editors had on the whole a better understanding of the text from the folkloristic point of view than we have now. For *nuntuq* 'nomadic camp', see above, n. 1 ad fin.

'Take a look at her, *quda!*', lit. 'let the *quda* see her!'

§ 66. When Yisügei saw Dei Sečen's daughter, he saw a girl 'Who had light in her face,/Who had fire in her eyes', i.e. a perfect match for Temüjin, who had himself been so described in § 62 by Dei Sečen. The girl, Börte, was somewhat older than Temüjin, but this did not matter much in Mongol society; in fact, as Lattimore has pointed out (Lattimore 1963b, 58), it was considered a good thing for the first wife of a steppe aristocrat's son to be a few years older, since 'if he became a successful war leader and tribal chief [he] would later have other wives and concubines ... She would reach puberty earlier, would be ready to initiate her husband sexually and also be able to guide and counsel him in worldly matters.' As regards counsel, we know

that this is indeed what happened. See, e.g., § 118. Thus, assuming that Temüjin was born in 1162 (see above, n. 60, and below, n. 104), Börte must have been born in 1161. The year of their encounter, and engagement, was then 1170, since Temüjin was nine (= eight) at the time. The year of her death is not known, but she must have died after 1206/7 and almost certainly before her husband. See below, n. 245. She is only briefly mentioned among the imperial consorts in YS² 114, 2869.

Börte means ‘sky-blue, bluish, blue-grey’; as a proper name it corresponds exactly to our ‘Celeste.’ See de Rachewiltz 1997; Rybatzki [2003], s.v. Cf. above, n. 1.

‘He was pleased with her’, lit. ‘he let her enter into his mind (= heart, affection).’ Cf. Mo, 73.

For *manaqaši* ‘the following morning’, cf. § 196, where the same form occurs, with the same meaning (see HW, 106). However, in §§ 170, 214 and 245 we find *manaqārši* (= pmo., mo. *manayarsi*) id., and in §§ 72, 143 and 146 *manaqārši* is glossed ‘the next day’ (明日). In AT¹, 14b et passim, the regular form is *manayarsi*. It would appear, then, that *manaqaši* = *manaqa[r]ši*, the character 兒 transcribing *-r-* having been inadvertently dropped by the copyist in §§ 66 and 196. Cf. Oz¹, I, 269: *manaGarši*. I am not sure, however, that this is the case, for it is possible that *manaqaši* ~ *manaqārši* like *kelemeči* ~ **kelemerči*, *kelemüči* ~ *kelemürči* ‘interpreter’; cf. Toba *kelmürčin* id. See Mo, 17-18; TMEN, no. 335; Ligeti 1959, 236; idem 1970, 292-293, no. 1; de Rachewiltz 1982, 86, n. 369. Cf. also RH, 236, no. 25 (*manaqâr* ‘tomorrow’; mo. *manayâr* id.). For *kelemüči*, see e.g. ET³, 76r20. In both instances we have *-r* ~ zero, as in *sülde* ~ *sülde*; see above, n. 63 (for *-mal-me* and *-marl-mer*, see GWM, 48, §§ 165, 169). One cannot, therefore, exclude the possibility of *manaqar* ~ **manaqa*, particularly in view of kalm. *maṅhdur* = mo. *manayâr edür* ‘tomorrow.’ See KaRS, 342b; cf. KW, 256b: *maṅḡdūr*. Cf. also LLSL, 121b: *mana* (= *manā[r]?*) id.

‘If I gave her away ...; if I gave her away ...’ In Mongolian these two sentences are expressed as two rhetorical questions, with the interrogative particle *-wül-wü* (= *-’ül-’ü*) following *olonta* ‘many times’ (here rendered as ‘after much’) and *čo’ente* ‘few times’ (here rendered as ‘without much’). Cf. Cl, 17. Dei Sečen’s words are somewhat ambiguous, however, and they could be understood as referring to his daughter, not to himself. See, e.g., the renderings in Ha, 10-11; Poppe 1964, 367; Ratchnevsky 1976, 512; idem 1987, 70; and my earlier version, Ra, II, 131.

‘The fate of a girl is not to grow old in the family (lit. “at the door”) in which she was born.’ On this proverb quoted by Dei Sečen, see Mo, 12-13; Khomonov 1981, 59.

‘I will give you my daughter, and you, for your part, leave your son here as my son-in-law’, lit. ‘I will give my daughter, and you, for your part, go, leaving your son as son-in-law (*güreget-te*).’ But here the verb ‘to go’ (*ot-*) plays the role of an auxiliary of action or achievement. Cf. Mo, 156; Aalto 1973, 36. For the use of the postponed conjunction *be ... be*, see above, n. 29; cf. Street 1981, 161. *Güreget* is the plural of *gürege(n)* ‘son-in-law’ (written *gürigen* in § 251; cf. the pl. form *güriget* in §§ 68, 270 and 280). The plural is used to generalize the meaning (= ‘as [one does in the case of] sons-in-law’), as noted by Vladimircov (Vlad.², 59, n. 5). Cf., however, Oz¹, I, 272, n. 5. For the term *güregen* (= pmo. *küregen*, mo. *kürgen*) ‘son-in-law’, also used as a title, see TMEN, no. 340; VMI, 52; Róna-Tas 1986, 136. Ligeti has stated (VMI, 52) that the form *gürigen* of the SH is an incorrect reading for *gürgen* (< *güregen*) and should therefore not be retained. This also applies to the plural form *güriget*, to be read *gürget*; see L², 41, 244, 257. This may be so, but it is by no means certain, since in the Chinese transcription system of the SH, the graph 孛里 regularly renders the Mongolian syllable *ri*, not the letter *r*. Note that the word *gürgen*, converbum modale of *gürge-*, occurs nine times in the SH (see R, 230b), always with the graph transcribing *r* (孛兒). Cf. GHMBK, 423-424. Why should an aberrant transcription (*ri*

for *r*) occur six times (see R, 230b-231a; seven times in KCI, 705, but see below) in the words *gürgen* and *gürget* ‘son(s)-in-law’, and not once in the homophone verb *gürgen*? Furthermore, the form *küregen* instead of *kürgen* occurs in AT¹, 56a, corresponding to the *güregen* of SH, § 156 (ATL, 117, has ‘*kürgen*’ which is incorrect). I think that the original manuscript of the SH on which the Ming translators worked had *kürigen* and *küriged*; however, it is still a moot point whether these were true phonetic variants of *küregen*, *küreged* (*e ~ i* in the second syllable is a common phenomenon in Mongolian), or merely graphic variants, the letter *i* being in reality an *e* (the two can easily be confused in Uighur-Mongol script). In this connection, it may be of interest to note that (1) AT¹, 14b, has *kürged-te* (twice), but *küreged-te* in 31b; and (2) in the present section (§ 66) of the SH, Y¹ and Y² have the reading *güriget* in the first occurrence of this word but Y³ has *güreget*. Pe, 13, and R, 26, line 1330, follow Y³. I am of the opinion that this is the correct reading in view of the two other occurrences in the same section; furthermore, the reading in Y³ militates in favour of *güriget* and *gürigen* in the later sections being only graphic variants, i.e. *güriget*, *gürigen* = *güreget*, *güregen*. I must also add that in the Chinese transcriptions of the Yüan period, *li* 里~*le* (列) even in cases where the original Mongol word definitely has *le*, as in *keleme(r)či*. Cf. Ligeti 1959, 236. For *mmo. kürgen*, cf. also RH, 232, no. 1.

On the Mongol custom of leaving the bridegroom with the bride’s family as live-in son-in-law, and its implications, see Vlad.², 59; Ratchnevsky 1976, 512, 525-526, n. 22; ČK¹, 19-20 (= ČK², 21); Holmgren 1986, 132-133.

The fierceness of the Mongolian dogs is well known, and it comes as no surprise that young Temüjin was scared of them. Cf. below, nn. 78 and 260. Yisügei’s fatherly concern is one of those human touches that brighten up the SH narrative. On this aspect of the work, cf. A. Sárközi’s remarks in Sárközi 1978, 148.

‘He gave him his spare horse (*kötöl morin*) as a pledge (*belge*).’ For *kötöl (morin)* ‘led horse, spare or reserve horse’ (> **kötölči[n]* ~ *kötöči[n]* ‘servant, follower’; see below n. 198), see TMEN, no. 325; DO, 272b; CLC, 109ff.; Ligeti 1959, 236-238; and Yao TW 1963a. For *belge* ‘token, pledge’, see TMEN, no. 96. Naturally, the horse left by Yisügei was a pledge of betrothal.

As stated earlier, the SH description of Yisügei’s meeting with Dei Sečen and Temüjin’s betrothal to Börte is a splendid piece of epic narrative which has no counterpart in the Chinese and Persian sources. For Rašid al-Dīn’s short and matter-of-fact account (translated by Pelliot in HCG, 413), see SL², I/1, 162.

§§ 67, 68. Šira Ke’er (‘Yellow Steppe’) is an unidentified plain near Mount Čekčer and therefore not far from the Buir Nör and the Urshun River, but already in Tatar territory. See HCG, 424, 427. Cf. Pèrlée², 11 (= Pèrlée⁴, 98), where it is localized in the area of the Buir Nör and the estuary of the Kerulen; however, its situation in the Kerulen basin, already proposed by Wang Kuo-wei, has been disproved by Pelliot (op. cit., 427). Nevertheless, the territory in question being *west* of the Urshun (see above, n. 61), this locality must be situated between the two lakes Hulun and Buir.

‘Some Tatars’, lit. ‘Tatar people.’ It is surprising that, given the long-standing feud between the Mongols and the Tatars, Yisügei should have deemed it wise to partake of their hospitality – an action that soon proved to be a fatal error of judgement on his part. See §§ 53, 58, 59; cf. Clark 1978, 36-37. Obviously, Yisügei was simply complying with a basic rule of nomadic life, sanctioned in one of the *yasas* (= *jasaq*) mentioned by al-’Umarī: ‘Wer an Leuten vorbeikommt, die gerade essen, hat, ohne erst um Erlaubnis zu bitten, platz zu nehmen und mit ihnen zu speisen.’ See MW, 97. Interesting enough, the Tatars called him ‘Yisügei the Kiyan’, referring to his lineage.

‘Remembered (lit. “thinking of”) their grievance.’ For *kegesü* ‘grievance, enmity’, cf. § 281 *kegesüle-* (a denominal

verb in *-lel-la* from *kegesü* ‘to secretly harm (because of a personal grudge).’ See below, n. 281. Both the noun and the verb are obsolete and no longer in use in any Mongolian language. Pe, 14, has *kegesülen* following AT³, 21a (cf. AT¹, 15a), but the emendation is not justified.

‘With the secret intent to harm, they gave him poison mixing it *with his food*’, lit. ‘With the secret intent to harm, they poisoned him, mixing poison which they gave to him *with his food*.’ ‘With the secret intent to harm’ renders the Mongolian *oyisuladun*. The verb *oyisulat-* ‘to harbour secret thoughts (of hate, revenge); to secretly harm’, appears four times in the SH in the forms *oyisulat-* (§§ 67, 245), *oyisula-* (§ 68), and *öyisület-* (§ 281). This verb is not attested elsewhere in these forms that I know of. Cf. Mo, 157. As suggested by N. Poppe (p.c.), *oyisulat-* is probably a misreading for *öyisület-*, the two forms being easily confused in Uighur-Mongol script. Cf. the ‘*ösleldün*’ of AT¹, 15a. Now, *öyisület-* (~ *öyisüle-*) is no doubt a variant of mo. *öšele-* (= *ösiyele-*) ‘to harbour hate or resentment against s.; to avenge, take vengeance’ (Kow., 514a-b), a verb ultimately deriving from *öš* ‘hate, revenge.’ (For *-t* ~ zero, cf. *üderit-* ~ *üderi-* ‘to rest and eat’, see HW, 158.) See also below, n. 281. ‘They gave him poison’: the verb *qojir-*, glossed in the interlinear translation as ‘to poison’ (*tu* 毒) is a *hapax legomenon*. Ch. *tu* can also mean ‘to grievously harm, injure’ (= 害). In the HIIY, IIb, 11b, there is a verb *güjile-* (? pro *güjire-* or *güjirle-*) meaning ‘to grievously injure (= to kill).’ Cf. *Matériel I*, 28, 57; *Matériel II*, 94 (11v,5); Cleaves 1985, 246, n. 41. Cf. also kh. *güžrëx*, kalm. *güdžrχə*, ‘to risk (one’s life)’; ord. *GuDžirle-* ‘to do violence to s.’ Possibly the two verbs *qojir-* and *güjire-* are related, the alternation of back and front vocalism being well attested. Cf. *yatul-* ~ *getül-*; *oči-* ~ *eči-*; *söyü-* ~ *soyu-*, etc. See Oz¹, I, 275-276, n. 5; Vietze 1990, 381-382. Cf. SG, 131-133, § 68; de Rachewiltz 1982, 20; *Matériel II*, 16, 25, 36, 54, 71. If so, the translation should literally run as follows: ‘they grievously injured him mixing poison which they

gave to him *with his food*.’ For the expression (*idegen-dür*) *gora qoli-* ‘to mix poison (in the food)’, see Kow., 925a. Cf. GOM, 65, for the parallel account in Saγang Sečen’s chronicle (ET³, 26v29-31).

‘Felt ill’, lit. ‘went bad’ (*ma’ui otču*), where ‘bad’ (*ma’ui*) = ‘ill’, and ‘to go’ (*ot-*) = ‘to be in a certain state or condition’, *ot-* corresponding here to *yabu-* id. See the AT¹ (15a) gloss (*maγui odurun* = *maγui-bar yabun*), which has been misunderstood in LDAT, 70, and ATL, 34.

‘After three days’, lit. ‘going three days and nights’ (*qurban qonoq yabuju*). For *qonoq* (= mo. *qonoγ*) ‘a day and a night’, cf. TMEN, no. 1539; DO, 353a.

‘Being in a bad way’, lit. ‘being bad (= ill).’ Cf. Cleaves 1959, 60 [12r6], and 90, n. 352, where however it is not stated that ‘to be (*or* become) bad’ actually means ‘to be (*or* become) ill.’ For *ma’ui* ‘ill’, cf. ord. *mū* ‘indisposé, qui va mal (malade)’ (DO, 472a).

‘Who is at hand?’ For *dergede* ‘at the side, in the presence of’, hence ‘near(by)’, cf. de Rachewiltz 1982, 80, n. 282.

Old Čaraqa (Čaraqa Ebügen), the father of Mönglik, reappears in §§ 72 and 73. A variant of his name is Čaraqai (cf. §§ 29, 47); on its etymology, cf. HCG, 24; Poppe 1975, 167. For Čaraqa ~ Čaraqai, cf. Ilüge ~ Ilügei, Ögöle ~ Ögölei, etc. (see SG, 295-299, § 159). Čaraqa was a Qongqotan; for this clan see § 47 and com. *Ebügen* ‘old man; elder, venerable’ is a title of respect. Cf. HCG, 23-24; TMEN, no. 4; MSR, 133. For other examples, see § 97 Jarči’udai Ebügen, § 120 Üsün Ebügen, § 149 Širgü’etü Ebügen. His son Mönglik, also known as Mönglik Ečige, or Father Mönglik, is an interesting figure, not only as the father of Kököčü Teb Tenggeri (see § 245), but also for having been regarded, with some justification, as the man whom Hö’elün married after Yisügei’s death. For the arguments in favour and against this hypothetical marriage, see HCG, 22; Hambis 1975, 23-24, n. 39, 31ff. There is no doubt that there existed a special relationship between the families of

Yisügei and Čaraqa, and that this relationship, which has been discussed in detail and with perception by Hambis (op. cit.), continued in the following generation between Temüjin/Činggis Qan and Mönglik (and the latter's son Kököčü). From § 69 onwards Mönglik is regularly called 'Father' – an epithet that Yisügei's children applied to him because, as the most trusted man in the household and the one whom Yisügei had charged with the care of the whole family after his death, they naturally regarded him as their second father. And it is noteworthy that in § 168 Mönglik calls Temüjin 'son.' Mönglik's name, of Turkic origin, means 'Who Has Beauty Spots (or Moles).' See HCG, 117. Cf. BT, II, 193; and Rassadin 1995, 110. Cf. above, n. 50. On his death-bed Yisügei calls Mönglik 'my boy (or child: *čaqa minu*)'; this means that he must have been considerably younger than Yisügei, but old enough to assume responsibility for the family, i.e. probably between twenty and thirty years of age, as surmised by Hambis 1975, 20. For the word *čaqa* 'boy, child', cf. Rassadin 1995, 114; and below, n. 249.

'I was secretly harmed'. For *oyisulaqda'a* (almost certainly to be read *öyisülegde'e*), see above. The AT has, in fact, *ösiyelegdebe* (AT¹, 15a), which has been incorrectly transcribed as *oyisulaydaba* in ATL, 35.

'You take care', lit. 'You be in charge (*či mede*) of taking care.' For this passage, see Mo, 13, 234; Cleaves 1985, 247, n. 46. 'Your younger brothers ... your widowed elder sister-in-law': these are figurative terms, not to be taken literally. In the first instance, Yisügei regards Mönglik as his eldest son and his children as Mönglik's younger brothers; in the second instance, anticipating the situation after his own death, Yisügei regards Mönglik as his younger brother (taking his place in the family as it were) and Hö'elün becomes then Mönglik's elder sister-in-law. Cf. the case of Tolui's children and of his widow Berüde in § 272.

With regard to the year of death of Yisügei, probably 1170, see above, n. 54.

§ 69. 'Heeding the words', lit. 'Not causing to be other than (= not contravening) the word (= the order or command)' (*üge-yi buši ülü bolqan*). For the use of *buši* 'other than, different' in similar contexts, see Oz¹, II, 4-9, n. 1.

'Elder brother Yisügei.' Here *aqa* 'elder brother' is again used as a term of respect. Cf. Cleaves 1963, 71.

'Thinks constantly of', lit. 'is exceedingly thinking of (i.e. wishing for).'

'Father Mönglik.' For the epithet 'Father' (*ečiğe*) applied to Mönglik, see above nn. 68, 69; cf. Cleaves 1949a, 511.

§ 70. The tragic story of the Tayiči'ut leader Ambaqai is described in § 53. The Tayiči'ut and the Mongols of the Kiyat Borjigin line had common ancestors (see above, n. 52), and in the present section they are referred to as *yekes* 'the Great (or Eminent) Ones.' Naturally, their 'souls' are meant, for whom the spring offering of food was made. This offering, or sacrifice, is called in the SH *qaǰaru* (w.f. *yaǰaru*) *inerü*, and the Chinese gloss explains this expression as 'sacrifice of (= consisting of) burning food in the ground', making it appear as if *qaǰaru* means 'in the ground' and *inerü* 'sacrifice of burning food.' Various investigators have pointed out the serious difficulties in interpreting this obscure expression. See HCG, 323; Mo, 16-18; Li, 145, n. 70; Ligeti 1973, 146; Mu, I, 103-104, n. 3. Cf. Skrynnikova 1992, 195. However, a number of scholars, beginning with Haenisch and including Ozawa, understand *qaǰaru* as referring to the place (of sacrifice), and either relate *inerü* to a hypothetical verb **ine-* 'to sacrifice', or to *inaru* 'to this side, in this direction.' Oz¹, II, 13, translates: '... Orbai and Sokatai ... had proceeded to this side, to the burial ground, for (the sacrifice) to the ancestors.' Cf. TH, 107-108 (= JYT, 190-192); Do¹, 32, 34-35, n. 3; El-Ar, 133 (where *inerü* is amended to *činerü* 'to that side'). As noted by Mostaert (loc. cit.), *inerü* < **ine-* is untenable. However, *qaǰaru* < *qaǰar* (= pmo., mo. *yaǰar* 'land, ground, etc.') + the directive suffix *-ru(l-rü)* is possible; and *inerü* = *inaru* is also possible (cf.

ümere ~ *umara* 'behind, north', etc.; see above, nn. 67, 68). According to Qurčabayatur and Üjüme (MBMTTS, 106-107), *qajaru* is to be read *qajar-a* 'at the place', as Damdinsürén had done (Da¹, 42), which is, however, unwarranted. Damdinsürén was led astray by Kozin's rendering of the sentence *yekes-e qajaru inerü qarūqsan-tur* as 'went to the cemetery in the "Land of the Ancestors"' (Ko, 88). This misinterpretation of the text had far-reaching consequences, leading, as it did, to Damdinsürén (and many scholars after him) to understand the passage in question as meaning that the two widows of Ambaqai Qan 'offered the sacrificial food at the place of the Great Ones (the place where one buries the corpses of the ancestors).' Cf. Da⁵, 36; Γa, 27; On, 18; Će, 54; Ev-Pop, 57. This in turn led to the concept of an original 'Land of the Ancestors' (*Yekes-ün qajar*; kh. *Ixsiin gazar*), now current in Mongolia, designating not only the burial ground of the Mongol emperors, but also a specific location the precise identification of which is the subject of a lively controversy. See de Rachewiltz 1998, 248-249, n. 19, where the whole issue is discussed; also Badamxatan 1992, and the numerous press releases issued between July and November 2001 by well-known Mongol academics concerning the alleged 'discovery' of the imperial burial ground at Öglögčiiin Xèrém, a site identified with 'Ixsiin gazar.' (For the Mongolian-U.S. joint expedition to this site, see below, n. 268.) This, like the other modern Mongolian myths of 'Xamag Mongol Uls' and the existence of a city and palace of 'Avarga', originates simply from a misunderstanding of the text of the SH. See above, n. 52, and below, n. 136. As for the verb *qar-* (= mo. *γar-*), rendered by most of the translators as 'to go out (or to)', in the present context it actually means 'to perform (a sacrifice, a ceremony).' See Mo, 19-21. Some of the interpretations proposed so far (cf. lately also Vietze 1990, 380), although speculative and not very satisfactory, may nevertheless lead us in the right direction towards another still tentative, but more satisfactory, explanation of the expression *qajaru inerü*, as I have endeavoured to show in my paper on the subject. See de Rachewiltz 1990. With the

help of some scanty information provided by the YS and other Chinese sources, and taking also into account the narratives of European medieval travellers, such as John of Pian di Carpine, we can reconstruct the 'food-burning sacrifice' in its essential lines. It consisted, apparently, in a simple ceremony, carried out in spring (and possibly at other times too) by a shaman and/or shamaness, with the participation of the female members of the family of the deceased acting as assistants. A hole was dug in the ground where the food offering (i.e. meat) sprinkled with kumis or other alcoholic drink was buried. A prayer, or invocation, was recited and at the end the assistants consumed the remainder of the meat and drink. This form of sacrifice to the dead is very ancient, and we know that it was already performed in Liao and Chin times. See Mo, 18-20, n. 14; Li, 145, n. 70; Ratchnevsky 1970, 429-430 (III); idem 1976, 521; Franke H 1979, 142-143; IBŠ, 230-234; Even 1994, 175. It is my opinion that the two words *qajaru inerü* may actually constitute the beginning of the invocation made at the ceremony in question (cf. the enigmatic words *abui babui* of the invocation mentioned in § 174; see below, n. 174). The purpose of the invocation was to call the souls, or spirits, of the ancestors to the ritual meal prepared for them, so as to secure their continued blessing on the clan. Thus, the invocating formula must have contained words to that effect, *in primis* an entreaty to come and accept the offering. This, I think, may explain the use of the directive in both words which I understand as meaning 'To (lit. "towards, in the direction of") the ground, to this side (i.e. in this direction)', i.e. 'Come to the ground (or place) of sacrifice, to this (= our) side (or "down here").' For uig. *inaru* 'vers le bas', cf. CBBMP, 105a. The invocatory formula would then be repeated in conjunction with the name of each of the ancestors whose 'soul' was in turn called by the shaman to 'come down' and join the sacrificial meal. I believe that the invocatory formula, consisting of the two words *qajaru inerü* (which Mostaert rightly calls 'une expression toute faite', see Mo, 17), was used, as a synecdoche, for the whole ceremony and, indeed,

as the regular designation of the sacrifice – much in the same way as in the Christian religion a set word or expression is used for the same purpose. Cf., for instance, the very name for the Eucharistic sacrifice, the ‘Mass’ (lat. *missa*), which comes from the formula of dismissal of the congregation at the end of the service (*Ite, missa est*). Clearly, by excluding Hö’elün from this important ritual on the pretext that she was late, Ambaqai’s widows intended to cut their ties with their Kiyat Borjigin agnates now that Yisügei was dead, and so reassert the leadership of the Tayiči’ut within the Mongol tribe, as confirmed by their subsequent actions. Cf. Vlad.², 63; MSJ, 402-412; Lattimore 1963b, 60.

With regard to the name Örbei, the SH form can be read either Orbai or Örbei; the latter reading is supported by AT¹, 15b. Cf. Rybatzki [2003], s.v. For the name Soqatai, see *ibid.*, s.v.

For the use of *jirin* ‘two’ (fem.) = ‘and’, cf. Moses 1996, 77; and Šagdarsürén 1999.

‘She was left out’, lit. ‘she was left behind *the others*’: as the other participants in the ceremony had all been given a share of the food offerings, there was no share left for Hö’elün.

‘You say to yourselves that Yisügei Ba’atur is dead’, lit. ‘You say, “Has Yisügei Ba’atur *not* died?”’ This and the following clause ending with *yekin qojida’ulumui ta*, lit. ‘why do you leave me behind?’, are rhetorical questions which I have rephrased in my translation.

‘The share of *the offerings* to the ancestors’ renders *yekes-ün kešik*, lit. ‘part (= share) of the Great Ones (= the ancestors)’, i.e. the portions or shares of the food offerings to the souls of the ancestors which the assistants burnt in the ground, as distinct from the remainder of the offerings which were shared among and consumed by the assistants. Cf. DO, 262b, s.v. ‘*Gėšik*.’ *Kešik* (= pmo. *kešig*, *kesig* < tu. *kesäk*) ‘part, portion, section, division’, as a military term came to mean ‘turn of duty, guard duty’, and by extension ‘the alternating sections of the *qan*’s bodyguard’, hence ‘the Guard.’ On this important term and

institution, see Mo, 244-249; Haenisch 1961, 144-149; Uray-Köhalmi 1971, 276-279; Ligeti 1973, 150-151, no. 2; and below, nn. 191, 192.

The two words *bile’ür* (w.f. *bilegür*) and *sarqut* (w.f. *sarqud*) are technical terms of the sacrifice meaning ‘remainder of the sacrificial meat’ and ‘remainder of the sacrificial drink’ respectively. The Chinese interlinear gloss renders *sarqut* as ‘sacrificial meat’, but the correct meaning is no doubt the one given above. See Ligeti in AOH 14:1962, 323-324; Ligeti 1973, 151-161 (3 & 4).

Regarding the term *bile’ür*, H. Serruys (p.c.) wrote: ‘In Fr Mostaert’s copy of *Sur quelques passages ...*, p. 122, there is a pencil note to *bile’ür*: “*bilegür idesiten*”: “ceux qui mangent l’excédent de la viande de sacrifice.” But no reference, except: xylograph of Fr Botty (long dead). I have no idea which xylograph he is referring to. The only xylograph I have (from Fr M.) is the *Sayin üge-tü erdini-yin sang neretü sastir*. Doubtful if that is it.’ For *sarqut*, see also TMEN, no. 1236; DO, 562b; Poppe 1955, 41.

The entire § 70, as well as § 71 and part of § 72, have been translated and discussed in Mo, 14-24.

§§ 71, 72. The section from ‘At these words’ to ‘Onan River’ has been translated and discussed in Mo, 22-24.

After replying in harsh terms to Hö’elün (whom they accuse of claiming rights she no longer had), Ambaqai’s two widows turn to the Tayiči’ut people, i.e. to their chiefs, exhorting them to move camp and break away from Yisügei’s family and retainers, thus severing all relations with the rival clan. The Tayiči’ut breakaway may be compared with Temüjin’s breakaway from his *anda* and kinsman (through Bodončar Mungqaq) Jamuqa. See § 118; cf. Lattimore 1963b, 60-61. In § 72, the expression ‘mothers and children’, which occurs twice, is correct: it was not only Hö’elün and her children that were left behind by the departing Tayiči’ut but also the mother of Bekter and Belgütei, Sučigil or Sujigil. See above, n. 56. There is a

reference to her in § 101 confirming her presence in the family. There were also retainers, like Old Čaraqa and Old Qo'aqčïn (see below, n. 98), as well as Čaraqa's son Mōnglik whose position in the family has already been discussed (n. 68).

'The following day' (*manaqarši üdür*): for *manaqarši* see above, n. 66. The expression *manaqarši üdür* occurs again in § 146, and is also found in the second line of the Qara Qoto ms. fragment G 110 in the P.K. Kozlov Collection of the IVAN RAN Library in St. Petersburg, albeit in mutilated form (*mana[yar]si üdür*).

Tarqutai Kiriltuq and Tödö'en Gırte (? 'The Foul') were two Tayiči'ut chiefs. Apparently, the former was the son of Adal Qan, himself a grandson (or son?) of Ambaqai. For his name, probably an ethnicon from Tarqud (= Tarγud, mmo. Tarqut) rather than an epithet meaning 'Fat', see Bese 1988, 34-35; HCG, 16. He reappears several times in the SH (see, especially, § 149) and is mentioned in the SWCCL and by Rašīd al-Dīn. See HCG, 14-16 and 465, for further references to him. Tödö'en Gırte is probably the same personage called Tödöge (> Tödö'e ~ Tödö'en > Tödön) in §§ 146 and 219, and he is no doubt to be identified with Yisügei's 'close attendant' (近侍) Tödön Qorjin of the SWCCL (→ YS), and the 'senior kinsman' (*āqā*) Tödön Qahurči (= Qa'urči ~ Qa'urji) of Rašīd. See HCG, 18-21, on him and the problems concerning his identification (he was known by several epithets). Cf. also Hambis 1975, 22, n. 38. As stated in the SH, other Tayiči'ut leaders joined them and so the entire Tayiči'ut people moved away from Yisügei's camp which, as we learn from Rašīd, was at the time 'between the Onon and the Kerulen.' See SL², I/2, 85. The Tayiči'ut moved further east along the Onon River. (For the localization of the Tayiči'ut, cf. Badamxatan 1992, 91.) Tarqutai Kiriltuq obviously regarded himself as Ambaqai Qan's heir and successor, and therefore as the legitimate leader of the Mongol people, a claim which inevitably put him on a collision course with the still young Temüjin, Yisügei's eldest son by Hö'elün. See below, nn. 79 and 219. Yisügei's eldest son by his other wife

(Sučigil or Sujigil) was Bekter, but he will soon be eliminated by Temüjin, who thus disposed of the only other serious contender within his own immediate family. I think this is the true reason for the callous murder of Bekter, not the trivial one reported in the SH (see below, n. 77). It is in the light of these circumstances that Yisügei's immediate recall of Temüjin from Dei Sečen's camp must be understood: Yisügei was well aware that after his death the succession issue would flare up again. In the YS it is stated that irreparable disunity and conflict between Yisügei and his Tayiči'ut kinsmen (族人) was caused by Tarqutai's authoritarianism (用事). See YS² 1, 3.

For the use of the so-called enclitic *-tan/-ten* = 'and the other', cf. Mo, 30 and n. 24, 93-94; DO, 644, s.v. ²-t'an'; and, more recently, the interesting remarks by N. Orlovskaya in YMT, 34-36, 50-51. This postposition functions as: 1) an apposition indicator, to be rendered with a comma or a dash (A-tan B = B, A, or B - A -; cf. § 90); 2) conjunction ('and') between related nouns/names (A, B, C-tan D = D - A, B and C -; cf. § 183; 3) a categorizing particle for 'things' of the same group or kind (hence an extension of [2]), to be rendered with 'and (the) others', i.e. of the same kind (A-tan B = B - A and the others; A, B-tan C = C - A, B and others; cf. §§ 99 and 176). Its usage coincides at times with that of *ki'et* (= pmo., mo. *kiged*). See Oz¹, III, 29-32, n. 7, 208-209, n. 1 (with reference to §§ 130 and 150). Cf. also below, n. 183, for additional comments.

'Tried to stop them' and later 'Why do you hinder us?': the verb in both instances is *itqa-* (= mo. *idqa-*) which has these meanings as well as those of 'to exhort, persuade', i.e. 'to urge s. to do or not to do stg.' Cf. HW, 84; Les., 401a.

The words 'The deep water has dried up, / The shining stone is shattered', which are in fact a proverb that the SH puts in Tödö'en Gırte's mouth, are also reported in the SWCCL¹, 3a; SL², I/2, 85; and YS² 1, 3. Their meaning, as explained by Rašīd (loc. cit.), is 'I have made a firm decision because there was no [other] choice [for me]. As to the possibility of any hesitation, it

is preposterous (i.e. it is out of the question – I.R.!)’ In other words, ‘The situation has deteriorated to the point where things can no longer be mended.’ After quoting the proverb, the SWCCL makes Tödön say ‘What is then the point in staying?’ See HCG, 17-18. This Mongol saying, which occurs again in §§ 147 and 209 (with slightly different wording), has been discussed by Gaadamba (MNTSZA, 111-113), Cërënsodnom 1986, 77, 78, and Ozawa (Oz¹, II, 28-30, nn. 8, 9). The latter’s interpretation of the word *čëügen* with ‘hard’ instead of ‘shining (or bright)’ is, however, unacceptable. It is true that in the version of the proverb reported in the Chinese sources the stone is described as ‘hard’ or ‘solid’ (堅), and this meaning certainly seems more appropriate than ‘shining’ or ‘bright’, but the word *čëügen* occurs several times in the SH regularly glossed as *ming* 明 ‘brilliant.’ See HW, 25. *Čëügen* = *če’ügen* (mo. *čegen*, kh. *cэгээн*) ‘white, whitish, light.’ See TH, 314 (= JYT, 545). The meaning of ‘bright’ for *čëügen* is also confirmed by the Chinese sectional summary (Y² 2, 4a). In the corresponding passage of the AT, the word *čëügen* is indeed preserved, but it is misplaced in the text, see AT¹, 16a. The reason for the choice of the word *čëügen* as the attribute of *čila’un* ‘stone’ in this popular saying is, I think, simply due to alliteration with the word *če’el* ‘deep.’ The Chinese rendering of the Mongol proverb in the SWCCL and YS is apparently an ‘improvement’ on the original. On the phraseology of this proverb, cf. also Bese 1969, 129-130.

For the expression *jo qudus* ‘along the spine’, cf. Cleaves 1949a, 511. *Jo*, mo. *jo(n)*, is ‘the spine’ or ‘back’ (see Les., 1065a); *qudus*, mo. *γudus*, means ‘along, lengthwise, following the line (or course) of, downward(s)’ (see Les., 365a). This word, which occurs again in § 207: *Erdiš qudus* ‘along the Erdiš River’, is discussed at length in Ozawa 1977a, 495-500. However, the nature of the word deserves further investigation. Vladimircov has already noted the correlation between *γuduyi-* ‘to lower’, *γudus* ‘along, onward, down’, and otu., uig. *qodi* ‘down’ (SG, 160, 319). For *γuduyi-* > *γudus*, cf. *irjayi-* ‘for the

teeth to show’ > *irjas* ‘smile’; for the unusual suffix *-s* forming nouns as well as adverbs, see above, nn. 50, 55 (this dual role of *-s* is very similar to that of the suffix *-si*, on which see GWM, 49, § 181; 59, § 216 [a]); cf. JŠ, 52, § 77). The verb *γuduyi-* is formed on **γudu* ‘low’; cf. *qara* ‘black’ > *qarayi-* ‘to darken’ (see ‘Verbstamm.’, 56, § 70). For **γudu* ‘low’, cf. otu., uig. *qodi* ‘down.’ Besides *γudus* (< *γuduyi-*) we have several deverbal nouns deriving from *γuduyi-*, such as *γudul* ‘rivulet, narrow canal’ (< *γuduyi-* + suff. *-l*; see GWM, 47, § 159), *γudum* ‘passage, thoroughfare’ and its synonym *γudumji* ‘lane’ (< *γuduyi-* + suff. *-m* and *-mji*; see GWM, 47, § 164; 48, § 171). Regarding the latter, it has been suggested (MCS, 208) that it is from this word (*γutumji*) that ch. *hu-t’ung-tzu* 衚衕(胡同)子 ‘lane, alley (in Peking)’ may derive. I doubt this, since the term in question, when first attested in writing (in Yüan literature), appears only in the form *hu-t’ung* (see SYYYTT, 629b; DKJ, X, 34066); in the Peking vernacular the two forms regularly used are *hu-t’ung* and (*hsiao*) *hu-t’ung-erh* ([小]衚衕兒). It is, however, possible that *hu-t’ung* may originate from *γudum*, which has the same meaning as *γudumji* (cf. MKT, 779b), even though the Chinese phonetic rendering is not quite accurate: *hu-t’ung* presupposes an original **γutung*, rather than *γudum*. Moreover, there is no textual evidence for the existence of *γudum* and *γudumji* in Mongolian classical or preclassical texts that I know of, which is surprising if these words were already in common usage in the 13th-14th centuries. Indeed, according to Ramstedt (KW, 153a), it is *γudumji* which is a borrowing from Chinese, not the other way round. Nevertheless, *γudum* – if this word existed in the Yüan period – is a better etymology than any proposed so far, such as a derivation from mmo. *qoton* ‘town’ (suggested to me by the late Fang Chaoying 房兆楹 in 1961), or from Manchu (see SGDJ, 1329d). For other less likely derivations, cf. HCWLYTT, 335-339, no. 110. Ma. *hütung* ‘alley, lane’ is definitely a borrowing from ch. *hu-t’ung*. Cf. SSTMY, I, 479a.

Finally, it is worth noting that in the sentence beginning 'As they set out', the verb *ne'ü-*, lit. 'to transmigrate', is in the passive: *ne'ükgerün*, i.e. 'when they underwent *their* transhumance'; cf. also §§ 73 and 74. See Poppe 1964, 375.

§ 73. 'Your good father' = 'your late father', i.e. Yisügei. For 'good' (*sayin*) = 'late', see 'Trois documents', 455; *Lettres*, 59. The people 'gathered' by him were the people he had conquered, i.e. his subjects. For this use of the verb *quriya-* 'to gather, assemble', see below, n. 196.

'This is how I was treated', lit. 'I was done so.' Cf. Poppe 1964, 374. According to Rašid al-Dīn, Old Čaraqa died just as Temüjin left his tent in tears. See SL², I/2, 85. The order of these events in SL is somewhat different from that in the SH.

Regarding Hö'elün's courageous but ultimately fruitless effort, Ligeti has already noted that her display of the war standard of Yisügei's clan was a symbolic gesture indicating her determination to challenge the action of the Tayiči'ut, and to rally the subjects that had deserted her by assuming the power formerly invested in her husband – the sacral power symbolized by the standard. The standard (*tuq*, mo. *tuγ*) played a most important role in the great tribal events, such as the beginning and the end of a military campaign. See Li, 145, n. 73, also for a graphic description of one of these ceremonies in the time of Babur (quoted from *The Memoirs of Bābur*). On the great standard of the Mongols in the time of Činggis Qan and later – the white *tuq* 'with nine feet', i.e. with nine tails or streamers made of yak tails – see the references in the MTPL and HTSL (= MDBL, 76, 186-187; CG, 72, 74, 132, 146, 174, 195), and in Serruys 1945, 156. Cf. also Pelliot 1930b, 32; and his remarks in HCG, 22-23, and NMP, II, 860-861. On the term *tuq* (*tuγ*) of Turkic and ultimately Chinese origin, see TMEN, no. 969. For further mentions of the standard in the SH, cf. §§ 106 and 202; and above, n. 63. The denominal verb *tuqla-* (w.f. *tuγla-*) 'to hold the standard' is unknown in Written Mongolian and in the living languages and dialects. With regard to this word, both the

interlinear gloss and the sectional summary in the SH raise problems of interpretation concerning which see HCG, 22-23; Ratchnevsky 1966a, 182; TH, 264-265 (= JYT, 457-458).

On the role of the woman as leader in early Mongol society, cf. Ratchnevsky 1976, 511; Schöne 1993; and M. Zënëè in MNT, I, 268-275.

For the corresponding passage in the SWCCL and in Rašid al-Dīn's work, see HCG, 18; SL², I/2, 85. According to Rašid, loc. cit., there was actually an armed confrontation between the two sides; in the end Hö'elün succeeded in causing part of the Tayiči'ut tribesmen and of her *ulus* (i.e. her subjects) to come back.

The verb *iču-* 'to return' corresponds to mo. *niču-* id. For *i- ~ ni-*, see HCG, 332; Oz¹, II, 35-36, n. 6.

§ 74. 'The Tayiči'ut kinsmen', lit. 'The Tayči'ut brothers' (*aqqa de'ü*). The expression *aqqa de'ü* ('elder brother[s] and younger brother[s]' = 'brothers') refers here in particular to the Tayiči'ut leaders Tarqutai Kiriltuq and his younger brothers (cf. § 149) who had agnatic links with Yisügei through Ambaqai, Čaraqai Lingqu and Qaidu. Tarqutai and Yisügei were, in fact, cousins of the same generation, both being collateral descendants of Qaidu in the fifth generation. One may indeed render *aqqa de'ü* with 'cousins.' In many languages the terms 'elder brother' and 'younger brother' are used as indicators of seniority and juniority for male paternal cousins within the generation of ego. Cf., e.g., ch. *hsiung* 兄 (= *tsu-hsiung* 族兄) and *ti* 弟 (= *tsu-ti* 族弟) 'elder cousin' and 'younger cousin' (see Feng HY 1937, 149); gr. ἀδελφός 'brother, kinsman'; etc. The Mongols, too, used these terms to express relationships beyond those of blood brothers. See E. Bacon's remarks on the subject in OSSSE, 62-63. See also NMP, I, 75; Cleaves 1949, 115, n. 125; MSR, 135-136. Cf. §§ 68, 120, 180; and below, n. 104. In most translations of the SH it is not really clear whether 'the Tayiči'ut brothers' are Tarqutai Kiriltuq and his own brothers, or whether they are 'our Tayiči'ut brothers (= kinsmen)', said from the standpoint of

Yisügei's family – which ultimately comes to the same thing. Cf., e.g., Oz², I, 58; Ev-Pop, 58; On, 19; Cl, 20; and Ta, 23. That the latter interpretation is the only correct one is unequivocally shown by the expression *Tayıči'ut aqa de'ü-ye'en* 'of our Tayıči'ut brothers (= kinsmen)' in § 76; cf. also Sorqan Šira's words in § 82.

The verb *teji'e-* (= mo. *tejiye-*, *tejiqe-*) which recurs in §§ 74 and 75 means both 'to feed, nourish' and 'to rear.'

'Pulling firmly her tall hat/Over her head' renders *ukitala boqtalaju*, lit. 'Putting the *boqta* on her head until it was fast.' For *boqtala-* (= pmo. *boqtala-*) 'to put on the *boqta*', see Mo, 201-204; TMEN, no. 89. The *boqta* or *boqtaq* (= pmo. *boqta*, *boqtaq*, mo. *boqto*) is the characteristic headdress worn by high-ranking Mongol ladies and known in Chinese at the time as *ku-ku kuan* 固(故, 姑, 顧, etc.)姑(故, 罟)冠 'ku-ku hat', or simply as *ku-ku*. This term itself is a transcription of a non-Chinese word (? *gügi). It is tempting to relate it, as other investigators have done, to mmo. *kegül* (~ *kügül), *kekül*, mo. *kükül*, *kekül* 'long hair, tuft of hair, braids' (see above, n. 56), particularly since one of the meanings of mo. *kükül* is 'ornaments pour la chevelure' (Kow., 2632a). Cf., e.g., HCWLYTT, 309-327, no. 107 (a valuable contribution); Huang SC 1984, 207-208; and TH, 151-152 (= JYT, 263-266). The *boqta(q)* was a very ornate headdress, decked with feathers, gems and pearls. One of its main features, together with its unusual length and shape, was the strings of pearls hanging down on the sides just like tresses, so that this headgear was a true 'chapeau à tresses' – which is exactly what *ku-ku kuan* means if *ku-ku* = *kükü(l)*. This equivalence is, however, uncertain and the above explanation remains purely hypothetical, also because it is not clear why the Chinese would adopt such a designation instead of simply using the word *boqta* in transcription. (One possible, and most likely, explanation is that the term *ku-ku* is of Kitan origin.) We have detailed descriptions, as well as pictorial evidence, of the *boqta(q)* in the 13th and 14th centuries, mostly through the

accounts of contemporary Chinese and European travellers. See, in particular, CG, 79, 80, n. 3, 119; MDBL, 80, 81, 191, 192; HYC, A, 18a-b; TOA, 67 (cf., however, Pelliot in *TP* 23:1931, 420); SF, 35, n. 1, 182-183, 258, n. 6 (cf., however, RCAC, 156), 473, n. 3; MM, 7-8, 102, 162; MWR, 88, 89 and n. 1; CWT, II, 222, 222-224, n. 5; and CEME, 16-18. Cf. also Serruys 1945, 136; Mostaert 1957a, 97-98; Pelliot 1925, 222; and Z. Batsaïxan in MNT, I, 258-262. For an illustration of the *boqta(q)* as worn by Qubilai's wife, the Empress Čabui (or Čabi), in the famous portrait from the Palace Museum, see CKKTFSYC, 388, fig. 157 (right). Cf. also Esin 1977, pl. Ia, IIa. For further data on the *boqta(q)*, the use of this term in Persian and Turkic, and related problems, see CKKTFSYC, 388-390; Mostaert 1927, 147; TMEN, no. 89; RH, 300, no. 40. The form *boqta* appears as *bochta* in a Venetian document of 1366. See MP¹, I, 556. Cf. de Rachewiltz 1997a, 75. For *boqta* ~ *boqtaq*, cf. tu. (čag.) *yasa* ~ *yasaq* < mmo. *jasaq* 'law.'

In § 254 we find two variations on the theme of Hö'elün wearing the *boqta* expressing essentially the same idea, viz. the placing of the headdress firmly in position (which must not have been easy in view of its shape). Hö'elün's reason for wearing it in such circumstances as are described in the present section is, again, symbolic. As Pelliot has pointed out (NHHO, 43), the belt, which is mentioned in conjunction with the *boqta*, is a symbol of authority. The *boqta*, a formal headdress to be worn only by married ladies of rank, is a status symbol. By wearing *boqta* and belt, Hö'elün symbolically reaffirms her authority and position at a time of great adversity.

'Tying tightly her belt/To shorten her skirt', lit. 'Girding herself until (= so as) to shorten her skirt (i.e. by tucking it up).' See Mo, 200, and 200-203, n. 184.

'Along the Onan River/Running up and down', lit. 'Running upstream and downstream along the Onan River.' The word for downstream is *irada* – a hapax legomenon. It is apparently an adverb in *-dal-de* like *ö'ede* 'upstream', and a synonym of *huru'u* (= mo. *uruγu*) 'downstream' (see HW, 79).

The rendering is based on the interlinear Chinese gloss and makes perfect sense, *irada* being in juxtaposition to *ö'ede*. TH, 111 (= JYT, 198), and Oz¹, II, 38, 44, n. 7, followed by On, 19, understand differently and see in *irada* the dative-locative of *ira* 'edge, border', a rare word attested in the MA, 197b, in the form *iratu* 'having an edge.' However, if we accept this interpretation, the rendering of the above clause is, in my view, not as satisfactory ('Running upstream along the edge (= bank) of the Onan River').

'She gathered crab apples and bird cherries.' For *temgü-* 'to pick up', see Hashimoto 1992; cf. also the SH, § 26. For *ölirsün*, mo. *ölir*, kh. *öröl*, 'the crab or wild apple' (*Malus pallasiana*), see MOUNT, 59. In Inner Mongolia *öril* (*ölir*) designates *Malus baccata*. See ÜÜJT, 725. For *moyilsun*, mo. *moyil*, kh. *moil(on)*, 'the bird or sour cherry' (*Padus*, L. [= *Prunus padus*]), see UNT, 68, no. 14931; ÜÜJT, 746. Cf. Oz¹, II, 44-45, nn. 8, 9. It should be noted that some of the Chinese botanical glosses in the SH are not wholly reliable; for example, *ölirsün* is glossed *tu-li* 杜梨 'small coarse pear' (*Pyrus betulaefolia*: see CMP, 132, no. 432; CKKTCWTC, II, 233), which is not an accurate definition as the fruit in question is a wild apple, not a wild pear. *Moyilsun* is merely glossed 'name of fruit' (果名). For the plant suffix *-sun/-sün*, see Poppe 1981, 387-388 (4). Cf. MÜIT, 2756b, no. 371.

'Day and night she fed/Their hungry gullets.' For the expression *qo'olai tej'i'e-* 'to feed the gullet', cf. Cleaves 1985, 245, n. 33.

'Born brave' renders *sölsütei töreksen*, lit. 'born with gall', i.e. with courage. As noted by Cleaves, the Mongols, like the Chinese, believed that the gall is the seat of courage. See Cl, 21, n. 5. Cf. below, n. 139.

'The noble mother': this expression, which occurs three times in § 74, is literally 'the lady mother' (*üjin eke*). *Üjin*, Hö'elün's epithet, is the designation of ladies of noble birth, such as, e.g., the daughter of the Merkit chief Toqto'a, Huja'ur Üjin (§ 177). See above, n. 55. I regularly render Hö'elün Üjin

as Lady Hö'elün; only in the present instances do I translate *üjin* as 'noble' simply to avoid the awkward rendering 'the lady mother', or the equally unsatisfactory 'the *üjin* mother', or 'Üjin, the Mother.'

'Her sons who were favoured/With Heaven's good fortune' renders *sutan kö'üid-iyen*. *Sutan*, plural of *sutai* (< *su* 'fortune, Heaven's favour' + poss. suff. *-tai*) 'fortunate (= recipient of Heaven's fortune or favour)', is really much more than 'fortunate' in the English sense. *Sutai* is the designation of men destined by Heaven – blessed with Heaven's favour or good fortune, as it were – to rule over other men; it is, in other words, an attribute of royalty implying the possession of a 'charismatic' quality. See above, n. 63. Cf. Ligeti's renderings 'majestueux' and 'Majesté' in Ligeti 1973a, 5-6. See *Lettres*, 19-22, for a discussion on *su* (= *suu*), and TMEN, no. 217, on *sutan* – also for further bibliographical references. There is, indeed, a vast literature on the subject: among the most recent contributions see, in particular, Mori 1981, 58ff. (showing that *tu. qut*, *qutluy* correspond to mo. *su*, *sutai*); Bawden 1985; Bazin 1987, 222-223; Skrynnikova 1987, 1988, 1989 and 1990; KHIV, passim; Bira 1991, 40ff.; idem 2000, 63ff.

'With a pointed stick from a spruce' renders *čigörsün širō bariju*, lit. 'taking (or holding) a pointed *čigörsün* stick.' In Inner Mongolia, *čögörsü(n)* designates *Cunninghamia lanceolata*, i.e. the Chinese fir. See ÜÜJT, 28; cf. WTCWC, III, 4022.1; UNT, 103, no. 15116. In Mongolia, according to Cév., 795b, *cöörs* (*čögörsü*) is the name applied to a species of spruce (*gačuur*: *Picea* Dietr. or *P. obovata*). Cf. Kow., 2231a: *čögörsü* 'picéa.' QNTT, 786b, confirms that the *čögörsü* is a tree like the spruce and adds that the Chinese call it *shan-mu* (杉木 = *Cunninghamia lanceolata*); however, this tree does not grow in northern Mongolia and this designation can, therefore, apply only to the Chinese fir, which as stated above, is indeed known in Inner Mongolia as *čögörsü*. The Chinese glosses of the 14th century, including those of the SH, render *čigörsün* as 'juniper tree (*Juniperus chinensis*).' See the extensive note 161 in

Cleaves 1951, 102-103. In the Sino-Mongolian inscriptions of 1335 and 1338, *čigüresün* renders ch. *po* 柏 'cypress'; but *po* may designate also the juniper, as in the case of *yüan-po* 圓柏 'Juniperus chinensis (= Sabina chinensis)' and *shan-po* 山柏 'Juniperus squamata (= Sabina squamata).' Cf. *ibid.*, and CKKTCWTC, I, 321, 320. Mostaert 1949, 474 and n. 6, adopted the rendering 'genévrier' (cf. Pe, 134: 'genièvre'), but in Mo, 157, he translated *čigörsün* as 'cypres.' The Chinese renderings are indeed inconsistent and, as in the case of *ölirsün* above, not very reliable. It is clear from the use of this term in Mongolia that *čigörsü(n)* must designate a spruce (almost certainly the Siberian spruce, *Picea obovata*) rather than a cypress or juniper, and I have translated it accordingly. It is possible that the inconsistency in the Chinese definitions is only apparent and due to the fact that certain Chinese botanical terms, such as *po* 柏 (see above) and *shan* 杉, were (and still are) used to designate various taxa of the order Coniferales, taxa that in modern botanical classification belong to different families and genera within this order. In the case of *shan*, this term is applied to a variety of conifers including those of the genera *Picea*, *Cunninghamia* and *Cryptomeria*; this accounts, *inter alia*, for the wrong identification of *čögörsü* with the cypress, the cedar, the Japanese spruce, the Siberian fir, etc., in MEPD, 547a; Les., 201a-b; MMED, 768a; UNT, 103, no. 15116; Gol., III, 308b; Poppe 1950, 279. As for *širō* (= pmo. *sirua*, not *širo-a* as in ATL, 38, 39) 'pointed stick', cf. Mostaert 1949, 474.

'She dug for roots of the great burnet./And for those of the silverweed.' For *südiin* (~ *südüsin*), pmo. and mo. *südiin*, *südüsin*, kh. *söd(ön)*, 'great burnet (*Sanguisorba officinalis*)', see MOUNT, 27; ÜÜJT, 771; TMEN, no. 219. Cf. also Cév., 483a; Oz¹, II, 47-48, n. 13. The forms *sudun* and *sudusun* in Cl, 21, and Cleaves 1956, 263, n. 690, must, I think, be read *südiin* and *südüsin*. *Čičigina*, mo. *gičigene*, kh. *gičgèné*, is the generic name for *Potentilla* L.; the species dug by Mother Hö'elün was almost certainly *P. anserina* or Silverweed, the roots of which

have since ancient times been marginal or famine food in Asia as well as in Europe. On it, see UNT, 99, no. 15086; ÜÜJT, 732; MOUNT, 30; Cév., 145a; YTPL, 92; FF, 24 (4.20), 31 (6.18); TEF, 159-160. Cf. Buell 1989, 119; *idem* 1990, 76, n. 16; Oz¹, II, 48-49, n. 14; Poppe 1981, 384 (1).

'The sons who were fed on wild garlic (*qaliyarsun*)/And on wild onion (*manggirsun*).' For *qaliyarsun*, mo. *qaliyar*, kh. *xaliar*, 'wild garlic (*Allium victorialis*)', see MOUNT, 33; ÜÜJT, 254; cf. also Vietze 1990, 383. For *manggirsun*, mo. *manggir*, kh. *mangir*, 'wild onion (*Allium senescens*)', see MOUNT, 33; ÜÜJT, 252. On the *mangir(sun)* 'eine wilde Zwiebelart', cf. the description in RBC, 61. For both these plants see also Oz¹, II, 49-50, nn. 15 and 16. As in previous instances (see above), the Chinese glosses of the SH are not quite accurate, as they render *qaliyarsun* with *shan-hsieh* 山薤 'wild onion', and *manggirsun* with *hsieh* 薤 'shallot, garden shallot, scallion (*Allium bakeri* = *Allium chinense*).' These are, however, close approximations.

'In time became rulers', lit. 'attained to becoming *qans*' (*qat bolura gürbi*). For the use of the past perfect in *-bi*, normally the feminine form of *-bal-be*, *-bail-bei*, but applied here to males, see UGPM, 146-147, § 32; Doerfer 1955, 251; Oz¹, II, 50-51, n. 17. Cf. the form *büliyi* in § 56.

'Were fed on wild lily bulbs': the lily in question is actually the wild scarlet lily (*Lilium concolor*), in Chinese *shan-tan* 山丹. See CMP, 222, no. 683; ÜÜJT, 273. However, in the new botanical nomenclature adopted by the CKKT, *shan-tan* corresponds to *Lilium pumilum* (see *ibid.*, V, 453). The SH term is *ja'uqasu* (w.f. **jaγuγasu[n]*), an obsolete word preserved only in Dagur in the form *jōgos* according to TH, 287 (= JYT, 498). Whereas Bö, 31; Ba, 136; Shi 2, 6a; Du, 25; and El-Ar, 144, write *jaγuγasu* (Al, 20, has incorrectly *jγyasu*), Ma, 46, writes *jōγōγa* (!), and Ir, 46, *jaūqasu*. MA, 136b, has the entry *čūγyasunu čēček* 'name of a certain flower', *čūγyasun* being no doubt another form, or rather development, of **jaγuγasu* (>

**ja'uqasun* [= SH *ja'uqasu*] > **jūqasun* ~ *čūqasun* [= *čūqasun*]). Cf. ET¹, 64r24 *jaqayusun*, a metathetical form of **jaqayusun*. On *shan-tan*, cf. also Cleaves 1956a, 401-402, n. 35. The present Mongolian name for the *shan-tan* flower is *sarana čēčeg* (= kh. *sarnyn čēčeg*). See ÜUJT, 273; and UNT, 152, no. 15424. For the food plants used by the Mongols in the 12th and 13th centuries, cf. Buell 1990, 37-42; for those used in particular by Hö'elün, see *ibid.*, 37-38, 89. Cf. also SFQ, 37-38; and Khasbagan and Imzab, 'Ethnobotanical Studies on Edible Plants in "The Secret History of the Mongols"', in the *Journal of Arid Land Resources and Environment*, Supplement: 1992, 130-138 (in Chinese [u.w.]; p.c. of Dr. R.I. Meserve).

'Became lawful and wise'; cf. CI, 21: 'Became wise men [which were] lawgivers.' 'Lawful' and 'lawgivers' render *ḡasaqtan*, lit. 'having *ḡasaq*.' For *ḡasaq* (= mo. *ḡasaḡ*), the Mongol customary law which came to embody the rules and regulations established by Činggis Qan, see Doerfer, nos. 148, 1789; Vernadsky 1938; Ratchnevsky 1969; Morgan, 1986; TM, 96-99. For a discussion of the term *ḡasaq* and the 'Great (*yeke*) *ḡasaq*' of Činggis Qan, see below, n. 153. On Hö'elün's role as the widow of a chief and as a mother in adverse circumstances, her position as a woman in Mongol tribal society, and the analogy with Alan Qo'a, see Ratchnevsky 1976, 510; Sárközi 1978, 148-149; Yao Ts'ung-wu in *TLTC* 22:1961, 3-4.

For the use of famine food (roots, etc.) in the steppe, cf. Li, 145-146, n. 74, and the parallel case cited therein of the Jalayir as reported in SL², I/2, 19.

The poetical passage on Hö'elün in the AT¹, 16b-17a, differs on many points from the SH version, and is obviously a product of a later *remaniement*. Cf. LDAT, 72-73; MNTLAT, 32.

§ 75. 'The hungry, nagging sons' – a somewhat inadequate rendering of the expression *qa'uluqa(t) kö'üt*. The word *qa'uluqa(t)* (Y¹ and Y²: *qa'uluqa*; Y³: *qa'uluqat*) is of difficult interpretation and several translations have been proposed. This

word is not glossed in the interlinear version and is left out in the sectional summary; the AT is also of no help and neither MÜIT nor TH provide any useful clues. Ha, 13, renders it as 'stolzen'; Ko, 89, ignores it; Pe, 134, translates 'affamé³ (?)', relating in note 3 the SH term to mo. *ḡa'ulkilaqu* (i.e. *ḡaḡulkila-*) 'crier famine' of Kow., 984b; Li, 21, has 'szivós' ('tough'); Mu, I, 108 (and 117, n. 9), follows Pelliot and refers also to mo. *ḡaḡulja-* 'crier famine' of Kow., 984a; Oz¹, II, 55, n. 2, relates the word in question to dag. *ḡaulu-*, *ḡaula-* meaning 'for children to ask their parents insistently for all sorts of things; to nag; to hanker for (after) in many ways', and accordingly translates it as *itazura-naru* 'mischievous (or importune).' *Qa'uluqa(t)* probably represents a w.f. **ḡaḡuluḡa(d)*, from **ḡaḡul-*, a verb which is not attested as such; however, as noted by Pelliot and Murakami, we have mo. *ḡaḡulkila-* and *ḡaḡulja-* both meaning 'to plead poverty, have the appearance of one who is dying of hunger' (Les., 344a). The latter verb also has the meaning of 'to be reduced to begging because of hunger.' See QNTT, 444a; cf. Gol., II, 162b. Both *ḡaḡulkila-* (= *ḡaḡul-ki-la-*) and *ḡaḡulja-* (= *ḡaḡul-ja-*) are formed on **ḡaḡul-*, which in turn < **ḡaḡu* + *-l-*. For the suffixes *-ki-*, *-la-*, *-ja-*, and *-l-*, see the relevant sections in 'Verbstamm.' Now, mo. has *ḡaḡuyi-* 'to project, lean forward', and *ḡaḡuyur* 'projecting, leaning forward', an adverb in *-ḡur* (see GWM, 58, § 212) also formed on **ḡaḡu*. For **ḡaḡu*, cf. ma. *ḡahū* 'curved toward the front, extended forward'; and *ḡahūšambi* 'to stand with the mouth gaping; to be so hungry that one is reduced to begging.' See CMEL, 99b, 100a; SSTMY, I, 137b. The basic idea conveyed by verbs derived from **ḡaḡu* 'inclined forward' is of 'being bent forward and incapacitated (because of hunger or distress)'; cf. the secondary meaning of *ḡaḡulja-* 'to try to speak but be unable to express oneself; to stutter (as when in a hurry)', and the expression *ḡaḡuljan eri-* 'to keep demanding, importune with requests' (Les., 344a). This agrees with the meaning of dag. *ḡauli-*, *ḡaula-* to which Ozawa refers. As we are dealing with

the same basic word (and concept), it is possible to reconcile the etymologies proposed by Pelliot, Murakami and Ozawa. The meaning of SH *qa'uluqa(t)* would then be 'hungry and importuning (= begging, asking insistently) for food', a meaning that also fits the context well. See de Rachewiltz 1995, 279-280.

'Who were fed on wild leek (*qoqosun*).' For *qoqosun*, mo. *γoyod*, *γoyosun*, kh. *gogod*, oir. *γōsun*, 'wild leek', also commonly known in the U.S.A. as 'garlic chive' (*Allium tuberosum* according to ÜÜJT, 253, but *Allium odorum* according to MOUNT, 32), cf. Oz¹, II, 54, n. 1; Vietze 1990, 380-381; MED, 94a; MKeT, 1702a.

'Became handsome and good' renders *qoyila'ut sayit bolba*. This rendering is only tentative insofar as the word *qoyila'ut* is concerned. Indeed, this word raises even more problems of interpretation than *qa'uluqa(t)*. Like the latter, it is not glossed in the interlinear version nor is it attested elsewhere as such. The AT is also of no help. Naka, Pelliot and Cleaves have refrained from translating it; most of the translations proposed so far are contextual interpretations, or based on doubtful etymologies (this applies also to my earlier interpretation in Ra, II, 135, which is no longer tenable). The word itself can be read either *qoyila'ut* (as in Y³ and Y⁴) or *qoyira'ut* (as in Y¹ and Y²); it must, therefore, be a plural of a w.f. **qoyilay* or **qoyiray*, or, alternatively, **γoyilay*, **γoyiray*. Oz¹, II, 54-57, n. 3, suggests a possible correlation between the SH term, kh. *xoilog* 'snow cock' (MMED, 640b; cf. Cév., 683b), and go. *xoilog* (pl. *xoilogūd*) 'lively, full of vigour (said of children).' Unfortunately, there is no evidence for a metaphorical use of kh. *xoilog*; however, the Gorlos expression, even though it has apparently no counterpart in any other Mongolian language, cannot be rejected. For my part, I am rather inclined to see in *qoyila'ut* an ancient dialect variant of mo. *γoyuliyud* (*γoyuli'ud*), the plural of *γoyuliy*, kh. *goyolog*, 'rather beautiful (fine, smart).' For a somewhat different, but still plausible interpretation, see Mu, I, 108, 118, n. 10; cf. also Vietze 1990, 386; Cérénsonom

1991, 5-6. The etymology proposed in TH, 182 (= JYT, 317), i.e. *qoyira'u* = bur. *xoilog* (see BRS, 578a) 'official(-like)', is not satisfactory.

'And grew up into fine men', lit. 'after becoming (*bolun baraju*) fine men.' For the auxiliary of completion *bara-*, cf. Mo, 114, n. 106; Aalto 1973, 36.

'Truly valiant and bold' renders *erekün omoqun ele boldaba*, lit. 'They became truly (*ele*) valiant and bold.' I take *ele* as being emphatic here (= 'truly'); cf. however, Street 1986, 26-27 (43) and 55-56, n. 26.

'Mother Onan': for the epithet 'mother' applied to rivers, cf. rus. *matuška Volga*. The river is called 'mother' because 'it feeds', but the personification in the present case may also have religious (shamanistic) connotations, as in the case, e.g., of 'Mother' Earth (*Etügen* [~ *Ötegen*, *Ötögen*, etc.] *eke*) and 'Mother' Fire (*Gal eke*). See Mostaert 1957, 99, 101, n. 8; idem 1962, 201; CI, 21, n. 8.

On the subject of fishing among the early Mongols, see Uray-Köhalmi 1984, 729ff., where the technical terms in the SH are discussed. Cf. also MSKK, 37-41; Rybatzki 1996; and the important notes in Oz¹, II, 59-65.

'They made seines and dragnets', lit. 'They knotted seines and dragnets' (*čilüme qubči'ur huyaju*). For *čilüme* 'seine', cf. Oz¹, II, 64-65, n. 14. See, however, Poppe 1975b, 155, for a different interpretation. For the *qubči'ur* (= mo. *γubči'ur*) 'dragnet', cf. below, n. 199.

With regard to the fish listed in this poetical section, the *jebüge*, mo. *jebege*, *jibege*, kh. *zëvëë*, is the Siberian salmon (*Salmo lenoc*); *qadara*, mo. id., kh. *xadar* (cf. also ma. *hadara*), is the grayling (*Salmo thymallus*), a rather small fish that lives in clear, cold waters. *Ĵiramut ĵiqasu* is the 'small fry': *ĵiramut* is the plural of **ĵiram* 'small fish', cf. kh. *zaram* id., rendered as 'fingerlings' in the present translation on Poppe's suggestion (p.c.). On *ĵiramut*, cf. also Pelliot 1949, 624, n. 30.

'Then, with grateful heart./They fed their mother', lit. 'Then they fed the benefit of their mother' – a typical Mongolian turn

of phrase. The 'benefit' (*hači*) implies the repayment of a favour. Cf, AT¹, 17a, where SH *hači* is replaced by *ačilan* 'benefitting, returning a favour.'

§ 76. Qasar is, of course, Joči Qasar, Temüjin's next younger brother; Bekter and Belgütei were their half-brothers. See above, n. 60. The names of the two half-brothers are mentioned here for the first time: Bekter disappears from the scene, and from the SH, in § 77, whereas Belgütei, whose life was spared, is mentioned often in the SH and in other sources. See HCG, 185-187 (and 437a, s.v.); Pelliot 1940/41, 11. Regarding their names, *bekter* is mo. *begter* 'a coat of mail worn under a garment' (Les. 94a); cf. TMEN, no. 758; *belgütei* = mo. *belgetei* 'having a sign (or mark)'; cf. HCG, 186-187. On Bekter's and Belgütei's mother, see above, n. 60, and SH, § 112.

The dramatic episode that unfolds itself in §§ 76-78 and finds ultimate expression in the beautiful and highly poetical 'Hö'elün's Lament' is discussed as a theme in Mongol literature in Šastina 1977, 465ff. It is without doubt a most important episode in the characterization of Temüjin as a ruthless individual from his early years, already foreshadowed by the clot of blood held in his hand at birth. The association with Qasar in the fratricide is also significant in view of the prominent role that Qasar will play in the later Mongolian literary and folkloristic tradition.

'Angling', lit. 'pulling a *fish*ing hook.'

'A shiny dace (*niken gege'en soqosun*).' The term *soqosun* (= pmo. *soyosun*) designated a small freshwater fish related to the carp. It has survived in dag. *suagas*, which is *Leuciscus waleckii* (Dyb.) of the family Cyprinidae; however, the term *suagas* may also designate a 'small white (= silvery) fish.' See TH, 239 (= JYT, 413); MKT, 927c (where *soyosu* is rendered 'small sand-blowing fish', i.e. a bottom-feeder); and especially CKCCTWC, 41-42, and pl. 43. For the passive construction of the sentence in Mongolian, see Poppe 1964, 373.

'Why be so malicious? [Stop it!]' This translation is uncertain. The text (reconstructed from the Chinese transcription) reads simply *yegü'üje'ei*, which in principle represents a w.f. *yegügüjegei*; however, in this case the transcription is deceptive, insofar as *-'üje'ei* = *-'üjei* (as in *yeki'üjei* of § 149), therefore the correct reading is *yegü'üjei*; cf. AT¹, 17a: *yegüji* (= *yegügüjei*, see YAT, 82). *Yegügüjei* is the dubitative form of **yegü-*, an obsolete and otherwise unattested verb, glossed in the interlinear version as 'cease', 'stop' (休). The same gloss appears again at the end of this section correctly rendering the word *bütügei*, lit. 'let it be!' If we compare the text of the SH with that of the AT, we see that the latter contains the word *bütügei* not only at the end of the section, like the SH, but also immediately following the word *yegüji* at the beginning of the section (AT¹, loc. cit.; cf. ATL, 41; and MNLAT, 34, where, however, Čoïmaa reads *yegüci* instead of *yegüji*). It seems then that the word *bütügei* has somehow dropped out of the original text, while the Chinese gloss pertaining to it has been retained, but wrongly placed against the word *yegü'üjei*, which as a result remains unexplained. This word, obviously already an obsolete one in the 17th century, has required a gloss in the AT reading *yayun-u tula* 'what for?, why?', which like other glosses in the AT is almost certainly incorrect, the author of the gloss merely guessing at the meaning of the word and, possibly, relating it to *yeki'üjei* (= *yekigüjei*) 'what will (I, one) do?, what is to be done?' (cf. below n. 149). Most modern scholars have either followed the Chinese gloss, or they too have equated *yegü'üjei* with *yeki'üjei*. Neither solution is satisfactory. (Pelliot was also puzzled by the word *yegü'üjei*, see Pe, 16.) I think that Ozawa's suggestion (Oz¹, II, 70-71, n. 6) is well worth considering. He identifies **yegü-* with kh. *egö-* 'to mock, jeer; to make malicious remarks, slander.' See Cév., 232a. *Yegü'üjei* would then mean 'I fear you are speaking maliciously.' If, as I suggest, we restore the missing word *bütügei* (see above), the text would read 'I fear you are speaking maliciously (or you are maligning them). Let

it be! (= Don't do it!).' My slightly freer rendering follows this, still very tentative, interpretation.

'We have no friend but our shadow, / We have no whip but our horse's tail' – a popular saying or proverb aptly used by Mother Hö'elün to describe the family's predicament. According to S. Jagchid, this old proverb was 'a common warning of that period, serving to admonish people not to separate from blood relatives but to cooperate and unite together with other members of their clan or tribe' (Jagchid 1978, 96). The word *čiču'a* (w.f. *čičuγa*) 'whip' in this saying is obsolete and has not survived in any modern languages or dialects, as already pointed out by Khomonov. See Khomonov 1970, 35. The translation is therefore based on the interlinear gloss and sectional summary, as well as on the interlinear gloss in § 77, and on the interlinear gloss and sectional summary of § 78, as the proverb is cited again in these two paragraphs. In § 125 the word *čiču'a* occurs again in the same line context, also glossed as 'whip' (鞭子). The consistency of translation in these several instances indicates that the meaning of the word was known to the Ming translators. Furthermore, as noted by Khomonov 1981, 56, this saying occurs in the Geser epic of the Buriats (Ekhirit-Bulgat recension), where the word *čiču'a* is replaced by the word *minaa*, also meaning 'whip' (bur. *minaa*, mo. *milaya*, the *mina'a* of the SH, §§ 195, 255; cf. HW, 109). This removes any possible doubt as to the meaning of the word and, at the same time, disproves the alternative interpretations put forth in Do¹, 38 and 42, n. 12; TH, 317 (= JYT, 550); Oz¹, II, 67 and 71-72, n. 7; El-Ar, 157-158, n. 5; and On, 21 and n. 67, where *čiču'a* is rendered as 'fat', i.e. 'the thick deposit of fat that builds up on the tails of Mongolian sheep' (cf. the 2001 ed., 65 and n. 167). Now *čiču'a* may be related to *čičuq* (= *čičuγ*) 'fat tail' of MA, 322a, which is merely a phonetic variant of čag. *čičiγ* id., but if so, the word must have undergone a semantic change ('tail' > 'whip') insofar as the Mongolian proverb is concerned. Cf. Če, 310, n. 92. The later native chronicles which report the episode (AT¹, AT [anon.], ET) also quote the proverb, but the

word *čiču'a* (**čičuγa*) appears in corrupt forms, thus distorting the original meaning. Cf. AT¹, 17b et passim (see ATI, 155b, s.v. 'cöcige'; ATL, 41, 42, 44, 86): *čöcige* 'cup, goblet'; MCAT, 41 (14), 120 and n. 7: *čučaγa* pro *čučaγ*, metathesis for *čačuγ* 'tuft (of hair)' (see below); ET³, 27r17 (see PPET, 138-141): *čöcigen*, corresponding to *čöcige* of the AT. Cf. also LDAT, 74, 320, n. 32. This is also the case with the Ordos variant of the proverb, in which *čiču'a* is replaced by *Dža'tš'üq* (*čačuγ*) 'tuft.' See TOO, 584, no. 446; cf. FO, 581, no. 446, and n. 1; DO, 190a.

'How to take vengeance for the outrage committed by our Tayiči'ut kinsmen', lit. 'how we shall avenge the sorrow (*qaši'u*) of (= caused by) our Tayiči'ut brothers.'

For the expression *yekin eye üge'ün bui ta*, lit. 'how (= why) are you without accord?', see Ligeti 1958, 234, n. 51; idem 1971, 145 (7).

The reference to 'the five sons of Mother Alan of old' in Hö'elün's reproach is of course to Alan Qo'a's sons (two of whom were also from an earlier marriage) and their discord, as described in SH, §§ 18-22. On the theme of 'the quarrelling sons', see Moses 1987, 63 (for the relevant passage).

§ 77. 'The other day' (*öcigen*), or 'recently'; cf. DO, 542b. For *öcigen üdür* 'yesterday', see below, n. 245.

'A lark we shot with a knob-headed arrow' (*bilji'ur qodoliduqsan-i* [acc.]). The word *bilji'ur* is not glossed in the interlinear translation, but is rendered in the sectional summary (Y² 2, 10b) as 'sparrow' or 'small bird' (雀兒). The word occurs again as a personal epithet in § 220, and in the form *bildu'ur* (< **bildi'ur* > *bilji'ur*) in § 160, glossed as 'small bird which speaks to Heaven' (告天雀兒), i.e. 'lark', a meaning confirmed also by the early Sino-Mongolian glossaries (cf. Oz¹, II, 75, n. 2; Kara 1990, 285; cf. RH, 229, no. 7: *bildür* [read *bildür*] 'nightingale'). The word has survived in dag. *biel'dur* 'lark' (THHTT, 18a). Cf. mo. *biljuuqai* 'any small bird' (*biljuuqai* is *bilju'u[r]* [*< biljuγur*] + den. noun suff. *-qai*), and *boljumur*,

boljimir, *boljimar* 'lark'; bur. *bulžamar*, *bulžamuur*; kh. *bolžmor* id. For *j* ~ *d* (*j* < *d*), see IMCS, 114-115. The word is back-vocalic, not front-vocalic as given in L², 46; R, 29, 196b; Oz¹, II, 73, 75, n. 2; III, 272, 275, n. 2; and the RH (see above). According to Pelliot (HCG, 326-327), the lark in question is *Alauda alpestris*, the Alpine skylark. Cf. also Pelliot in TP 37:1943, 42 n.; Hung 1956, 17, n. 6. The verb *qodolit-* 'to shoot a knob-headed arrow' is formed on *qodoli* with the denominal verbal suffix *-t* (= mo. *-d*). *Qodoli* (= mo. *γodoli*) was the generic name of a type of arrow which had a round, blunt head made of bone, horn or wood, often pierced with holes, thus producing a whistling sound when discharged. These 'specialized' arrows were used for various purposes (stunning birds and small animals, for children to play and practise shooting with, for ceremonial purposes, etc.). Much has been written about them. See, in particular, Uray-Köhalmi 1953, 55ff., 66ff.; TMEN, no. 297; Reid 1992, 88; and RH, 287, no. 3. Cf. also §§ 112, 116, and com. On hunting with *qodoli*-arrows, cf. Harayama 1972, 18.

'Just like that ... the same way' (*teyin gü ... teyin gü*). For this use of the emphatic particle *gü* (= mo. *kü*), see Street 1982, 628-629.

'They flung open the *felt* door', lit. 'they cast aside (*o'orču*) the *felt* door' – corresponding to our 'slammed the door.'

'On a hillock' (*hulqun de'ere*). *Hulqun* 'isolated hillock, knoll, mound' occurs only once in the SH and is an obsolete word with initial *h* (not listed, however, in Pelliot 1925 and Poppe 1969). For the survival of this word in Ordos and Buriat, see DO, 15b, s.v. '*alχu*'; Gantogtokh 1989, 117; Gantogtox 1990, 123. Cf. mo. *ulqun čulqun* 'uneven', and the entry *ulqu* 'protuberance, swelling' in MKT, 244b; and MKeT, 505a-b. See also BGEG, 175. In ET³, 40v30, the site Temür Ulqu is mentioned as the name of a *dobo*, i.e. of a hillock, or knoll.

For the words 'the nine horses, the light-bay geldings' (*širqa aqtatan yisün mori*) – a case of noun apposition – see Mo, 29-30. Cf. Čoïmaa 2001b; and below, n. 90. The number of

horses belonging to Hö'elün's yurt is always given as nine, even when it should be ten (§ 99), because the number nine had special symbolic connotations for the Turco-Mongolian peoples, a sort of 'sacred' number appropriate for things and events pertaining to exalted personages. See above, n. 60. Cf. also below, n. 90, for the subsequent fate of the horses.

'And ask ourselves who shall be able to take vengeance on them', lit. 'And say, "By whom shall we able to take vengeance?"'

'Why do you regard me as a lash in the eye, a thorn (*qaqasun*) in the mouth?' *Qaqasun* (= pmo. *qayasun*) is glossed as *keng* 梗 'thorny tree, stem of a plant; obstruction', and its meaning in Written Mongolian is 'fishing hook; sharp point of a hook' – the basic idea being of something sharp and harmful. Cf. dag. *hawas* 'a small thorn' (Oz¹, II, 80, n. 11, on the authority of Mr. U. Onon). In On, 21 and n. 69, *qaqasun* is however rendered as 'fishbone' following TH, 167 (= JYT, 291). Cf. Ev-Pop, 60: 'un corps étranger', which, although not a literal translation, conveys the general meaning. The expression – an idiomatic one – is descriptive of something alien, irritating and a nuisance, something to get rid of.

'Do not destroy my hearth, pray do not make away with Belgütei!' Among the Turco-Mongolian people, to destroy the hearth, or to put out the hearth-fire, was a common metaphor for the destruction of one's yurt, the extermination of the whole family and bringing the family line to an end. Cf. § 87; BDK, 100. Bekter and Belgütei were only half-brothers of Temüjin and Qasar; even though they all lived together, in reality Bekter and Belgütei belonged to the yurt of Yisügei's other wife Sučigil (or Sučigil). It is, of course, to the hearth of that yurt that the doomed Bekter refers in his attempt to have the life of his brother spared by Temüjin and Qasar. As stated earlier (n. 72), the elimination of Bekter, the elder of the two half-brothers, was almost certainly not decided merely on the grounds of their high-handed behaviour, *even* accounting for the fact that 1) trivial incidents like the ones described were no doubt serious

matters in the strait circumstances in which Hö'elün and her family found themselves at the time, and 2) the harsh norms of steppe life exacted severe retribution on transgressors. See, on this subject, Ratchnevsky 1987, 69. I believe that these incidents were only a pretext to eliminate the other son of Yisügei who could claim to be his legitimate heir and successor. The claims and aspirations of Bekter would no doubt originate from his mother (who was still alive), and may have well determined the attitude of her two sons that is reflected in their behaviour as described in the SH which ultimately precipitated the crisis. Concerning the death of Bekter and the subsequent relationship of Temüjin/Činggis Qan towards his surviving half-brother Belgütei, see HCG, 185-187 et passim; *Chapitre CVII*, 48-51; for the accounts in later Mongol sources, cf. Clark 1978, 53-54, n. 36.

The Mongols used various terms to avoid explicit references to killing, death, and the spilling of blood because of taboos associated with them which were part of their shamanistic and animistic beliefs. Cf. the expressions 'to destroy the hearth', 'to cause someone to blow *to the winds* like *hearth-ashes*' (see §§ 87, 112, 265), 'to smite the proud (= mighty) frame of the tent' (see §§ 105, 109). These and other expressions were designed to circumvent this problem. 'To abandon' (or 'to reject, forsake') (*tebči-*) is another euphemism for 'to kill.' Cf. ch. *ch'ü* 去 'to dismiss, to reject' = 'to kill'; eng. 'to dispatch', 'to make away with', etc. The SH is very rich in such figures of speech, and similar turns of phrases are also common in other Mongol contemporary documents, such as imperial edicts, letters of the Mongol rulers to rulers of other countries, etc. On the phraseology of death and killing among the Turkish and Mongolian peoples, cf. MCPA, 92-96.

§ 78. This section contains the so-called 'Hö'elün's Lament' – a beautiful and powerful piece of early Mongol poetry.

'You who have destroyed *life!* ... You have destroyed!' On these words, see Cleaves 1949a, 512-514.

'This one (i.e. Temüjin) was born /Clutching a black clot of blood (lit. "holding a black clot of blood in his hand")': see § 59 and com.

'Like a Qasar dog.' Qasar (= Khazar) was the name of a particularly fierce kind of dog, used also as a proper name or epithet, as in the case of Temüjin's brother Joči Qasar, i.e. Joči the Qasar (see above, n. 60). For the term *qasar* and the name of the Khazars of the Volga – Qasar being the Mongolized form of the name – see Pelliot 1944, 98, n. 1; NHHO, 208, n. 2; HCG, 174-175; TMEN, no. 281; BT, II, 335. Cf. also P. Aalto in *MS* 36:1984/85, 684; Gantogtokh 1989, 117; cf. Gantogtox 1990, 123. The species of dog in question has not been identified; given its designation, according to Pelliot it was probably a dog of Khazar origin (cf. our 'spaniel'), but information on this breed is lacking. Gasar is still used as a dog's name in the modern Ordos dialect. See DO, 296b; TH, 173 (= JYT, 301).

Several other animals and wild beasts – real and mythical – are mentioned in this passage: the panther (*qablan*, see TMEN, no. N 128 = 2073; Poppe 1955, 40; Vietze 1990, 382), the lion (*arslan*, see TMEN, no. 453), the *mangqus* (written *mangqus* = mo. *mangγus*) or dragon-snake (see below, n. 195), the gerfalcon (*šingqor*, see above, n. 54), the pike (*čuraqa*, mo. *čuruqai*), the camel (*bu'ura*, mo. *buγura*, see above, n. 64), the wolf (*čino*, see above, n. 1), the mandarin duck (*anggir*, see TMEN, no. 563; Bazin 1971), the jackal (*čö'eböri*, mo. *čögeböri*), the tiger (*bars*, see TMEN, no. 685; Poppe 1955, 38), and the *baruq* (*barus* in the text, but correctly *baruy* in AT¹, 18a), probably the same as tu. *baraq*, 'a long-haired dog of somewhat fabulous character' (Pelliot, *NMP*, I, 75; cf. NHHO, 57), regarded by the medieval Turks as 'the swiftest and best hunter of all dogs' (Maḥmūd Kāšyarī [ca. 1075] *apud* ED, 360a; cf. Dankoff 1971, 102; CTD, III, 66; and also Cleaves 1949a, 515). Eng. 'brach' seems to ultimately derive from *baraq*. See TMEN, no. 728. But *baraq* designates also other animals, and humans too, with shaggy hair, as 'shaggy, hairy' was undoubtedly the original meaning of the word, a meaning still

preserved, e.g., in Kirghiz *barak* (see KiRS, I, 109). However, this word must not be confused with *baruq* 'ravenous, glutton' of § 46 (see above, n. 46), nor with *baraq* = *boraq* (<< arab. *burāq*), the legendary steed mentioned in the Koran, even though the latter may be indirectly (i.e. via Middle Iranian) related to tu. *baraq*. Cf. Ligeti 1966, 136, n. 22; Dankoff 1971.

'Like a dragon-snake swallowing *its prey* alive', lit. 'Like a dragon-snake which says "I shall swallow *my prey* alive."'

'Like a wolf *stalking its prey* under cover of (lit. "relying upon *or* taking advantage of") a blizzard', i.e. to avoid being seen. For *boroqan* 'blizzard, snowstorm', see below, n. 108.

'Like a mandarin duck eating its chicks/When it cannot manage them', in other words, when it is unable to follow them and keep them under control. For *geli-* 'to go after, to drive in front, lead, control, manage', see VMI, 7, n. 16.

'Like a jackal ganging up *with its pack*/When one threatens *its den*', lit. 'Like a jackal that, when one touches (= threatens) its den, acts in concert *with other jackals* to defend it.' For the verb *ömere-* (~ *ömeri-*, *ömer-*, *ömöre-*) 'to league *or* band (together)', see *Lettres*, 77.

'Never hesitant', lit. 'that does not hesitate.'

'You behave [in this way] to each other, saying that you cannot live together!', lit. 'You behave to each other, saying, "How shall we live?"' Hö'elün refers to the previous statement by Temüjin and Qasar to the effect that they could no longer live together with their half-brothers. See the beginning of § 77. The word *eyin* 'in this way', lacking in our text, may inadvertently have been dropped from the original since it is found in the corresponding passage in AT¹, 18a, and is also rendered in the Chinese sectional summary (Y² 2, 13a). Cf. MNLAT, 36.

'Citing old sayings,/Quoting ancient words', i.e. making use of proverbs and aphorisms, something we know from another passage (§ 244) Hö'elün was want to do. This was, indeed, a well-attested Mongol custom among the medieval Mongols; Činggis Qan practised it (see § 260), and some personages, such

as Ča'adai (= Čaγatai) and Ögödei – Činggis' second and third sons respectively – and Temür Öljeitü, the grandson of Qubilai, were adept at quoting and reciting sayings of a gnomic nature (*bilig*) 'often couched in "rhythmical and obscure language"' (*Successors*, 13). On this practice, and on the proverbs and sayings in the SH, see Gaadamba 1968, 81-82; idem 1969, 165ff.; Cérénsodnom 1986 (esp. pp. 72, 77). Cf. also de Rachewiltz 1982b, 427-428; and Section Six of the Introduction. *Ötögüs üges* 'ancient words' = *ötögüs-iin üges* 'the words of the old men (*or* of the men of old, i.e. the ancients).' Cf. below, n. 117. For *ötögü* 'old man, elder, senior', see TMEN, no. 40.

'Mightily reviled her sons.' For *ma'ula* - ~ *ma'uila-* (= mo. *maγula-*, *maγuyila-*) 'to speak ill (*or* evil) of; to curse', cf., e.g., TDB, 22 (F3v[20]), 112, 163, n. 17. See also Oz¹, II, 90, n. 14.

§ 79. 'At the head of his bodyguard (*turqa'ut*).' *Turqa'ut* (= pmo. *turγaγud*) is the plural of *turqaq* (= pmo. *turγaγ*), an important term designating the daytime bodyguard of the *qan*. In the organization of the Guard (*kešik*) as set up by Činggis Qan, the guards (*kešikten*) were divided into dayguards (*turqa'ut*) and nightguards (*kebre'ül*). See §§ 191-192, 226-229, 269, 278; and below, n. 191. In the case of Tarqutai Kiriltuq, a chief of the Tayiči'ut, this distinction may not yet have obtained and *turqa'ut* could simply refer to the pick of his men acting as his personal guard whether by day or by night; this is, indeed, supported by the Chinese interlinear gloss which renders *turqa'ut* as 'companions' (伴當), which is also the way the term is rendered in Cl, 24. Cf. Mu, I, 122; Oz¹, II, 92 ('guards'), and Oz², I, 63 ('companions'); On, 23 ('sentries'); Ev-Pop, 61 ('gardes de jour'). Also, the 'thousand *turqa'ut*' of Ong Qan of the Kereyit mentioned in § 170 was no doubt his Guard, hence a body of picked men, used as a crack unit ahead of the main army. The original Turkic term *turyaq*, borrowed into Mongolian, designated the man who was 'constantly standing', i.e. 'the sentry' (> 'bodyguard'). For the term *turqaq*, see Pelliot 1930b, 29-30; HCG, 52; TMEN, no. 882; Poppe 1967, 515-517,

no. 10; ED, 539b; HCWLYTT, 202-204, no. 60; MEYD, 149, n. 16; YTSHT, 65ff.; RH, 305, no. 26.

Tarqutai Kiriltuq's words are not as easy as they seem because the Chinese interlinear translation is at variance with the free rendering in the sectional summary. 'The ones we left behind' (*qoluqat*). The word *qoluqat* (= mo. *γoluγad*) is a deverbal noun (pl.) from *qolu-* (= mo. *γolu-*) 'to reject, refuse.' Tarqutai alludes to Yisügei's small children he and the Tayiči'ut 'rejected', i.e. left behind when they abandoned Hö'elün and her family after Yisügei's death (§ 72). This is the interpretation supplied by the sectional summary (Y² 2, 14b), which I regard as the correct one. However, the verb *qolu-* (*γolu-*) means also 'to hate, loathe, abhor' (cf. Les., 359b), and this meaning is well attested in Preclassical Mongolian. See Cleaves 2001a, 47, n. 74. The author(s) of the Chinese gloss of SH *qoluqat*: *o-ti-mei* 惡的每 'the wicked (or hateful) ones' obviously understood the Mongol word in the latter meaning. Haenisch (Ha, 15) and Cleaves (Cl, 25) have followed the gloss. See also Cleaves 1982, 80, n. 25. Several other interpretations have been proposed (see Vietze 1990, 381), and the same translator has offered more than one solution. Cf. Pe, 136 and n. 4; Oz¹, II, 92, 93, n. 2; Oz², I, 63; Ev-Pop, 61 and 265, n. 20; Vietze, loc. cit. See also On, 23, n. 74, citing AT⁴, 101-102, n. 2, thus forcing both the reading of the SH and that of AT¹ (Ligeti's emendation of the text in ATL, 44, is arbitrary but correct; his rendering of *qoluqat* in Li, 23, with 'The naked little birds' is, on the other hand, unjustified in my view). For *qo'oŋi-* 'to moult', cf. mo. *γuuji-* id. For the expression 'the snotty ones' (*šilüger*; Cl, 25: 'drivellers'), cf. the epithet *nisuqai* 'snotty' by which Joro (Geser Qan) was always referred to in his youth. See GQT, I, 64 et passim; TBGC, 36, n. 13 et passim; DO, 220b. The Chinese sectional summary interprets the words in question as a simile between Temüjin and his brothers on the one hand, and the chicks of flying birds growing wings and the young of running beasts growing in size on the other. Cf. Wa, 228. (Murakami's interpretation of *qoluqat* as '[chicks of] pheasant'

is, however, untenable, since it is based on a misinterpretation of the word for 'pheasant' [*γuurγul*] in the Sino-Mongolian glossaries of the Yüan and Ming periods; see Mu, I, 130-131, n. 2.) Tarqutai's words to the effect that Yisügei's sons have grown up – implying that Temüjin has *now* become a threat – are of course in themselves threatening.

'Belgütei tore out trees', lit. 'Belgütei tore trees (*mudut*) in such a way as to break them apart (*ququru*).' For the adverb *ququru*, see below, n. 101. For *modun* ~ *mudun* (pl. *mudut*), see 'Quelques problèmes', 268; IMCS, 28.

'Erected a palisade (*šibe'e*).' For *šibe'e* (= mo. *sibege*) 'palisade, abatis, fence', cf. TMEN, no. 227. See also the remarks on *šiba* in n. 198 below.

'They were battling *in this fashion* when ...', lit. 'When they were fighting each other' (*bulqaldun büküi-tür*). For *bulqa-* 'to fight, battle, etc.', see below, n. 150. 'The rest of you', lit. 'the others of you.'

For *ungši-* 'to call, shout' (= mo. *ungsi-* 'to read, recite'), cf. BGĖG, 170. 'Upon this shouting', lit. 'Being shouted at.' Cf. Poppe 1964, 368, for the passive construction.

The Tergüne Heights (Tergüne Ündür) is an unidentified mountain or hill situated near the area where Hö'elün and her family were encamped at the time. This locality is mentioned only once in the SH. Pêrlée², 9 (cf. Pêrlée⁴, 96) situates the Tergüne Heights broadly in the area of the eastern Khentei at 49° N 109° E, and suggests that it may have been the name of Dêlüün Uul near the sources of the Kerulen. This fact is simply impossible to establish; however, the locality in question was no doubt in the region of the upper Onon and Kerulen rivers, and the eastern slopes of the Khentei Range. For a diagrammatic illustration of how the Tayiči'ut kept watch on Temüjin's hide-out in the mountain forest, see Oz¹, II, 97, n. 8.

§ 80. For the section 'Temüjin spent three *days and nights* ... three more *days and nights* there', cf. Street 1984, 128-129 (2),

especially with regard to the corroborative particle *či* (on it cf. also TMEN, no. N 85 = 2030).

'The saddle-girth could of course *have loosened up*', lit. 'As for the saddle-girth, of course let it pass (= it could certainly happen for it to get loosened up).' For *kömüldürge* 'breast-strap' (> *kömüldürgele-* 'to attach the breast-strap'), see Khomonov 1970, 35; for *olang* 'saddle-girth' and *olangla-* 'to fasten the saddle-girth', see Pelliot 1944, 81-83 (1°); Khomonov, loc. cit.

'Is this a warning from Heaven?', lit. 'Is Heaven warning me?' – the first of many instances in which Činggis Qan refers to Heaven's (*tenggeri*'s) intervention in his affairs. Cf. de Rachewiltz 1973, 27.

'A white rock the size of a tent (*qošiliq*).' For this simile, see Cleaves 1959, 77, n. 147. For *gürü* 'rock, stone', cf. *Lettres*, 45-46. *Qošiliq* (= mo. *qosiliγ*) is a derivation in *-liq* (*-liγ*) from a Turkic borrowing (< *qoš* 'a conical pole-tent with felt-cover, travel-tent' < tu. *qoš* 'a temporary dwelling'); cf. Poppe 1955, 40-41; Hovdhaugen 1975, 72; MSR, 120; Khomonov 1970, 36; Oz¹, II, 104-105, n. 6. The transcription *qošliq* of L², 49, and KCI, 807, is incorrect. Cf. AT¹, 18b: *qosiliγ*, and the word *kišiliq*, above, n. 51. The difference between a *qoš* and a *qošiliq* seems to have been that the latter was provided with a smoke-hole (*erüge*). See § 246. In a letter to me of 18 March 1981, N. Poppe wrote with regard to the word *qošiliq*: 'Its Turkic etymon cannot be located. The form *qoš(i)liγ* may have originated in Mongolian, although *qoš* is a Turkic word. In Kalmuck *xoš* is "temporary camp", "camp."' The *-i-* in the second syllable is a connecting vowel. For *qoš*, see also below, n. 169. For the use of a *qošiliq* in funeral ceremonies, see below, n. 245.

'Already (lit. "again") nine days and nights (*yisün qonoq*).' The nine (3x3) days and nights that Temüjin spent in hiding in the forest as a result of Heaven's warnings, as well as the white colour of the rock that blocked the way, have a symbolic meaning, as is evident from the context. Cf. Moses 1986, 290-

291; Bese 1987, 47; MNTB, 17. Cf. above, nn. 60-61. It is also obvious from the text that the verb *qono-* 'to spend the night' means here, as in other passages (cf. e.g., §§ 90, 227), 'to spend a day and a night', i.e. a full day. The Mongols used to count the days by the number of nights that had elapsed (*qono-* > *qonoq* 'a day and a night'; cf. rus. *sutki* 'day and night, the twenty-four hours'), much as hoteliers reckon the guests' stay at the hotel by the number of nights, not days, spent there. For *qonoq*, cf. above, nn. 67, 68.

'With his arrow-sharpening knife' (*sumuči kituqai-[ba]r-ıyan*). For *kituqai*, mo. *kituγa*, 'knife', see Pelliot, op. cit., 94-96 (6°); for final *-i* ~ zero, cf. *maγui*, *maγu*; *malaγai*, *malaγa*; etc. See SG, 295-299, § 159. In rendering this entire passage I now adhere to Kozin's interpretation, followed also by Cleaves, which is at variance with that of Naka, Pelliot and, more recently, Ozawa, and which I too had adopted in my earlier version. Cf. Ko, 92; Cl, 25-26; Na², 51; Pe, 137; Oz¹, II, 100; Ra, II, 139. For *hoqtori-* 'to cut', see Pelliot 1925, 221, no. 40. 'They seized him and took him away' (*barıju abču otba*). For the use of *ot-* 'to go' as an auxiliary verb, see above, n. 66; cf. also Mostaert 1956, 6-7.

§ 81. The Mongol *ayil* at the time in question was, in its narrower sense, a small nomadic camp consisting of only one or a few tents (*yurts*, mo. *ger*), with carts and animals, belonging to one family; in this sense, *ayil* may indeed be rendered as 'family.' See Vlad.², 44 et passim; Li, 146, n. 81; TMEN, no. 503; Pêrlée 1962, 26; Sugita 1979, 37, 47, 51; Sum'yaabaatar 1985, 361; HMPR, 101, where the term *ayil* is rendered as 'individual family'; and F.W. Cleaves in *HJAS* 13:1950, 233, where it is rendered as 'nomad house' (but 'camp' in Cl, 271b). Cf. also Oz¹, II, 110, n. 2. For its Old Turkic counterpart (*ayıl*), cf. also Pritsak 1988, 758. A group of related families (*ayil*) formed an *ayimaq*, on which see below, n. 156.

'The day of the Red Circle' (*hula'an tergel üdür*). Regarding this expression Cl, 26, n. 29, writes: 'The meaning of

hula'an "red" is not clear. The words *tergel üdür* were used of the fifteenth of any lunation, but as we see from the *Secret History*, the words *hula'an tergel üdür* were used only of the sixteenth of the fourth lunation, an auspicious day. In both cases the word *tergel* may refer to the "disk" of the moon.' Cf. On, 96, n. 241. The expression *hula'an tergel* occurs again in §§ 118 and 193 also with reference to the sixteenth day of the first month of summer. In § 81 these two words are glossed in the interlinear translation as 'red disc (or halo)' (紅圓光); in §§ 118 and 193 as 'red brightness' (紅光), but I suspect that 光 'brightness' stands here for 圓光 'disc, halo.' Clearly, this expression was the Mongolian name for that particular day, viz. the 'day of the Red Disc' and, this being the sixteenth day of the month, the reference was more likely to the bright disk of the full moon rather than to that of the sun (*pace* Ozawa, who on the basis of modern Mongol usage is of the opinion that the expression in question refers to the red and bright orb of the sun, see Oz¹, II, 108-109, and 110-112, n. 3; Oz², I, 65). Cf. MSR, 177. For the Mongol calendar and the names of the months in Middle Mongolian, see below, n. 282. We do not know Temüjin's age at the time nor the date of these events (on Rašīd al-Dīn's account see below); however, the sixteenth day of the first month of summer would have fallen within the month of May in the solar calendar: a day of full moon and the first full moon of summer, it was an important and, as Cleaves says, auspicious day in the nomads' calendar (cf. §§ 118 and 193) and the occasion for a great feast.

The 'cangue' (*buqa'u*, w.f. *buγaγu*) to which our text refers consisted of a heavy wooden frame fastened on the neck to allow the prisoner to walk while preventing his escape. A leash attached to the cangue was held by the unprepossessing youth guarding Temüjin. The word *buqa'u* is of Turkic origin, and it has passed also into Hungarian (*békó, béklyó* 'fettters'); it has been exhaustively dealt with by various scholars. See TMEN, no. 725; ÉSTY, II, 248-250; MNTK, 246-248; and, more recently, Čoyimaa 2001. In § 146 the term used for 'cangue' is

jarbiyal – a purely Mongolian word. However, the modern word for 'cangue' is *döngge*. As already noted by Ligeti (Li, 146, n. 81), there are certain differences between the account given in the SH and the one recorded by Rašīd al-Dīn, for which see SL², I/1, 172-173. According to Rašīd, Temüjin's cangue (pers. *dūšax*) had caused a bleeding wound in his neck; he was helped by a kind old woman who nursed his wound, and he subsequently escaped, hiding in a nearby large lake (*nāvar-i buzurg*) where he lay in the water with only his nose exposed. Rašīd gives the name of the old woman (? Taiju Egeči *pro* Tayiči'ut Egeči), but makes no mention of the youth who had been put in charge of Temüjin nor of any blows. Cf. SL¹, 5 (1858), 224-225; DT, I/1, 442-444. In any event, 'Tayiči'ut Egeči' was almost certainly not the old woman's name, for it simply means '(a or the) Tayiči'ut elder sister (? = an older woman; a concubine, cf. TMEN, no. 67).'

'After the people at the feast had dispersed', lit. 'Letting the people of the feast disperse.' The Chinese sectional summary states that Temüjin hit the youth *with the cangue* (Y²2, 18a; cf. Wa, 229), an interpretation followed by various scholars and popularised by R. Grousset (see CW, 51); however, the Mongolian text is not so specific, as Ligeti (Li, 146, n. 81) rightly pointed out. Cf. Ha, 16; Pe, 137; Ko, 92.

The youth is described as a 'weakling' (*gelbüre*; AT¹, 19a, has *gilbere*, read *kilbara* 'simple-minded' in MNTLAT, 38). For this obsolete word, see Oz¹, II, 112, n. 6; Gantogtokh 1989, 117-118; cf. Gantogtox 1990, 124.

§ 82. For the first sentence, see Mo, 24. For *alda-* 'to lose (= "to let escape")', cf. TMEN, no. 533.

For the word *sara'ur* (= mo. *saraγul*) 'moonlight', cf. DO, 564a.

Sorqan Šira was a chief of the Suldus (not Süldüs! Cf. Poppe 1950a, 265), who at the time were subject to the Tayiči'ut. For these subordinate tribes, see Lattimore 1963b, 59-60. On the Suldus, see HCG, 59-60; Li, 164, n. 186. On

Sorqan Šira – the ‘Torʻan Šira’ of the late Mongolian historiographical tradition (Torʻan Šira is the form of the name found also in the AT) – see HCG, 157-158; Li, loc. cit.; and Chiodo 1994, 210-212. According to Rašīd al-Dīn (SL², I/1, 174), the Tayičiʻut leader Tarqutai Kiriltuq was killed by Sorqan Šira’s son Čila’uqan Ba’atur, the Čila’un of the SH, §§ 84-85. The Suldus are mentioned again in § 120 among the tribes and clans that rallied to Temüjin after he separated from Ĵamuqa.

‘There is fire in your eyes, etc.’, see above, n. 62.

§ 83. Temüjin made his escape in daytime, on the sixteenth day of the fourth lunar month. He hid in the river, knowing that the forest would be searched. The search was carried out during the night by the Tayičiʻut, helped by the light of the full moon which made the night as bright as day (§ 82). If so, how should we interpret Sorqan Šira’s remark ‘how shall we find him now in the dark night (*qarangqui söni*)?’ The only explanation is that by that time, i.e. in the early hours of the morning, the moon had already set and darkness had fallen again, rendering the search difficult. Cf. MNTSZA, 113-115, for a discussion of this passage. In the Mongol text, the words ‘shining’ and ‘bright’ (lit. ‘white’) are *gegeʻen* and *čaqʻan* respectively. These represent the w.f. *gegegen* (> *gegēn*, mo. *gegen*) and *čayayan* (> *čayān*, mo. *čayan*). Both contracted forms (*gegēn* and *čaqān*) occur also in the SH, see HW, 48, 25. Cf. SG, 248-249; IMCS, 27. For *manaqar* ‘tomorrow’, see above, n. 66 and below, n. 159.

‘Now wait until we have completely dispersed.’ For the Mongolian construct, see Cleaves 1949a, 515-516; idem 1951, 78, n. 35.

For the words ‘If someone sees you ... who saw you’, see Mo, 24-25; Poppe 1964, 369; Oz¹, II, 125-127, n. 3.

§ 84. For the two sons of Sorqan Šira, Čimbai and Čila’un (‘Stone’) – Čimbai being the younger of the two brothers – see HCG, 151-153; and above, n. 82, for the reference to Rašīd’s account. Cf. also Bese 1978, 365-366, no. 16; idem 1974, 92.

Čila’un became one of Činggis Qan’s ‘four steeds (= stalwarts)’ (*dörben külü’üt*), the others being Bo’orču, Muqali and Boroqu (Boro’ul). See HCG, 340-342; and, especially, YTSHT, 141-230. Cf. below, nn. 90, 97, and 163. He is frequently referred to as Čila’un Ba’atur, and he and his descendants are often mentioned in the Chinese sources (YS, SWCCL, *wen-chi* 文集 of the Yüan period, etc.).

‘Felt in their hearts very sorry for me’, lit. ‘their bosoms and hearts pained for me.’

‘They took my cangue, relieved me of it and’ Mostaert (u.n.) translates, ‘ils ont pris ma cangue et m’en ont débarrassé.’ For *sulala-* ‘se défaire de ses entraves’, see DO, 591a. Cf. the Chinese interlinear gloss which renders *sulala-* with *sung* 鬆 ‘to loosen, slacken, untie; to let go.’

‘Enabled me to spend the night resting’ renders the ‘*qono*’ *a’ululāi*’ of Y¹ and Y²; Y³ has *qono a’ululāi*, where *qono* is an incorrect reading for *qonon*. Cf. above, n. 31.

§ 85. For the preparation of fermented mare’s milk or kumis (< tu. *qumiz*; mmo. *esük*, mo. *esüg*, *üsüg*), the mare’s milk (*sin*) was poured into (*tüsiür-*) a large leather bag (*itiüge*) in which it was churned (*büle-*) with a wooden beater or churner (*büle’ür*) until it fermented. In Sorqan Šira’s tent this familiar operation was carried out from evening until dawn. The preparation of kumis by the Mongols is first described in detail in Western literature in William of Rubruck’s *Itinerarium*; however, classical authors, such as Herodotus, already give a good description of how this drink was prepared by the Scythians. See SF, 177-179; MM, 98-99; GR, 95-96; MWR, 310a, s.v. ‘Qumiz’; MP¹, 171; MP², I, 257, 259-260, n. 2; NMP, I, 240, s.v. ‘Chemis’; Aalto 1966; Mo, 26-27; Li, 146-147, n. 85; MSR, 149-152.

The bird called in Mongolian *turumtai*, rendered here as ‘sparrow-hawk’ (see Waley 1960, 524), has been identified with the merlin or *Falco columbarius*. See Oz¹, II, 137-138, n. 7; and MA, 407b. Ozawa is incorrect in reading *turimtai*: the form *turumtai* of the SH is confirmed by the AT¹, 20a. See also Mo,

27-29, 275. A detailed description of this bird is found in MKeT, 2422a, s.v. 'turindai' (← 'torumtai', *ibid.*, 2389a; but in MKT [1999 ed.], 1078b, and MĴBT, 1486b, this word is entered as 'toromtai'!). Cf. also RH, 70, no. 21 (where 'turumtay' is glossed 'merlin; male of any kind of hawk'). I translate *šiba'uqan* as 'sparrow' rather than 'small bird', not only on the strength of the Chinese gloss (雀兒), which may mean either, but also because of its apposition to *turumtai*. However, the term *šiba'uqan* (= mo. *sibaŋuqan*, a diminutive in *-qan* of *šibaŋu[n]* 'bird', hence, lit. 'birdie') covers a number of 'small birds', such as the sparrow, the bunting and the lark. See Oz¹, II, 136-137, n. 6. The expression used by Čimbai and Čila'un to make their point, viz. that Temüjin be given protection, is an idiomatic one, almost certainly an old proverb or saying which has its roots in the oral tradition of Inner Asia. Cf. HWC, 242 and n. 8; Jagchid 1978, 94; PPET, 48-50; and G. Kara's paper devoted to it (Kara 1995).

'They smashed open (*čučalju*) Temüjin's cangue.' Cl, 28, translates 'they removed', but *čučal-* is glossed *ch'üeh* 缺 'to break, crack', and corresponds to mo. *čučala-* 'to take apart, destroy, break.' See MKT, 1265c. Cf. Oz¹, II, 138, n. 10.

'They entrusted him to the care of their younger sister called Qada'an', lit. 'they caused their younger sister called Qada'an to take care of him.' For *döyi* 'younger sister', see Cleaves 1950, 119, n. 129; Oz¹, III, 308-309, n. 1; Kara 1990, 292, s.v. 'dii.' For the common name Qada'an ~ Qadān (< *qada* 'rock'), which appears in § 48 as a man's name, see HCG, 457b (Index); for Qada'an, the daughter of Sorqan Šira, see *ibid.*, 153. She will reappear in § 146, and is last mentioned in § 219.

§ 86. 'They were reaching the back of the cart (*köl*).' *Köl* is, literally, 'the foot', hence 'the extremity, the other end.' See Les., 484a (b).

For *iseri* 'bed, couch, bench', cf. Oz¹, III, 351, n. 11; Khomonov 1970, 33; and below, n. 214.

§ 87. 'You nearly (*aldaba*) had me blown to the winds like hearth-ashes.' For the image of the destruction of the hearth and the scattering of the ashes, hence the destruction of the yurt and the annihilation of the family, cf. § 77 and com. See also Cleaves 1949a, 516-517. In this sentence, the verb *alda-* preceded by the converbum modale (*keyisgen*) indicates an action which almost happened. See Les., 29b (b).

'A tawny barren mare with a white mouth' (*čaqa'an eremük qulaqč'in*), and, implied, 'with a black mane and a black stripe along the backbone.' See Mo, 67 and 70, n. 63; Poppe 1975, 164.

'A lamb fattened on the milk of two ewes', i.e. a much fatter lamb. Cf. Poppe in CAJ 2:1956, 312, and Waley 1960, 524; as Ligeti has pointed out, Waley is right. See Li, 147, n. 93.

For the two leather buckets or pails to carry milk for the journey, called *gö'ür* (AT¹, 20b: *kögür*) and *nambuqa* (*ibid.*: *namuqa*) respectively, see Khomonov 1970, 30; TH, 134 (= JYT, 234); Oz¹, II, 149-150, n. 5. Cf. also Mo, 199.

'Steel for striking fire' (*kete*). In our context *kete* almost certainly designates only the piece of steel (shaped like a sickle) used for striking fire rather than the tinder box with flint and steel. Cf. Cl, 29 and n. 37. In the MA, 174b, *kete* corresponds to *čag. čaqmaq* 'steel for striking fire.' In the modern Mongolian languages it can mean 'steel for striking fire', 'flint and steel', or just 'flint.' See Khomonov 1970, 38; MED, 493b.

The reason why Sorqan Šira did not give Temüjin a saddle was that, if he were caught, it would not look as if he had stolen it; and he did not give him the strike-a-light so that he could not make a fire and thus produce smoke. Furthermore, by depriving him of both a saddle and the fire-making implement, and providing him with lamb and milk just sufficient for his journey, Sorqan Šira ensured that Temüjin would return immediately to his family. It should be noted, however, that in the parallel passage in AT¹, 20b, Sorqan Šira does give Temüjin both saddle and steel. This poses a problem of interpretation that cannot be

solved at present. Cf. Do¹, 48, n. 12; Do², 36, nn. 1 and 2; AT⁴, 109-110, n. 4; MNTLAT, 42.

§ 88. 'The place where they had *earlier* built the palisade (*šibe'elejü*) and barricaded themselves' – referring of course to the events described in § 79.

'Following (lit. "by means of") some tracks (*alurqai*) in (lit. "of") the grass.' *Alurqai* (= mo. *nalurqai*) actually means 'bent, inclined', said especially of grass when stepped upon on paths and tracks. Cf. DO, 481b. For initial *n* ~ zero, see Mo, 42, n. 40; *Lettres*, 25.

The Kimurqa Stream (Kimurqa Qoroqan) is one of the small right-bank affluents of the Onon, north-east of the Senggür (Tsenker, Cénxér) River, itself a left-bank tributary of the upper Kerulen. See HCG, 42, 280, and below, n. 89; cf. Pèrlée², 11 (= Pèrlée⁴, 99), where 'left side' is a mistake for 'right side' (*deest apud Pèrlée³*). Although the identification of the Kimurqa is certain, the Qorčuqui Hill (Qorčuqui Boldaq) and the Beder Promontory (Beder Qoši'un) have not been identified. For the term *boldaq* 'an isolated hill or hillock', see above, n. 59; for *qoši'un* 'spur of a mountain; promontory', see above, n. 55. It is clear that this term is used here with the latter meaning.

§ 89. Kōkō Na'ur (= mo. Kōke Naγur) or 'Blue Lake' is a common name for lakes in Mongolia. The one in question was near, lit. 'of', (Mount) Qara Ĵirügen ('Black Heart') and the Senggür Stream, i.e. the present-day Cénxér or Cénxériin Gol, in the area of (lit. 'within') the Gürelgü Mountains, i.e. the mountainous region south of Burqan Qaldun (Khentei Khan) which separates the Kerulen and Senggür rivers from the first right-bank tributaries of the Onon. See HCG, 41-42, 50; Pèrlée², 8 (cf. Pèrlée⁴, 89-90). For the situation of Kōkō Na'ur, Qara Ĵirügen and the Gürelgü, now established beyond doubt, and hence the identification of the exact area where Temüjin and his family moved and set up camp, see RBC, 78, 83; and Schubert 1970, 525, n. 7. For Y. Irinčin's identification of the Gürelgü with the Ch'i-lien ku 起釐谷 of the YS, see below, n. 268. The

lake itself, a small one (not marked on our maps), is just north-west of present-day Cénxérmandal Sum (Xéntii Aimag), i.e. near the very sources of the Senggür and some 40 km east of the Kerulen, indeed contiguous to the small 'Black Heart' mountain of the SH (47° 50 N and 108° 50 E). Burqan Qaldun is a little over 100 km due north and Kōdō'e Aral, another famous locality (see § 136 and com.), about 85 km due south. Our Kōkō Na'ur is mentioned again in § 122, as it was in this locality that Temüjin was first elected *qan* by his supporters. Because of such a momentous event this otherwise inconspicuous lake receives also a mention in the TMITC 90, 28a. For the Senggür River, see also NMP, I, 340 (where, however, 'in front [= to the east]' should read 'in front [= to the south]'); Murzaev, 518a (Index). *Ĵirügen* (= mo. *Ĵirüken*) as a topographical term means 'a mountain with an oval pointed top' (Poppe 1956, 41, n. 36); cf. SMT, 29. For *kōkō* < *kōke*, see ĪMCS, 50; on this word see also TMEN, no. 1677; Bertagaev 1970. In § 243 the form *kōke* appears in the proper name Kōke Čos (= Kōkō Čos; cf. § 254).

'Killing marmots (*tarbaqat*) and field-mice (*küčügür*) for food' – an indication (confirmed by the fact that the family's wealth consisted of only nine horses) that the fugitives were in straitened circumstances. Cf. Čilger Bökö's words regarding the rats and mice being the fare of the common bird in § 111. The move to the north was no doubt prompted by fear of further raids and retaliation on the part of the Tayiči'ut. For *tarbaqan* (= mo. *tarbaγa[n]*) 'marmot (*Marmota sibirica* or *M. baibacina*)', see the important remarks in Cleaves 1956, 263-265, n. 692; and Colmon 2002, 164-166. *Küčügür* is a rather obsolete word: the AT has the related term *küčügüne* instead (see AT¹, 20b). *Küčügüne* occurs in § 111 of the SH with the meaning of 'mouse'; this word has survived in kalm. *küčkn* 'small mouse' (KaRS, 332a) and in other dialects (see TH, 219 [= ĴYT, 378]). *Küčügür* is still used in the Urat dialect of Inner Mongolia to designate a sort of field-mouse living in hilly areas (ibid.). Cf. Pelliot 1944b, 40-41.

§ 90. 'Some robbers.' For *de'erme* (= mo. *degerme*, *degerem*) 'robber', cf. ord. *Dērme* 'brigand.' AT¹, 20b, has *degermečin* 'robbers.' See also Mostaert 1956, 7.

'The eight horses, the light-bay geldings.' For these words see Mo, 29-30, and above, n. 77. Cf. PPET, 51 (where, however, Krueger's criticism of Mostaert's rendering is unwarranted since it disregards the Chinese gloss); Čoïmaa 2001b; and MNTLAT, 43, n. 121. There were only eight because one had been taken by Belgütei, who had gone marmot-hunting.

'Standing by (*dergedede*) the tent.' The word *dergedede* can mean either 'at the side (of), beside, near, at', or 'in front (of), in the presence (of)'. Translators are divided as to its meaning in the present context: in either case it designates proximity, hence my rendering. Cf. above, n. 68.

'Fell behind' (*qočorba*). For this expression, cf. Cleaves 1977, 87-88, n. 65.

'On (lit. "riding") a short-tailed, short-haired chestnut horse (*oqodur dargi qongqor*).' *Oqodur* = mo. *oyotur* 'short'; *dargi* probably corresponds to ord. *t'argi* 'short (said of hair and grass); shallow', rather than to bur. *darxi*, an intensifying word for colours, because two lines down *dargi* occurs before *oqodur*; moreover *qongqor* is not a colour name, but the designation of a horse of a particular colour. Cf. Cl, 29, n. 40; Oz¹, II, 161, n. 4. This word is not glossed in the SH. For *qongqor* (= mo. *qongyor*) 'chestnut (horse)', see TMEN, no. 1536. Cf. below, n. 124.

'So laden down with marmots that it staggered (*niqsaaqljatala*).' The verb *niqsaa-* is a *hapax legomenon* and the rendering is based on the interlinear Chinese gloss. Ozawa reads *niy say-* 'to be very densely piled up (or accumulated)' and translates accordingly (Oz¹, II, 159, 161-162, n. 5), but *say-* is always transcribed *sa'a-* in the SH (cf. HW, 130) and if he is right, we would expect a form *niqsa'aljatala*. However, as suggested by TH, 137 (= JYT, 238), SH *niqsaa-* may correspond to mo. *nibsire-* 'to be exhausted, to break down'; cf.

mo. *nibsiretele* 'until (= to the point of) collapsing, breaking down.' This interpretation would fit the context ('laden down with marmots to the point of collapse'), but then why the durative suffix *-lja-* expressing motion (see GWM, 64, § 239)? I think with Ligeti that the motion refers to the horse, not to the marmots as understood by Cl, 29; it was the horse, so laden with marmots and bending under their weight, that walked with an unsteady gait. Cf. Li, 25.

'A brisk lad' (*gürümele kö'ün gü'ün*). The word *gürümele* occurs again in § 156 glossed *miao-t'iao* 苗條 'slender, slim.' In the AT passage corresponding to § 156, the word is written *gürmele* or *kürmele* (AT¹, 56a). This word seems to be a direct borrowing from tu. *körümlü* 'good-looking.' See VWTD, II, 1258; cf. MA, 377b: *körümlük er* 'handsome man.' This was already noted in TH, 208 (= JYT, 361), and Oz¹, II, 162, n. 6. I should add, however, that according to the SH glosses, *gürümele* has the meanings of 'brisk, alert' and 'slender'; in the latter acceptance (§ 156), the Chinese version employs the two-character expression *miao-t'iao* meaning literally 'as slender as a shoot and a twig.' Whereas a word *gürümele/kürümele* meaning 'good-looking' is unknown in Mongolian, Written Mongolian has *kürümelü*, *kürmelü*, kh. *xürmel*, 'sedge, carex' (Les., 506b; Cév., 747b), i.e. a word designating a slender, grass-like plant. I wonder whether the latter word may not account for the meaning of 'slender' of the Chinese gloss, particularly since the extended meaning of *miao-t'iao* is 'graceful, elegant.'

'Without even (*ba*) going to his tent.' For this use of *ba*, see Street 1981, 162-163.

The 'leather bucket (*nambuqa*) and (leather) pail (*sa'ulqa*)' were those that Bo'orču had been using for milking the mares, as specified in the free summary (Y² 2, 31a-b). For *nambuqa*, see above, n. 87; for *sa'ulqa* (= pmo., mo. *sayulqa*), cf. RH, 79, no. 5: *saulqa*. 'Concealing them in the grass', lit. 'concealing (*buquju*, cf. below, n. 205, and Cleaves 1951, 84, n. 56) them in the steppe (or grassland: *ke'er-e*).'

'Men's troubles are the same (lit. "one") *for all*', i.e. 'we men have similar troubles, we all share the same problems.'

Naqu Bayan, i.e. Naqu the Rich. On him see HCG, 346, 348, 352. He belonged to the aristocratic Arulat or Arlat tribe, on which see *ibid.*, 344-345, 434b (Index). This tribe was first mentioned in § 47. As noted by Vladimircov, the Arulat and the Borjigin were related through Qaidu, and the former was the cadet branch of the family. See Vlad.², 98. The name of Naqu Bayan's famous son appears in various forms in different sources, see the discussion in HCG, 342-343. In the SH he is called Bo'orču (= pmo. Boγorču) throughout. He and Muqali (see below, n. 137) became the leading companions-at-arms of Činggis Qan, Bo'orču being the first friend (*nökör*, see below) and ally, and the first of the 'four steeds (= stalwarts).' See above, n. 84. Pelliot has devoted a long note (29) to him in HCG (342-360). On Bo'orču, see also LDAT, 406a (s.v. 'Bogurči'); MCAT, 124-125, n. 3; ANT, 187a (s.v. 'Boγarči'); CKJZH, 4-5; YTSHT, 145ff.; ISK, 760 (Index); Chiodo 1994, 195-199; and below, n. 205. His dates are uncertain: born between 1165 and 1170, Bo'orču was no longer alive by 1236; he may actually have died in or about 1227. Cf. HCG, 347 (where, however, the calculation for his date of birth is based on the assumption that Činggis Qan was born in 1167, not in 1162). In MCAT, 124, n. 3, C. Bawden refers to the name Boγorju appearing in Chinese sources as early as 1305 (following Pelliot in HCG, 345). His name, in the form Boγorču or Boγorju, appears also in one of the Mongolian documents (INV. 1964 no. 2271, G110, line 5) from Qara Qoto in the P.K. Kozlov Collection of the IVAN RAN Library in St. Petersburg, in a passage where our *nökör* is addressed (presumably by Činggis Qan) as *čing sedkil-tü Boγorču* (or *Boγorju*) *minu* 'my true-hearted Boγorču (or Boγorju).' The Qara Qoto ms. fragment (? from the 'Precepts of Činggis Qan'; see below, n. 205) dates probably from the 13th century. Cf. Munkuyev 1970, 343. For *nökör* 'friend, companion, etc.', see above, n. 13, and, in particular, Ligeti's pertinent remarks in Li, 147, n. 90. Cf. also

Isono 1983, 40-41. In my translation of §§ 90 and 92 I have used 'friend' and 'companion' interchangeably (whereas the Mongolian text has *nökör* throughout) not only for stylistic purposes, but also because both concepts are implied in the Mongol term and cannot be rendered by a single word in English.

'They came upon people in a circular camp', lit. 'they arrived at a circular camp people (*güri'en irgen*).'
Güri'en (~ *güre'en* [this is the most frequent form], mo. *küriye[n]*), lit. 'circle' (Pelliot's 'enclos', see Pe, 141), was 'an encampment around which the carts are drawn up in the form of a circle for protection' (Cl, 273a). Rašid al-Dīn explains that the *kūrēn* (= *küriyen*) was made up of 'many tents pitched on the steppe forming a circle' (SL², I/2, 18). In contrast to the *ayil* which, as we have seen (above, n. 81), was composed of one or more tents belonging to a single family, the 'circular camp' was a larger conglomeration of tents belonging to different households, thus comprising various *ayils*, which in time of warfare became a fortified military camp. Old people, women and children were sheltered within the inner ring, as were the valuables, victuals and weapons. These large camps eventually came to designate tribal units which, in the Mongol military system, were assimilated to sections or wings of the army. The term *güre'en* (*küriyen*) has therefore different connotations pertaining to the social economic and military organization of the semi-nomadic tribes of Mongolia as these evolved in the time of Činggis Qan in the 12th-13th centuries. The institution of *güre'en*, like that of *ayil*, has attracted scholars' attention because of its importance in this formative period of Mongol society; it has also raised a good deal of controversy. See Vlad.², 283a (Index); TMEN, no. 341; HCG, 52-53, 322 (where the term in question is rendered as 'enclos circulaire, enceinte circulaire, camp'); Mu, I, 150-152, n. 11; Sugita 1979, 51-53; Li, 151, n. 120; ČK¹, 42 and n. 14 (cf. ČK², 233, n. 15); Oz¹, II, 166-168, n. 13; Isono 1989 (esp. pp. 9-13). Cf. also below, n. 129.

The theft of the eight horses and Bo'orču's spontaneous allegiance are events of great significance in the Činggis Qan saga in view of the prominent role that Bo'orču was to play in the conqueror's career, and as a perfect example of *nökör*-ship. Variants of the story appear in the later chronicles, as well as in the Chinese sources of the Yüan period which record biographical data on Bo'orču and his descendants. Cf. MCAT, 124-126; GOM, 69-71; ANT, 54-55. On the subject see also Lattimore 1963b, 59; idem 1978, 130-131; Ratchnevsky 1987, 75; Jagchid 1978, 101-102, Sárközi 1978, 147-148. It is worth noting that the episode is not recorded in the Persian sources; however, it is mentioned again in the SH, § 205, when Činggis Qan recalls it on the occasion of rewarding his faithful comrades.

For the symbolic value of the numbers three and nine occurring in this section, see Moses 1986 (esp. p. 291). Cf. above, n. 80.

§ 91. 'In separate groups' (*ubur subur*). In the interlinear version, the expression *ubur subur* is glossed *lu-hsü* 陸續 'continuously, in succession.' In the AT¹, 21b, the gloss reads *ulam sulam* 'gradually.' Oz¹, II, 171, renders *ubur subur* as *danzoku shite* 'intermittently; occurring with intervals in between.' Cf. mo. *ubun čubun* 'in separate groups; one after another' (but ET³, 50r12 and 54v24, has *ubuy subuy*); kh. *uvan cuvan, uvaa cuvaa* (w.f. *ubuya čubuya*) id.; ord. *ywryn tš'ywryn* 'se suivant par groupes séparés' (DO, 746b).

'Away from the rest', lit. 'alone' (*qaqča'ar*). The AT¹, loc. cit., says that the man on (lit. 'with') the white horse 'wore (lit. "had") a red coat' (*ulayan degel-tü*). The pole-lasso (*u'urqa*, mo. *uyurya, urya*) was the long wooden pole with a loop at the end used to catch horses.

'The man on the white horse', lit. 'That man'

'Overtaken by darkness' (*baru'an boldajū*): cf. Poppe 1964, 375. Cl, 31, translates 'being lost in the dusk.' For *baru'an* 'somber, dark', cf. DO, 51b.

§ 92. 'Without you', lit. 'apart from you' (*čimadača anggida*), i.e. 'except for your help.'

'Am I now to take the horses as booty?' (*ölje-'ū ke'ejū abqu bi*), lit. 'Shall I take the horses saying, "Is it booty?"' The word I have transcribed as *ölje-'ū* (see R, 36, line 2103) is actually written *ölje-'u* (= *ölje-'ū*) in the Chinese phonetic transcription of the SH. However, this is an aberrant transcription, the correct form being *olja-'u* (= *olja-'ū*), i.e. *olja* 'booty' (cf. § 153) + the interrogative particle *-'ū* (= *-uu* < *-u'u* < *-uγu*; cf. Mo, 102). The reading *olja* is supported by AT¹, 22a: *oljilalčaju* (read *oljalalčaju*); cf. ATL, 52. See also below, n. 254.

'The property of my father is ample for me', lit. 'What my father has accumulated (*jü'eksen*) will be until completed (= fully, entirely) (*tügetele*) for me.' For *jü'e- ~ jö'e-* (= mo. *jöge-*) 'to store up, accumulate (goods), amass (a fortune)', cf. ord. *Džö-* 'amasser des biens petit à petit' (DO, 212a). *Tügetele* is a fossilized converbum terminale of *tüge-* 'to end, complete' functioning as an adverb meaning 'fully, amply, plentifully, in a quite adequate manner.' Cf. Mostaert 1939, 320; Cleaves 1951, 80, n. 49; and idem 1991, 132, n. 16. In AT¹, 22a, *tügetele* is glossed *barasi ügei* 'inexhaustibly; (in) plenty.' For *tusa* 'help' = 'voluntary assistance (out of kindness)' as opposed to mo. *yabiya* 'obligatory assistance (out of duty)', see Jagchid 1978, 99.

§ 93. 'What is the matter?' (*ya'un bolba*). Mostaert (u.n.) translates 'Qu'y a-t-il donc?' However, the expression *ya'un bolba* can also be rendered 'What (has) happened?', as other translators have done. Cf. On, 28; Ev-Pop, 67; Oz², I, 74.

'As provision for the road': *günesü* (= pmo. *künesü[n]*) means 'victuals, provisions' – usually for travel. Cf. DO, 437b; BGEG, 182.

'Which they loaded on the horse', lit. 'as loading' (*de'ürge*). *De'ürge* is a deverbal noun from *de'ür-* (= pmo. *degür-*) 'to load something on a horse.' Cf. kh. *düür-* 'to carry someone or something in front or behind while riding on horseback'; ord. *Dür-* 'porter quelque chose à cheval, soit devant soi, soit

derrière soi, soit entre les bras.’ N. Poppe (p.c.) has heard the word *de’ürge* used with the meaning of ‘load placed across the saddle.’ Cf. below, n. 99.

For the adverbial expression *mono* (~ *mona*) *qoyina* ‘hereafter, in future, later on’, see Mo, 156. Here, being combined with the negative particle *bu*, it is rendered as ‘never.’

‘Were worrying about him’ (*herüjü aju*). The verb *herü-* ‘to be sad, distressed, worried, anxious’ occurs three times in the SH (§§ 93, 94, 208); it occurs in the AT¹, 22b, as *erü-*, but this verb is not found in dictionaries of Written Mongolian. It occurs, however, in other Middle and Preclassical Mongolian texts. Cf. Pelliot 1925, 215, no. 21; TH, 192 (= JYT, 333). (Not to be confused with mo. *erü-* ‘to dig’.)

§ 94. The Kerulen River (mo. Kerülen Mören, kh. Xèrlèn Gol) is mentioned here for the first time in the SH in the metathetical form Kelüren (Müren), which is regular throughout the work. On this river, which is so important geographically as well as historically, and its name in the Chinese and Persian sources, see Pelliot in *TP* 31:1934/35, 166-167; and NMP, I, 330; Poppe 1956, 35; Pèrlée², 7 (cf. Pèrlée⁴, 91); and, especially, Hambis 1974, 21-26 (where on p. 24, line 3, ‘[Kärülän]’ is an error for ‘[Kälürän]’). In the Introduction and the Commentary I have adopted the form Kerulen (in preference to Kerülen), which is the one found in most atlases. (Pelliot has ‘Keroulen’ and ‘Kerulen’, but never ‘Kerülen.’ See HCG, 27, 31 et passim.)

For the earlier encounter between Temüjin and his future bride Börte, see the account of Yisügei’s visit to Dei Sečen in §§ 61-66. This time Temüjin goes to fetch the bride in the company of his half-brother Belgütei, leaving his younger brother Qasar at his camp on the Senggür (see below) to protect the family during his absence. When this event took place, Temüjin must have been about eighteen years old; Qasar, we know, was two years younger (see § 60); Börte was one year older (§ 66). See below, n. 104.

‘And now at last I see you!’, lit. ‘and now I barely (= with great difficulty *or* by good fortune) saw you!’ Dei Sečen implies that he feared he would never see Temüjin again. Cf. Li, 27. For the expression *aran* (~ *arai*) *üje-*, cf. Cleaves 1959, 85-86, n. 276; TH, 95 (= JYT, 168); and Č. Kačín in *XZS* 15, 19:1982, 169-178.

As we have seen in the section on Ambaqai Qan (§ 53), it was customary for the Mongols to accompany their newly-wed daughters to their husbands’ home – with dire results, alas, in Ambaqai’s case. Mindful, perhaps of Ambaqai’s warning about taking one’s daughter in person to her betrothed, Dei Sečen accompanied Börte only part of the way and then turned back, letting his wife Čotan complete the journey. Mo, 7, views the matter somewhat differently and claims that, in his message, Ambaqai ‘met en garde son successeur éventuel et veut dire qu’un souverain ne doit pas s’exposer à la légère et faire comme les gens ordinaires qui conduisent en personne leurs filles à la demeure de leur maris, comme nous voyons Deisečen le faire au § 94.’ Čotan’s continuation of the journey was in compliance with the traditional custom for the parents of the bride to bring gifts to the bridegroom’s parents. See § 96 and com. For the so far unexplained name Čotan, see Rybatzki [2003], s.v.

The locality where Dei Sečen stopped and turned back is called Uraq Čöl (‘Uraq Desert’). Pèrlée², 7, identifies it with present-day Örög Bulan on the upper reaches of the Kerulen at 49° N and 109° E, but it seems more likely that it was further south, at the great bend of the river. The text speaks, in fact, of the *Kelüren-ü Uraq Čöl Nū*, lit. ‘the Uraq Čöl Bend of the Kelüren.’ *Nū* (< *nu’u* < *nuγu*), lit. ‘corner’, as a geographical term designates the dry land, i.e. a meadow or plain in the winding of a river. See TH, 139 (= JYT, 242); Les., 594b; MKT, 396b. (Although this term need not be an integral part of the place-name [cf. HCG, 162], I have preferred to render it as ‘Bend’ throughout.) The party had to cross the Kerulen to reach the Senggür and, further upstream, Temüjin’s camp, which was

still situated in the Gürelgü Mountains (see above, § 89). It is clear from the text that Dei Sečen left the party when this reached the Kerulen and before it proceeded northwards along the Senggür, hence somewhere near the confluence of the two rivers. In the corresponding section in AT¹, 22b, it is stated that Dei Sečen 'returned home upstream (*ögede*) along the Kerülen having developed a body fever', i.e. because he had fallen ill. This seems to be an interpolation, however, since to return home Dei Sečen would have had to ride along the Kerulen *downstream*, not *upstream*.

§ 95. 'He jumped on (lit. "rode") his chestnut horse with the arched back.' Belgütei's chestnut, or sorrel horse (*qongqor*) 'with the arched back' (*bögötür*) is the same 'short-tailed, short-haired chestnut horse' mentioned in § 90.

'He tucked his grey woollen cloak behind him', lit. 'He put (i.e. packed) his grey (= plain, coarse) woollen cloak on its back (i.e. on the back of the horse).' For the verb *böktür*- 'to load, or carry on, the back (of an animal)', see TH, 159 (= JYT, 278-279); Oz¹, II, 189, n. 3. Mo. *bogtüre*- means 'to throw or fling over.' N. Poppe (p.c.) understands our passage as meaning 'He threw his grey (coarse) woollen cloak over himself.' The term *örmüge* (~ *örmege*, cf. §§ 205, 249) of Turkic origin had two meanings, viz. 'woollen material or cloth' and 'woollen cloak.' See TMEN, no. 466; Khomonov 1970, 32; TH, 127-128 (= JYT, 223). Cf. also IM, 443b, where *örmege* is rendered as 'upper garment.' In AT¹, 22b, the word *örmegen* is followed by *jangčün-ıyan* which is not in our text and which, I think, is a later gloss inadvertently inserted in the text. *Jangčün* = *jangči*, *jangča*, 'a mantle worn by lamas when performing religious ceremonies; mantle, cloak.' See Les., 1034b. For the two versified lines, cf. § 205.

96. The Bürgi Ergi of the text may be rendered 'the Bürgi Escarpment' (Cl, 32), or 'the escarpment (*or* steep bank) of the Bürgi.' Cf. Mo, 32: 'l'escarpement [ayant nom] Bürgi'; Li, 28: 'the bank of the Bürgi'; cf. also the Chinese gloss in Y² 2, 38b-

39a. I have now followed Cleaves because this place-name occurs in the same form throughout the SH. According to Pêrlée¹, 63, this locality, situated at 48° N and 108° E, is now called Ergi Bürgi. In Pêrlée², 6 (cf. Pêrlée⁴, 87), its present name is given as Bürëg Èrëg; the place by this name is actually on the right, i.e. western, side of the river and, Pêrlée adds, it is incorrect for the SH to say that it is (at) the source of the Kerulen. The statement to this effect in the SH must, therefore, be taken *sensu lato* as referring to the upper course of the river. The locality in question is described in detail in RBC, 83: it is about 120 km as the crow flies south of Khentei Khan. Cf. CKA, 14 (B2).

The wedding gift Čotan brought with her to be offered by Börte to Ho'elün when they first met as daughter- and mother-in-law was a sable *daqu* (cf. rus. *dokha* – a winter coat with the fur outside), hence a valuable present. In our passage the wedding present is called *šitkül* (= pmo. *šidkü*), the meaning of which is 'cadeau offert au père et à la mère du mari quand [la nouvelle bru] se présente devant eux' (Mo, 32). This explanation is based on the Chinese gloss, for the term itself is nowhere else attested in this form. It has been suggested (TH, 253; JYT, 437-438) that *šidkü* is a deverbal noun in *-l* of *šidkü-*, a verb which occurs only in a fragment of a Mongol blockprint calendar from Turfan, the meaning of which, in that context, is apparently 'to plant.' See MKAT, 22; MBT, 222b, s.v. I also think that *šidkü* < *šidkü-*, but in my opinion *šidkü-* = mo. *sidke-*, one of its meanings being 'to dress' (see Kow., 1493a). This indicates that, as in the case of *šidkü*'s synonym *emüsgel* (which occurs further on in this section), the idea of a wedding present is originally related to that of a garment. For other references to the Mongol custom of presenting garments as wedding presents to the bridegroom's family, see Mo, 32, n. 29. For *daqu* '(fur) coat', see Li, 147-148, n. 96; TMEN, no. N 90 (= 2035); and RH, 300, no. 42 ('a garment which protects from the rain, rain-garment'). As noted by Mostaert (op. cit., 31), the arrival of Börte accompanied by her mother took place when

Hö'elün and her children were still encamped along the Senggür (see § 94), and not after they had settled at Bürgi Ergi. The whole passage is translated and discussed in Mo, 30-32.

'In earlier days, Ong Qan of the Kereyit tribe and their father Yisügei Qan had declared themselves sworn friends', lit. 'In earlier days, Ong Qan of the Kereyit people (*irgen* = tribe) had declared himself *anda* with their father Yisügei Qan.' Ong Qan was the chieftain of the important Kereyit (Kereit) tribe, whose territory at this time covered a large area of central Mongolia, reaching in the north-east and east the Onon-Kerulen region where the Mongols lived, and extending southwards from the Tūla basin to the fringes of the Jurchen-controlled territory in north China. Ong Qan was the double, hybrid title (Ong < ch. *wang* 'prince, king' + *qan*) of To'oril (= pmo. Toγoril [see ATI, 260b-261a] < uig. *toγril* 'a bird of prey'); in the SH his name appears in the forms To'oril, To'oril Ong Qan and To'oril Qan; see Cl, 266b-267a (Index). At the time of these events, To'oril could not yet have been referred to as 'Ong Qan', since the title of *wang* (*ong*) was conferred on him later (see § 134) – it is, therefore, anticipated here. He and Yisügei had become *andas* before Temüjin's birth. The story is related in the SH, §§ 150 and 177, and in SL², I/1, 127. Cf. D'Ohsson, I, 51-52; CW, 31-32; as well as HCG, 233-248 (see n. 150 below). For the title of Ong Qan and the various forms and transcriptions of the names To'oril and Kereyit, see HCG, 207-213; TMEN, nos. 623 (*ong*) and 1345 (*toγril*). Cf. also Bese 1974, 94. For the Turkish and Nestorian-Christian background of his family and of the Kereyit tribe, see HCG, 208-209; Dauvillier 1948, 308-309; ČK¹ and ČK², 2-3; and Ch'en TC 1986. On the Kereyit, cf. also Poppe 1975, 116, n. 36; Šastina 1975, 238-240; and Bese 1988, 25-26. The relationship between the Kereyit tribe and the Uighur (and also Önggüt) Turks is an interesting one and deserves a separate study. In the Yüan period the designation 'Uighur' was sometimes applied to the Kereyit and vice versa; and 'Kereyit' might even refer to a Central Asian Muslim (as in the case of the merchant Ḥasan in YS² 122, 3016). Cf. RCAC, 243-246 (esp.

pp. 244 and n. 6, 246 and n. 1); ISK, 111. As is known, Ong Qan of the Kereyit is related to the legend of Prester John, being one of the personages identified with the mythical King David. See, provisionally, NMP, I, 303-304; MPA, 446b (s.v. 'Prester John'); BIC, I & II (reprints of lectures given in 1966 and 1980); PEGK, 114, 142-143; the literature listed in de Rachewiltz 1996a, 60, n. 2; and SIK, 136-139 et passim. (The vast material collected by P. Pelliot on Prester John and deposited in the Bibliothèque du Musée Guimet in Paris must still be edited and published.) Ong Qan plays a very important part in the life of Temüjin/Činggis Qan as portrayed in the SH; for his 'characterisation' in the SH, cf. Gaadamba 1984, 87ff. (esp. pp. 95-96). On him, cf. also Buyandelger in SHM 3:1989, 1ff.; and C.V. Dmitriev in MO 1998, 25-29. For a critical appraisal of the early relationship of Ong Qan and Temüjin, and its historicity, see in particular Okada 1972, 63. Cf. CIH, 84ff.

The term *anda* is rendered here as 'sworn friend' rather than 'sworn (bond) brother', or 'brother by oath', in view of the argument put forth by F. Isono, supported by O. Lattimore. See Isono 1978; idem 1983; and Lattimore 1978, 131-132. Isono (1978, 83) writes: 'The use of the term *anda* in the *Secret History* seems to suggest that in the mind of the Mongols of Chingis Khaan's time, *anda* was a political and military alliance rather than a sworn blood relationship, and that there was an element of equality in the concept of the *anda* relationship.' Lattimore (1978, 131) defines *anda* as an 'alliance by oath.' Cf. also Lattimore 1963b, 58. Isono 1983 adds further evidence in support of the 1978 interpretation. In the SH the term *anda* is glossed *ch'i-chiao* 契交 and *ch'i-ho* 契合 'sworn alliance, intimate friendship (or union)' (see HW, 7; cf. Cl, 271a, s.v. 'anda'). Various Sino-Mongolian glossaries render *anda* as 'friend' (朋友) (IY, LLSL, etc.); and 'sworn friend, intimate friend (lit. "friends who have exchanged objects [= gifts])" and the like, in which the concept of 'what is mine is yours and what is yours is mine' is implicit. These definitions are also found in texts of the Yüan period (see HCWLYTT, 116-119, no. 26;

HCG, 232); as well as in the later glossaries (cf., e.g., QNTT, 5a, where *anda* is equated to *nökör* 'friend, comrade'). Indeed 'friend' is also the translation of this word given in MA, 102b. Cf. Wa, 283: 'sworn-comrade'; and the expression *anda barildu-* 'to bind oneself in friendship' in Cleaves 1949, 62 [6]-[7], 84 [7]. A good deal of literature on *anda* is presented and discussed in TMEN, no. 33. The first scholar to have closely investigated the Mongol medieval usage of the term is Vladimircov (see Vlad.², 75-77), and an important article devoted to it was published by Yao Ts'ung-wu in 1963. See Yao TW 1963. Cf. also HCG, 232; Ratchnevsky's remarks in ČK¹, 18-19, n. 81 (cf. ČK², 20); KHIV, 19, 27, 30ff.; and G. Batnasan in MH 1:1993, 201-206. There is no doubt that the *anda*-relationship was a form of very close friendship and indissoluble alliance *ritually consecrated by an oath* (mo. *anda* < tu. *and* 'oath'), as described in the case of the *anda* declaration between Temüjin and Ĵamuqa in § 116. Cf. Pelliot's remarks in HCG, 168, 232. Thus, the expression *anda* may also be rendered 'sworn ally', but I prefer to render it 'sworn friend' because of the special 'personal' nature of the relationship in addition to its formal character (see § 117). Although I agree with Isono that 'sworn brother' is not an apt rendering, Ligeti's remarks on the subject are still pertinent. See Li, 148, n. 96. The reason why the sable coat, i.e. the bride's present for her in-laws, was given to Ong Qan is because the latter, by virtue of his *anda*-relationship with the late Yisügei, was now like a substitute father to Temüjin, as expressly stated by Temüjin himself ('you are, indeed, like a father to me') – no doubt a timely reminder of the old pledge. Now, with his added responsibility as a husband, the young Temüjin needed more than ever a powerful ally and protector, and Ong Qan was the obvious person.

Ong Qan was staying then 'in the Black Forest by (lit. "of") the Tu'ula.' The Tūla River, called Tu'ula (> Tūla) or Tu'ula Müren in the SH – the present-day Tuul Gol, Tuula, Tula or Tola River of our maps – is mentioned here for the first time,

and so is the Black Forest (Qara Tūn). The 'Black Forest' designated the wooded region east of the great bend of the Tūla as far as the Sa'ari Steppe (or Valley: Sa'ari Ke'er; see below, n. 128), which itself was west of the south-west corner of the great bend of the Kerulen, but also *sensu lato* west of the whole length of the river from its source to the great bend. See HCG, 258-261. Since in our passage (as well as in §§ 104, 115, 164 and 177) the Black Forest is mentioned as being 'of', i.e. by or along, the Tūla (the sectional summary, Y² 2, 40b, says: 'the black forest along the Tu'ula River'), we may assume that Ong Qan's camp was in proximity of this river. The seasonal camping grounds of the Kereyit chief are known to us through a passage in Rašid al-Dīn's work; the place-names of these encampments have been critically discussed and partly identified with known localities in Mongolia in Boyle 1973a. However, none of the place-names listed by Rašid can be positively identified with Qara Tūn, although it is quite evident from the various references to it, in particular those in §§ 115 and 164, that right there was situated his *ordo*, or main camp, in this period. Pèrlée², 9, identifies the Black Forest of the SH with the present-day Tuulyn Šuguī ('Tuula Forest') 'at 47° N and 111° E', but this location (somewhat east of the great bend of the Kerulen) is obviously too far to the east in relation to the Tūla River. There must be an error in his coordinates; however, the identification of Qara Tūn with Tuulyn Šuguī is undoubtedly correct (cf. Da⁵, 46; Če, 67), and in agreement with Pelliot's localization mentioned above. I think that Ong Qan's main camp was actually in the area of present-day Ulan Bator and the Bogdo Ula Mts. just south of it (I hope to discuss this problem in a future paper). For the word *tūn* 'forest', see above, n. 50; *qara* 'black' = 'dark, somber.' As a place-name, Qara Tūn is the exact Mongol counterpart of ger. der Schwarzwald.

'I took a wife', lit. 'I had a wife alight *at my tent*' (*gergei ba'ulju*). For the expression *gergei ba'ul-* (= pmo. *bayul-*), cf. Cleaves 1951, 91, n. 92. The reading 'bawūlju' in Li², 57, is

incorrect (R, 37, line 2207, and 192a must also be amended accordingly).

'I have brought the wedding gift (*emüsgel*) to you.' In the interlinear translation the word *emüsgel* is glossed *shang chien* 上見, short for 上見公姑的禮物 'gift offered to the husband's parents when the daughter-in-law presents herself to them (for the first time)' (see the sectional summary, Y² 2, 40b); it is therefore synonymous with *šitküil* (*šidküil*) discussed above. *Emüsgel* is a deverbal noun in *-l* from *emüsge-* (= mo. *emüske-*), factitive of *emüs-* 'to dress, wear, put on'; thus, like *šitküil*, it designates a present in the form of a garment. As noted by Mostaert, ord. *ömös^kχöl* (corresponding to our *emüsgel*) nowadays designates 'les pièces de toile et les pièces de vêtement de dimension réduite que la famille du jeune homme donne aux parents de la jeune fille et que ceux-ci à leur tour distribuent en cadeau aux membres de la famille et aux invités à la noce' (Mo, 32, n. 29). Cf. also TH, 100 (= JYT, 177-178).

'The place of the kidneys must be in the back,/That of good faith must be in the breast!' This is a proverb or idiomatic saying similar to, but not identical with, the English idiom 'to have the heart in the right place.' The Mongolian 'version' actually means that good faith (lit. 'purity, sacredness': *čegere*) must be in the right place, i.e. in the heart, just as the kidneys are in the back. In other words, 'I shall not betray your trust, which is a sacred obligation placed in my heart: I shall keep my word!' I have followed Poppe's suggestion in reading *čegere* for the *čekere* 'diaphragm' of the text, and my interpretation is also close to Ligeti's. See Poppe 1950a, 266; Li, 27. For other interpretations, cf. Da⁵, 46; Oz¹, II, 192, and 196-198, n. 7; Cl, 33; On, 30 and n. 92. Mmo. and pmo. *čegere* corresponds to mo. *čeger*, kh. *cээр* id. For mmo. *-e* ~ zero, cf. SH *ömere-* ~ *ömer-* (HW, 124; cf. *Lettres*, 77). AT¹, 23a, has *čigere* pro *čegere* (AT², I, 49, and ATL, 54, have tacitly amended *čigere* to *čegere*). An interesting study of this idiom is found in Bürinbatu 1990.

§ 97. *Ĵarči'udai* (= pmo. *Ĵarčiγudai*), the father of *Ĵelme*, belonged to the neighbouring Uriangqai tribe of Burqan Qaldun/Khentei Khan (see above n. 9). His name indicates that he was of the *Ĵarči'ut* subtribe or clan, on which see above, n. 38. He was by profession a smith and, as such, a man of standing and wealth, as evident from his remarks concerning the gift of sable swaddling-clothes for the infant *Temüjin*. His earlier association with *Yisügei Ba'atur* was not based merely on personal friendship, but also on subordination to the Kiyat Borjigin lineage as represented by *Yisügei*, and now by *Temüjin*: his subordination is clearly expressed in the offer of his own son *Ĵelme* to the latter. We know that in his heyday *Yisügei* had his authority recognized by various tribal chiefs; this authority was lost with his death and could not be regained by his widow *Hö'elün*. We now see it acknowledged again in the gradual rallying of previous allies and subjects, a process greatly helped by *Ong Qan's* support and the subsequent alliance with *Ĵamuqa* as the story unfolds. However, in the case of the Uriangqai, apparently an alliance existed between this tribe and the Mongqol tribe going back to the time of *Tumbinai Sečen*, the great-great-grandfather of *Temüjin*. See YS² 121, 2975 (Biography of *Sübötei*). Cf. MWESC 29, 9a-b. See also Vlad.², 112. For the Uriangqai 'connection', see the important contribution by Jackendoff (1977), especially pp. 26-27 in relation to § 97 of the SH. For *Ĵarči'udai* and the important role of smiths among the populations of Inner Asia since the earliest times, see Vlad.², 98; CW, 62-63.

'Smith's bellows' (*kü'ürge* = pmo. *kügürge*; AT¹, 23a: *kürge* = *kürge* < *kügürge*). This term corresponds to mo. *kögürge*, *kögerge* (kh. *xöörög*), which has converged with *kögürge*, *kögerge* (mmo. *kö'ürge* = pmo. *kögürge*) 'drum'; cf. below, n. 106. In § 211 the same word occurs in the form *gürege* (< *gü'ür<e>ge*) for *kü'ürge*. The Mongols' use of iron and their knowledge of metallurgy came from the Turks, the metal workers *par excellence* in the Altaic world. Cf. Pritsak 1988,

763. For the symbology of the smith's bellows, cf. Skrynnikova 1992/93, 54. Cf. also IĖT, 281.

Ĵelme is one of the great names in the Činggis Qan saga. Together with Qubilai, Ĵebe and Sübe'etei, he is part of the legendary team, or group, of élite warriors known as the 'four hounds' (*dörben noqas*), parallel with the team of the 'four steeds (= stalwarts)' (*dörben külü'ut*), on which see above, nn. 84, 90, and below, n. 163; HCG, 340-341. His feats are described in the SH, the Chinese sources and the works of the Persian authors. Cf. HYS 123, 1a-6a; MWESC 29, 1a-3a, 9b; SL², I/1, 157, 158; SL², I/2, 270; TDMI, 383. Rašid al-Dīn regularly calls him Ĵelme Ūhe (? = Üge). Cf. HCG, 138. On the title *üge*, see above, n. 59. Ĵelme had two younger cousins (lit. 'younger brothers'), Ča'urqan and Sübe'etei, who will make their appearance in § 120. See below, n. 120. On Ĵelme cf. also HCG, 155, 164; Li, 173, n. 211; Ratchnevsky 1968a; Jackendoff 1977, 26; ČK¹, 199b (Index); and Chiodo 1994, 207-210.

For Deli'ün Boldaq ('Spleen Hill'), Temüjin's birthplace, see above, n. 59.

For *toqu'ul-* (= pmo. *toquγul-*, fact. of *toqu-*) = mmo. *toqā-* (< *toquγa-*) 'to saddle a horse', cf. TMEN, no. 140.

'And handed him over to *Temüjin*', lit. 'he gave *Ĵelme* to *Temüjin*.' The whole episode is recalled in § 211, when Činggis Qan rewards Ĵelme for his 'many services.'

98. For the Mongolian construction of the first sentence, see Aalto 1973, 35.

Old Qo'aqčın (Qo'aqčın Emegen). Qo'aqčın, w.f. *Qoγayčın* (but *Qoγoyčın* in AT¹, 23b) is a feminine name in *-qčın* (= *-γčın*) from *qo'a* 'tawny, fallow (colour)'. See above, n. 1; JŠ, 33, § 31; Poppe 1975, 164; Rybatzki [2003], s.v. *Emegen* 'old woman' is the feminine counterpart of *ebügen* (on which see above, n. 68) – here used as a term of familiarity, as in the case of Old Čaraqa.

'The earth is shaking (*qajar derbelümüi*) and one can hear (lit. "is heard") the sound of trampling hoofs (*tübüri'ün*

sonostamu).' For *derbel-* 'to shake, quake', see MKT, 1162b, s.v. '*derbelje-*'; cf. de Rachewiltz 1982, 86, n. 368; Cleaves 1985, 251, n. 65. *Tübüri'ün* (w.f. **tübüriγün*) = mo. *tübürgeŋ* ~ *tübergerŋ* 'the sound of stamping feet or trampling hoofs (of horses or other animals)'. Cf. DO, 698b; Oz¹, II, 204, n. 4. See also Khomonov 1981, 61.

§ 99. 'Temüjin and the other sons', lit. 'The sons, Temüjin and the others.' Cf. Mo, 30, n. 24, 94.

'Mother Hö'elün put Temülün in front of her on the horse (*de'ürbe*).' For *de'ür-*, see above, n. 93.

'One horse was harnessed (lit. "made ready") as a spare horse.' For *kötöl* 'spare or led horse', see above, n. 66. Cf. also Mo, 254.

'There was no horse left for Lady Börte', lit. 'A horse was lacking (*dutaba*) for Lady Börte.' One horse is not accounted for in this enumeration: Bo'orču's 'chestnut horse with the arched back' which he took with him when he joined Temüjin (§ 95). As Ligeti pointed out, the author of the SH has purposely avoided altering the original figure of nine because of its symbolic value. See Li, 148, n. 99; and above, n. 60. Besides Börte, Belgütei's mother Sučigil (*or* *Suγigil*) and Old Qo'aqčın, the maidservant, were also left behind for lack of horses. For the use of *mori* v. *morin* 'horse' in this section, see Ozawa 1977, 96-97.

§ 100. We know that Temüjin's encampment at the time was at the Bürgi Escarpment (Bürgi Ergi), south of Burqan Qaldun. See above, n. 96. It is towards this familiar mountain and its thick forest that Temüjin and the other fugitives make their way after abandoning the camp and leaving Börte, Old Qo'aqčın and Belgütei's mother behind. Old Qo'aqčın hides Börte in a 'ragged black covered cart' (*böken qara'utai tergen*). The Mongolian word which I translate as 'ragged' (*böken*) is puzzling and my rendering is tentative. The term is not glossed in the Chinese interlinear version and is dropped in the parallel text in AT¹, 24a. Cf. Cleaves 1949a, 517. I base my interpretation

on kalm. *bökü* 'humpbacked, knobby.' However, *böken* may be related to mo. *bökügeg*, *bükegeg* 'awning or cover on a vehicle', in which case the expression may designate a type of covered cart. Cf. Oz¹, II, 210, n. 2; and On, 31 and n. 95, following TH, 158 (= JYT, 277); MKeT, 1060b, 1077a. Against this interpretation stands the fact that *qara'utai tergen* already designates a covered cart. See above, n. 6. Ev-Pop, 69, leaves the word untranslated. 'Put her', lit. 'made her ride.'

'An ox with dappled loins' (*bö'ere alağ üker*). For *bö'ere* (= mo. *bögere*) 'kidney(s), loins', see TMEN, no. 807. A more precise description of the ox would be 'an ox with a white spot on the lumbar region and with large black spots on the loins' (Cl, 34, n. 60).

'Moved upstream along the Tenggelik (= Tüנגgelik) Stream'. This statement clearly shows that the Tüנגgelik Stream (Tüנגgelik Qoroqan) was near the Bürgi Escarpment, thus indirectly supporting the identification of this river with the 'Tengelik Gorikhon' of Pozdneev, the situation of which is in the general area of the Bürgi Escarpment. See above, n. 5. In Tüנגgelik ~ Tenggelik we have a common alternation of *ü* and *e* in the first syllable; however, the original text may well have had Tüנגgelik, since initial Tü- is confirmed by AT¹, 24a. In this case, Tenggelik represents the reading of the later transcribers (cf. the form Tengelik recorded by Pozdneev).

'In the dim light (or in the twilight)' renders *herü baru-da* (AT¹, loc. cit.: *erü baru-da*), a *hapax legomenon* in the SH. For this expression, cf. Pelliot 1925, 216, no. 22; TH, 192 (= JYT, 333); and Oz¹, II, 211, n. 5.

'Some soldiers', lit. 'army people' (*čerik haran*). For the important military term *čerik* (= mo. *čerig*), see Poppe 1967, 512-513, no. 6; TMEN, no. 1079; and Pritsak 1988, 769.

'And asked her who she was', lit. 'Asked, saying, "What kind of person are you?"' Cf. above, n. 15.

'I belong to Temüjin', lit. 'I am of Temüjin's household' (*bi Temüjin-ü'ei bui*). Cf. *Lettres*, 78, n. 243, for the use of the possessive ending *-ü'ei* (< *-ügei*)/*-u'ai* (< *-uyai*).

'The tent – it is nearby', lit. 'As for the tent, it is near' (*ger ėi oyira buyu*). For the corroborative particle *ėilėu*, see Street 1984 (esp. pp. 127-128). Cf. also Cleaves 1949a, 517.

'I arose and left (lit. "came here") from the back', i.e. from the back of Temüjin's tent. This sentence has been discussed in detail by Gaadamba in MNTSZA, 115-118.

§ 101. 'The axletree of the cart broke in two' (*tergen-ü tenggeli ququs otba*). The SH *tenggeli* corresponds to mo. *tenggelig* 'axlecart.' Cf. ord. *t'eŋel* id. See also below, n. 124. *Ququs otba* (= mo. *ququs odba*) literally means 'went breaking across' (cf. eng. 'went to pieces'). The word *ququs* is an adverb meaning 'breaking (tearing, snapping) across (i.e. transversally)'; it derives from *ququ* (= mo. *ququ*), an adverbial particle expressive of abrupt breaking or snapping across, with the additional suffix *-s*, on which see above, nn. 50, 55. Cf. kalm. *χυγ* 'mit einemmal, plötzlich weg (reissen)', and *χυγ's* 'quer ab; abgebrochener teil' (KW, 195a, b); ord. *χυγy* 'de façon que l'objet se brise d'un coup', *χυγyura-* 'se briser transversalement (p. ex. os, bâton)', and *χυγys*, 'milieu, équinox (terme de l'année solaire); pli' (DO, 364a, b). Cf. also Les., 981b, 982b; Oz¹, II, 216-217, n. 1. The adverb *ququru* (= pmo. *ququru*), which occurs several times in the SH (see R, 300b; HW, 71) with the meaning of 'in such a way as to break (or split) apart (up, in two, to pieces)', is likewise formed on *ququ* + the directive suffix *-ru* (/ *-rü*). Cf. Mo, 47; Bese 1969, 124-127, 129.

'As the axletree was broken' (*tenggeli-ben ququraqdaju*), lit. 'undergoing the breaking of its axletree.' Cf. Poppe 1964, 376.

For *hoi* (= mo. *oi*) 'forest', see TMEN, no. 400.

The verb *sundula-* (= mo. *sundala-*) had then, as now, the meaning of 'to ride on a horse two at the same time, to ride sitting behind the rider.' Cf. DO, 539a; TMEN, nos. 224, 1339. This verb occurs twice in this section in the factitive form, but

although the meaning is the same, I have rendered it somewhat differently in English for stylistic reasons.

'The elders of the soldiers', lit. 'The elder brothers of those soldiers.' It seems that here *aqa-nar*, 'elder brothers', refers to the senior soldiers, i.e. the leaders of the raiding party, in other words the 'Three Merkit' Toqto'a, Dayir Usun and Qa'atai Darmala (see §§ 102, 103), who obviously had taken their younger brothers and sons with them. Cf. Li, 28-29. For *aqa* meaning 'senior, chief', see HCG, 68. Cf. Cleaves 1963, 69ff.

'The door of the closed cart (*qa'atai tergen*).' The word *qa'atai* is not glossed in the Chinese interlinear version, it is not translated in the sectional summary and it is dropped in the AT. It has puzzled earlier translators. However, it can only be explained as *qa'atai* = *qa'ātai* < *qa'a'atai* < *qa'a-* 'to close.' *Qa'ātai* would, therefore, be the nomen imperfecti (in *-al-'e*, mo. *-yal-ge*) + the denominal noun suffix *-tai(/-tei)*, meaning 'closed, barred.' Cf. bur. *xaagaatai* id. See Oz¹, II, 220, n. 7. For a similar development, cf. mo. *aldaɣatai* 'faulty' < *alda-* 'to miss, lose, err.' For *qa'a-* (= mo. *qaya-*), and *qa'alqa* (= mo. *qayalqa*) 'door, gate', see de Rachewiltz 1989, 292ff.; TMEN, no. 313.

'A lady sitting inside': the expression used for lady is *qatuqje kümün*. '*Qatuqje*' is undoubtedly an error for *qatun* 'lady' + the emphatic *je* which I have rendered as 'indeed.' AT¹, 24b, has *qatun kümün*. For this expression, cf. Cleaves 1983, 42, n. 15.

§ 102. The passage from 'In pursuit of' to 'were unable to catch him', has been translated and discussed in Mo, 32-35. The following are a few additional comments. For *qači'ul-* 'to circle, go around', cf. below, n. 111. 'They made detours', lit. 'they strayed from (= wandered off) the right direction.' For *bulji-* 'to stray, go off' (hence also 'to get away, evade, escape', see § 103), cf. DO, Add. et Corr. to p. 94a, line 10 from bottom. For the expression *eyin teyin* 'this way and that', cf. also Cleaves 1955, 35, n. 19. 'Tangled woods', 'impenetrable a

forest', lit. 'difficult woods', 'difficult forest.' For the simile of the snake, cf. Khomonov 1981, 60; Cl, 35-36, n. 65. The SH statement that the Merkit horsemen 'circled Burqan Qaldun three times' must be taken *cum grano salis* in view of the size of the mountain and the symbolic value attached to the number three (see above, n. 60 ad fin.). This hyperbole is repeated in §§ 111 and 145, like other clichés in the Činggis Qan saga. However, in § 111 it is Temüjin who circles the mountain thrice, pursued by the Three Merkit.

The 'Three Merkit' were the chiefs of the three most important Merkit tribes, viz. the Uduyt, U'as and Qa'at Merkit, whose names are given as Toqto'a, Dayir Usun and Qa'atai Darmala (for the incorrect form Qo'as for U'as, see below, n. 197). See HCG, 271-280. For the Uduyt, cf. also Poppe 1975, 166. In § 109, Toqto'a is mentioned with his title of *beki* (on him, see HCG, 271 et passim), and in §§ 111 and 112 the Three Merkit's forces are given as three hundred men. Cf. Ligeti's remarks in Li, 148, regarding the reliability of this figure. As Ligeti points out, the joint Merkit forces that raided Temüjin's camp must have been sizable. However, the whole episode is regarded as unhistorical by Okada 1972, 62-63.

'Now these Three Merkit had come to take their revenge (lit. "to avenge that avengement") because Mother Hö'elün had formerly been abducted from Čiledü.' For this sentence, cf. Poppe 1964, 374. For Hö'elün's abduction, see above, §§ 54-56; cf. Clarke 1978, 37-38. The parallel account in AT¹, 24b, adds that Börte was given to Čilger Bökö, the younger brother of Čiledü. Cf. SH, § 111.

'Returned to their homes' (*geyit-tür-iyen aǰiraba*). The parallel passage in AT¹, loc. cit., says *ger-tür-iyen qariba* 'returned to their tents.' It has therefore been assumed by some scholars, notably Pelliot (u.n) and Damdinsüren (Da⁵, 48), that SH *geyit* is a plural of *ger* 'tent, home, dwelling.' Cf. HW, 50. However, as already noted by Kozin (Ko, 534, 617) and, later, by Ozawa (Oz¹, II, 227-228, n. 8), *geyit* = mo. *keyid* 'abode (for monks), monastery.' Cf. 'ph. *geyid*, *gëyid* 'dwellings' (MMHS,

123b, 124a). See also de Rachewiltz 1982, 78-79, n. 262, for a discussion of this word. For *ajira-* 'to return', cf. DO, 6a.

§ 103. 'To spy on them', lit. 'in the process of gathering intelligence', 'in reconnoitring': *uqa'u-ta* < *uqa-* 'to perceive, understand' + deverbal noun suffix *-u* (= mo. *-γu*; see GWM, 46, § 152; JŚ, 53, § 79) + dative suffix *-ta*. This word is absent from the parallel account in the AT¹, 25a.

The entire poetical passage has been translated and discussed in Mo, 35-39. For a literal rendering into English, see Cl, 36-37. My translation is somewhat freer, e.g. 'I escaped with my own body whole' is, literally, 'Escaping as to my own person' (*büdiin beye'en*); for a discussion of the rather puzzling word *büdiin*, see below, n. 200. 'A louse's life' is, literally, 'which is tantamount to a louse's life.' The following are some remarks on words and expressions in this passage. For the saying 'to have a hearing as keen as a weasel's and a sight as sharp as an ermine's', cf. Cérénsođnom 1986, 70; *horum* (= mo. *orum*) 'path, trail, track', cf. Pelliot 1925, 220-221, no. 37; Mo, 27, n. 20; *burqasun* (= mo. *burγasun*) 'elm twigs', cf. TMEN, no. 102; *qandaqai* (= mo. *qandayai*) 'elk', cf. *ibid.*, no. 291. For *qalqasun* (= pmo. *qalyasun*) 'broken willow twigs', and *qarča* 'grasshopper', cf. Vietze 1990, 382 and 384. Note that Mount Burqan Qaldun is called Burqan and Burqan Qaldun, as well as Qaldun Burqan, for alliterative reasons. Cf. also § 112 for an identical poetical inversion.

'But I was greatly frightened' (*maši ayu'uldaba*). For *ayu'uldaba*, see Poppe 1964, 367.

For *maliya-* (= mo. *milaya-*) 'to sacrifice', cf. DO, 464a; Oz¹, II, 236, n. 9.

'Beat his breast with his fist', lit. 'struck his hand onto his breast.'

The last paragraph, giving a detailed account of how Temüjin worshipped the spirit of the sacred mountain – the first abode of his mythical ancestors – is an excellent description of the Mongols' traditional act of total submission to a superior

power. The removal of the belt and hat indicates that the worshipper puts himself entirely at the mercy (like a prisoner, in fact) of the worshipped; both belt and hat symbolize power and authority (cf. §§ 244, 255). See MNTB, 29-32; CEME, 48-49. The prostration towards the sun is an ancient ritual common to other Altaic peoples; and the libation, consisting of a sprinkling of mare's milk, was an essential part of the sacrifice (see above, n. 70). On all these ritual elements, cf. HWC, I, 187-188; *Successors*, 31; D'Ohsson, II, 10, 199, 254; Boodberg 1939, 245; Murata 1934; Li, 148, n. 103, and 151, n. 117; Ratchnevsky 1970, 427; Roux 1975. For the symbolic value attached to the number nine, see above, n. 60. Cf. Moses 1986, 291-292. For some remarks on the solemn oaths among the Mongols, see HCG, 411, and Serruys 1958. For the term *sačuli* 'libation, drink-offering (lit. "sprinkling")' < *saču-* 'to disperse, sow, spread; to asperse, besprinkle', see Oz¹, II, 237, n. 12. Cf. ET³, 60r15; GOM, 173. For some interesting remarks on Mongolian belts and girdles, see also CEME, 18-19.

The episode concerning the Tayiči'ut's raid related so vividly in §§ 98-103 of the SH has no counterpart in Chinese sources; and Rašid al-Dīn's version is quite different from that of the SH, being mainly concerned with Börte's pregnancy at the time of her capture by the Merkit and the subsequent birth of Temüjin's eldest son Joci. See SL², I/1, 97-98; I/2, 68-69. Cf. ČK¹, 31-32 (= ČK², 34-35). Because of this, and of the presence of poetical passages in the following sections (§§ 104-115), it has been suggested that the whole episode is essentially epic-folkloristic in nature, and indeed part of a lost epic song centered around the theme of a tribal feud about the theft of women. See Lörintz 1975; cf. Clark 1978, 37-38; Okada 1972, 63; CIH, 39-46.

§ 104. In this section we see the special relationship between Temüjin's 'adopted' father (through the latter's *anda*-relationship with Yisügei Ba'atur) beginning to take shape; and also the beginning of Jamuqa's direct intervention in Temüjin's affairs.

The alliance of these three key figures – Temüjin, Ong Qan and Ĵamuqa – and their subsequent dramatic split forms one of the main historico-epical themes of the SH. As already pointed out by Ligeti, while the former *anda*-relationship between Yisügei and Ong Qan was acknowledged, the resulting adoption of Ong Qan as Temüjin's father was not self-evident at the time, since this father-son adoption was formally sanctioned by oath at a solemn ceremony later, as described in § 164. See Li, 149, n. 104.

For To'oril Ong Qan, chief of the powerful Kereyit (Kereit) tribe of central northern Mongolia, see above, n. 96. As we have seen, at the time of these events Ong Qan was staying at his main camping grounds in the Black Forest (Qara Tün) along the Tūla River.

Temüjin's words 'The Three Merkit ... return her to me' have been discussed in Mo, 40-43, particularly with regard to the 'mot-couple' *eme kö'ü* ('woman/wife – child') = 'wife.' See, however, Onon's objections in On, 34, n. 102; and Kałużyński 1992/93, 278-280. Cf. below, nn. 146, 174, 185. For the passive construction of the sentence in Mongolian, see Poppe 1964, 370, 373. For *genen* 'taken by surprise; unawares; etc.', cf. Mo, 46, 87-88; Oz¹, II, 244-245, n. 2; and below, n. 170. 'We have come *now* to ask you ...', lit. 'We have come saying, "Let my father the Qan rescue and return *my* wife to me!"'

Much has been written about the word *nidoni* 'last year.' See Mo, 40-42, n. 40; *Lettres*, 24-25; Oz¹, II, 246, n. 5; TH, 138 (= JYT, 240). Cf. also RH, 237, no. 4. For the negative interrogative *ese'ü* before the verb *ügüle-* 'to say', cf. 'Trois documents', 466. Temüjin's words quoted by Ong Qan, and the latter's reply in alliterative verse, are found in § 96; cf. also § 150. Note the slight differences in phraseology and the inversion of the last two lines in the 'kidneys and good faith' simile.

'I shall now fulfil that promise.' For the expression *üge-diür-iyen güir-* (= *kür-*), lit. 'to attain (= accomplish) one's word', see Cleaves 1949a, 518, 525; *Lettres*, 31. Cf. below, n. 127.

Ĵamuqa, the childhood *anda* or sworn friend of Temüjin (see § 116 for the retrospective account of their friendship) was a chief of the Ĵadaran or Ĵajirat (see above, n. 40, and below, n. 141). He was related to Temüjin through their common ancestor Bodončar, but, as stated earlier, Ĵamuqa's genealogy as given in SH, § 40, is certainly incorrect. See HCG, 27. The kinship ties between Temüjin and Ĵamuqa are emphasized in the next section (§ 105). The appellation used by Ong Qan is *de'ü*, lit. 'younger brother.' However, this term had three meanings, viz. 'younger brother (= brother-german)'; 'younger cousin (= male [paternal] cousin) of any collateral line, younger than ego (i.e. an indicative of juniority within the generation of ego)'; and a term of affection towards a junior person. See QNTT, 713a; HCG, 30; DO, 167b; and above, n. 74. Cf. ch. *ti* 弟 and *tsu-ti* 族弟 (Feng HY 1937, 149). Clearly it is here a term of endearment that Ong Qan uses for Ĵamuqa. On Ĵamuqa and his tribe see HCG, 27-29; EM, 430-434; on his personality and relationship with Temüjin/Činggis Qan, see Vlad.², 105-108; Lattimore 1963b, 58, 60, 62; idem 1978; Gaadamba 1968, 93-95. Further references to Ĵamuqa will be given later on, as there is now a vast literature on the subject.

For the expression *kelen kijü ile-* 'to send a message', cf. Mo, 84; *Lettres*, 37.

For the Qorqonaq Valley (Qorqonaq Ĵubur) at the headwaters of the Onon, see above, n. 57.

A military unit of 10,000 men (*tüme[n]*, pl. *tümet*; mo. *tüme[n]*, *tümed*), sometimes called a myriarchy, was the largest army unit in the decimal system of military organization of the Inner Asian tribes (10, 100, 1,000 and 10,000), only *theoretically* comprising 10,000 men. In effect it was often considerably less. See Vlad.², 134 et passim; NMP, II, 858-859. Cf. Li, 149, n. 104. On the *tümen*-division see, especially, TMEN, no. 983; cf. also Pritsak 1988, 769-770. In the present

passage the word appears in its plural form (*tümet*) because it is a question of two such units, but 'two *tümen*' is obviously a literary exaggeration, particularly in the case of the force which Ĵamuqa was asked to assemble. See below, n. 106. In the campaign against the Merkit, Ong Qan's force was to form the right wing (lit. 'right hand': *bara'un qar*) of the army, i.e. its western wing. Ĵamuqa, whose encampment was further to the east in relation to Ong Qan's, was to lead the left wing (lit. 'left hand': *je'ün qar*), i.e. the eastern wing. The directions are erroneously reversed in the AT¹, 25b, and this error has unfortunately passed into BHM, 180. This passage is important because it shows that the Kereyit tribe was organized for military purposes in units of ten thousand, and that it followed the system of 'wings' (lit. 'hands') – the earliest reference to such military organization in a Mongol tribe in the 12th century. There is little doubt that the Kereyit army of Ong Qan provided the blueprint for Činggis Qan's later reorganization of his own army. See below, nn. 191, 202. For the location of the 'Three Merkit', see below, n. 105.

'Let Ĵamuqa decide on the time and place of our meeting', lit. 'Let our appointment (*bolja'an*) be *decided* by Ĵamuqa.' The term *bolja'an* (= mo. *boljaya[n]*, *boljoja[n]*, *boljiya[n]*), 'appointment, rendezvous', refers to the 'meeting point' *both* in time and place, not only in time as generally assumed. Cf. TMEN, no. 107; and below, n. 106. For the strict adherence of the Mongols to the time and place of the meeting agreed in advance as an essential element in their military strategy, see Sinor 1975, where (pp. 242-243) the present campaign is also mentioned as an example. Cf. also Serruys 1945, 156.

With regard to the date of these events, assuming with Pelliot that Temüjin was born in 1167 and taking into account the fact that 1) his eldest son Joči was born very soon after the Merkit's defeat and Börte's rescue, and 2) that Ögödei, Temüjin's third son, was born in 1186 (a reliable date, see NMP, I, 125, 253, 287; Pelliot's authority is the YS² 2, 37), we must infer that Joči was born *at the latest* in 1184 and that the

Merkit's original raid and the joint campaign against them must therefore have taken place in 1183/84. Thus, according to this computation, at the time of his marriage Temüjin would have been about sixteen years old, and about seventeen when the events related in this section took place. Also, Joči's birth in 1184 was followed by that of Ča'adai in 1185 and by that of Ögödei in 1186. See NMP, I, 287. If to this we add the fact that Ĵamuqa, a contemporary of Temüjin (as we gather from § 116 of the SH) must also have been about seventeen years old when he is supposed to have led an army of two *tümen* in the joint campaign against the Merkit, it seems that the date of 1167 suggested by Pelliot is almost certainly a few years too late, which would justify the date of mid-60s by Ratchnevsky (ČK¹, 17-18; cf. ČK², 18-19). If we accept this date for Temüjin's birthday, he and Ĵamuqa would have been 17-18 at the time of the campaign against the Merkit and Temüjin's first three sons would have been born at the rate of one each year from 1184 to 1186. See ČK¹, 33.

In my opinion, a more reliable date for Temüjin's birth in the light of all these events would be 1162, for which there is also ample support in our sources. See NMP, I, 282-283, 287; cf. also Hambis 1971, 150. I would then propose the following chronology: 1162, birth of Temüjin; 1180, Temüjin's marriage (age 18); 1181, the Three Merkit's attack and Börte's abduction (age 19); 1182, joint campaign against the Merkit, Börte's rescue, Joči's birth (Temüjin's and Ĵamuqa's age: 20); 1184, Ča'adai's birth; 1186, Ögödei's birth. With regard to Joči's and Ča'adai's births, there is, of course, one year's approximation since the year of their birth cannot be exactly determined. I think it unlikely (although not impossible) that they were born one year apart as would be the case if we accepted 1167 as Temüjin's birth year. The date given by Onon for Temüjin's birth is also 1162; for his marriage ca. 1178; and for the Merkit's defeat 1179. See On, xii.

§ 105. 'My bed was made empty', i.e. 'they carried off my wife.' The word for 'empty' is *hoqtorqu*, which occurs twice in this form in the present section, and as *hoqtorqui* in §§ 113 (twice) and 240. On this interesting word see de Rachewiltz 1999, 235-240.

'You and I, (*bida*)/Are we not from one family (*önör*)?' For *önör* 'enlarged family, clan', see Cleaves 1949a, 519-520. And, a few lines down, 'You and I/Are we not of kindred blood?', lit. 'of kindred liver' or 'liver relatives' (*heligen-ü uruq*). Temüjin, requesting Jamuqa's assistance against the Merkit, emphasizes in this way the common bond of their blood relationship. See above, n. 104. As noted by Cleaves (Cl, 39, n. 4), 'the liver denotes intimacy and close relationship.' Cf. also Meserve 2000, 39.

'How shall we take our revenge? ... How shall we avenge this injury (lit. "our revenge")?' Cf. § 58. For the alliteration in this stanza, see Poppe 1969, 273.

'Remembering the help and good things done to me in former days by his (read *inu* for *minu*) father Yisügei Qan, I shall stand by (lit. "be a friend to") *Temüjin*.' This sentence has been rendered in various ways (cf. Da⁵, 54; Li, 31; Do¹, 64; Mu, I, 178; Cl, 40; Oz¹, II, 252; Ta, 41; Ev-Pop, 76); however, in view of the specific statements in §§ 164 and 177 (Y² 6, beginning of 25b) it can only be understood in the above sense, i.e. 'I, To'oril Qan, mindful of the assistance I received in former days from Temüjin's father Yisügei Qan, will (in turn) help Temüjin.' In the text, the pronoun *minu* 'my' is an obvious error for *inu* 'his', i.e. Temüjin's father – an emendation supported by AT¹, 26a, where the corresponding passage has, in fact, *inu* instead of *minu*. This may not be the only instance in the SH of *minu* for *inu*: cf. § 269, where *qan ečige-yin minu* may stand for *qan ečige-yin inu*; however, this is debatable (see below, n. 269).

For the entire poetic passage from 'Now, ...' to the end of § 105, see Mo, 43-48. The following are additional comments on individual expressions, localities and people.

Cl, 40, following Mo, 47, translates *gölme* as 'shabrack'; however, as pointed out by H. Serruys (p.c.), this is not the saddle cloth, as shabrack is usually understood, but the two pieces of leather – one on each side – hanging from the saddle, between the rider and the horse's ribs. Cf. DO, 270a (and *ibid.*, 276b-277a); Khomonov 1970, 35; On, 36. For *dabši-* 'to hit, strike', cf. DO, 110a.

The Bu'ura Steppe. *Bu'ura* (= mo. *buγura*) means 'male camel' (see above, n. 64). The name of the steppe or plain (*ke'er*, mo. *kegere*) – actually a river-valley (see above, n. 56) – comes no doubt from the homonymous river, the present-day Buurnyn Gol, which flows into the Selenga south of Kyakhta. According to Pelliot (HCG, 279), the Bu'ura Steppe was just east of Kyakhta, but Pèrlée², 10 (cf. Pèrlée⁴, 94), places it 'near the towns of Altanbulag and Süxbaatar', i.e. south of Kyakhta. See below, n. 109.

Toqto'a, Dayir Usun and Qa'atai Darmala were the 'Three Merkit' chiefs. See above, n. 102.

'A loose quiver' (*dabčitu qor*), i.e. a quiver with a slack strap. The Chinese gloss renders *dabčitu* as 'having a cover' (蓋子有的), i.e. 'with a cover (or lid)', but mo. *dabči* means 'slack, loose – as a bow with a long string' (= ma. *mise*). See QNTT, 692b; cf. Oz¹, II, 253 and 258-259, n. 10. Some of the other interpretations, e.g. Γa, 47, 295, n. 365, are rather speculative. For *qor* (> *qorči* 'quiverbearer'), see TMEN, nos. 299, 301. For *dayiji-* (~ *daiji-*) 'to revolt; to abandon one's party', hence 'to desert one's own companions', see below, n. 188.

The Orqon and the Selengge are, of course, the Orkhon (kh. Orxon) and the Selenga (kh. Sélèngè) rivers; and Talqun Aral was the name of the peninsula formed by the confluence of the Orkhon and the Selenga south-west of Kyakhta, corresponding broadly to modern Tsagaan (Cagaan) Aral. Cf. HCG, 280; Pèrlée², 9 (cf. Pèrlée⁴, 95). For the term *aral* and its connotations, see above, n. 24 and below, n. 136. The Ming translator(s) did not gloss the word *aral* but merely transcribed it. The text does not have the word 'between' (*ja'ura*) which

has been dropped in the Chinese transcription, but is retained in the Chinese summary and in the AT. See Mo, 43, n. 42; and AT¹, 26b.

'When the saltwort (*qamqa'ulsun*)/Is carried by the wind', i.e. when the saltwort tufts are uprooted and roll in the steppe carried by the wind. These, seen from afar, are taken for enemy horsemen by the chief of the Qa'at Merkit, Qa'atai Darmala, who escapes in fright into the forest – a very graphic image. See Mo, 45. As noted by Mostaert, *qamqa'ulsun* (= pmo. *qamqaγulsun*; cf. AT¹, 26b id.) corresponds to mo. *qamquul*, ord. *хамҗак* or *хамҗүли*, and kalm. *хамҗоҮ* or *хамҗүл* – all terms designating a saltwort (genus *Salsola*) which, when uprooted by the wind, becomes a sort of tumbleweed rolling through the steppe. However, some modern Mongol languages separate the two forms given above, thus kh. *xamxag* (w.f. *qamqay*) is a 'name given to several varieties of artemisia' (MMED, 611a), specifically referring to *Londesia* according to MOUNT, 32, and to *Londesia* and *Salsola collina* according to MED, 425b; but, according to ÜÜJT, 488, *qamqay* corresponds to *Corispermum hyssopifolium*. On the other hand, kh. *xamxuul* (w.f. *qamquul*) designates a 'type of tumbleweed' (MMED, 611a); the *Corispermum* (MOUNT, 14); and *Salsola collina* (ÜÜJT, 503; MED, 425b, 426a). In Buriat, *xamxuul* is the name of *Gypsophila paniculata* (ru. *perekati-pole*). See BRS, 544a. The Chinese glosses of the SH and the HIIY are vague and inaccurate; therefore, it is not possible to determine exactly to which species of saltwort the term *qamqa'ulsun* applies: it may well be simply a generic name like 'saltwort.'

The Qaraji Steppe has not yet been identified, but it must have been in the same broad area around the confluence of the Orkhon and Selenga rivers, near the present border of the Buriat Republic and Mongolia.

The river Kilqo is the present Khilok (bur. Xолго), the important right-hand affluent of the Selenga. See HCG, 281;

and Poppe 1956, 36-37. AT¹, 26b, has 'Silqo' for 'Kilqo', an obvious clerical error.

'Sedge' is a generic rendering of *saqal bayan* (lit. 'rich beard'), which is properly the designation of a species of *Cyperus* (mo. *saqal ebesü*, kh. *saxal övs*) rendered in the Chinese version as *chu-tsung ts'ao* 猪鬃草 'bristle-grass', and used by the Mongols to make rafts (*sal*) when crossing rivers. See Li, 149, n. 105; D. Sinor in *UAJ* 33:1961, 162; Oz¹, II, 261-262, n. 15. Cf. Га, 295-296, n. 368. For *sal* 'raft', see TMEN, no. 1218.

'In good growth', lit. 'in good state.'

'Descending on (lit. "entering from upon") the smoke-hole of that coward Toqto'a's tent', i.e. as though falling from the sky on to the roof of his tent; in other words, making a surprise attack on him.

'Its proud (= imposing) frame (*erkin e'ede*) ... the sacred frame (*qutuq e'ede*).' The frame of the door, like the threshold, had a numenous connotation for the Mongols, as the images of the household gods (*ongqot*) were placed on both sides of it. Cf. Mo, 46-47; MP², I, 385-386, n. 4. I render *erkin* (= mo. *erkin ~ erkim*) 'important, excellent, masterly' with 'proud' to convey the special strength of the word in English, as in 'a proud structure, ship, etc.' For the seminal term *qutuq* (= *qutuqtu*, *qutuqtai*) 'sacred, blessed (= favoured by Heaven), etc.', see *Lettres*, 22; TMEN, no. 1568; Mori 1981; Bazin 1987, 215ff.; Pritsak 1988, 752-753. Cf. also above, n. 74 (on *sutan* and *su*), and below, nn. 111 and 200.

For *da'ari-* 'to hit, smite, knock down', cf. TMEN, nos. 192, 1868.

For the two 'preverbs' *emburu* 'in such a way as to break it down', and *ququru* (= pmo. *quyuru*) 'in such a way as to break it up', cf. Bese 1969, 125ff.; and above, n. 101.

§ 106. Jamuqa calls To'oril Qan 'elder brother' for the same reason that the latter calls him 'younger brother', see above, n. 104.

'I have consecrated my standard' (*tuq-ıyan sačuba bi*), lit. 'I have sprinkled my standard with kumis' – the consecration of a banner, or standard (*tuq*), consisting of a ritual drink offering, known as *sačuli*, to the spirit of the banner. The 'sacrifice' to the war standard at the outset of a campaign is a well-known custom which has survived among the Mongols until recent times. See Mu, II, 264-265, n. 2; Cleaves 1956, 268 and n. 726 (but no follow-up!); Li, 145, n. 73; Ratchnevsky 1970, 427; Skrynnikova 1992/93, 53-54 (and TIM, 73); KHIV, 87. Cf. also below, n. 193. For *saču-* and *sačuli*, see above, n. 103. For the *tuq* (= mo. *tuγ*), see above, n. 73.

'My bellowing drum', lit. 'my drum with a bellowing voice' (*bürkiren бүкүи da'utu kö'ürge-ben*). For *bürkire-* 'to roar, bellow (of a bull)', cf. bur. *bürxir-* id. See Gantogtokh 1989, 118. The 'bellowing' of the drum refers, of course, to the drum's covering of bull hide. Cf. Oz¹, II, 269-270, n. 3. For *kö'ürge* (= pmo. *kögürge*, *kegürge*; mo. *kögürge*, *kögerge*) 'drum', see TMEN, no. 339; RH, 288, no. 9. Cf. Khomonov 1979, 39. In § 232 we find the form *gü'ürge*. See below, n. 232.

'I have put on my armour', lit. 'I have put on my steel-hard dress' (*qatangqu de'el-ıyen emüsbe bi*). For *qatangqu* (= pmo. *qatangyu*) 'as hard as steel', cf. bur. *xatan* 'steel(y)', mo. *qatangyu*, *qatayu* 'strong, hard.' For the nasalised form, cf. mng. *xadōη* id. See IMCS, 68 and 131; VGAS, 50.

'I have placed on the bowstring my arrow with its nock/Of wild peach bark.' The arrow used by the Mongols had a nock or 'button' (*ono*) of wild peach bark (*qatqurasu*, mo. *qadqura*) fixed to its butt-end, which the warrior notched with his arrow-sharpening knife (*sumuči kituqai*; cf. above, n. 80).

'My leather-strapped breastplate', lit. 'my breastplate that has fastening thongs (*hüdēsütü*).' The 'fastening thongs' (*hüdēsü* < **hüdegesü*, mo. *üdegesü*[n]) are the leather thongs holding the plates of the armour together. This word was incorrectly identified in Pelliot 1925, 237, no. 66. Cf. Oz¹, II, 271-272, n. 8.

'My hilted sword' (*onggitu üldü-be'en*). *Onggitu* is *onggi* + the possessive suffix *-tu*. Whereas *onggi* is glossed 'hilt' (柄) in the interlinear Chinese version, this word in the modern Mongolian languages means 'socket of a handle (or hilt).' See Oz¹, II, 272, n. 9. However, this clearly cannot be its meaning in the present context (a sword 'with a hilt socket' does not make sense), hence *onggi* is used in our passage with the extended meaning of 'hilt (with a socket)', no doubt to distinguish this type of superior sword from an ordinary sword cast in one piece, as correctly surmised by Ozawa and Onon (Oz¹, II, 272, n. 9; On, 37, n. 114). For *üldü* 'sword' (= mo. *ildü*), cf. *Lettres*, 81; TMEN, no. 69; RH, 284, no. 18; Khomonov 1970, 38.

'On the southern side of Burqan Qaldun', lit. 'by the front (= south) of Burqan Qaldun.'

From the present section it appears that Ĵamuqa's 'two units of ten thousand (*tümet*)' consisted of one *tüimen* of his own troops and one *tüimen* of Temüjin's troops. As rightly pointed out by Ligeti (Li, 150, n. 107), this numerical exaggeration would be unacceptable even if we did not take the figure of 10,000 men literally (see above, n. 104). It is simply impossible that Temüjin could have assembled in such a short time even a fraction of that figure, given the destitute state in which he found himself when he approached Ong Qan. This literary exaggeration is due to the tendency of the author(s) of the SH to project anachronistically back into time not only names and titles, but also inflated figures of armies. For the usage of the number 10,000 in the SH, cf. Moses 1996, 95.

The meeting place (*boljāl qajar*, see below) chosen by Ĵamuqa was Botoqan Bo'orji(n), an unidentified locality at the sources of the Onon, on the east side of the Burqan Qaldun, i.e. Khentei Khan, area. To'oril, whose main camp was at the Black Forest of the Tūla, hence much further to the south-west, was to proceed north-eastwards, meet Temüjin (whose camp was still at the Bürgi Escarpment on the upper Kerulen) south of Burqan Qaldun, and from there move together northwards to Botoqan Bo'orji. Ĵamuqa, whose camp was on the Onon, had simply to

follow the river upstream, i.e. westwards, to reach the meeting place.

'The appointed meeting place' renders *boljāl* (< *boljaγal*, cf. AT¹, 27a, 27b [4 times]) *qaǰar*. In the old language *boljāl* ~ *boljaγal*, cf. the letter of Arγun to Philippe le Bel, line 19: *boljaldur* 'à la date convenue', and line 22: *kem boljal* 'date convenue' (*Lettres*, 17-18, 31, 32). Thus it would appear that the vowel of the second syllable in the SH form *boljal* was a long one (\bar{a} < $a'a$ < $a\gamma a$), and this accounts for the *boljāl* in L², 67, 68; and in R, 43, 44, 197b. It should be noted, however, that there is no supporting evidence for a long *a* resulting from contraction in the corresponding forms in the modern Mongolian languages (kh. *bolzol*, *bolzor*; bur. *bolzor*; etc.); hence, the reading *boljal* in *Lettres* and in Oz¹, II, 268. Nevertheless, the form *boljaγal* of the AT cannot be ignored, particularly since it was no doubt the form appearing in the SH text used by Blo-bzañ bstan-'jin, as evidenced by the insertion of a gloss (*boljiya*) opposite *boljaγal* (AT¹, 27a, line 11, and 27b, lines 12, 22: *boljiyan*). In Written Mongolian there is only *boljol* (< pmo. *boljal*). In the Chinese version of the SH, *boljāl* and *bolja'an* (§ 104) are treated as synonyms, both being glossed *yüeh-hui* 約會 'appointment for a meeting, rendezvous.' See HW, 19. *Bolja'an* (AT¹, 25a: *boljaγa*) is, of course, mo. *boljaγa*, *boljoγa(n)*, *boljiya(n)* id. For these and other related forms, see SG, 219; TMEN, no. 107. Cf. also Róna-Tas 1986, 136, 138.

With regard to the joint campaign against the Three Merkit as it unfolds in the following paragraphs (107-112), see EM, 70-71, ČK¹, 32-33 (= ČK², 35-37); CHHC, 81-88; and especially HCG, 278-281. Cf. also Sinor 1975, 242-243.

§ 107. The Tana ('Big Pearl') Stream (Tana Qorqon; *qorqon* < *qorqan*, *qoroqan*, mo. *γoroqa[n]*; see above, n. 5) was an affluent of the Tüנגgelik (see below).

To'oril's younger brother Jaqa Gambu had been brought up in the Tangut kingdom of Hsi Hsia in north-west China, and this

accounts for his Tangut name, or rather epithet. According to Rašid al-Dīn (SL², I/1, 130-131), *jā* means 'country', and **kambu* (**gambu*, **gambo*) means 'great, eminent.' The meaning of **Ĵakambu* as given by the Persian historian is 'high dignitary (*emir*) of the country (i.e. of the state).' The Tibetan and Tangut components of this epithet are discussed by Yu. N. Rerikh, whose article (Rerikh 1961) supersedes Pelliot's remarks in Pelliot 1930b, 50-51, n. 1, and in HCG, 226-227. Thus, in Jaqa (= *Jaγa* > *Jā*; cf. AT¹, 27a: *Ĵiya*) Gambu we would have a title used as a name, a not uncommon occurrence. Cf. the Aša Gambu of § 256. (I am grateful to Prof. Ruth W. Dunnell of Gambier, Ohio, for bringing Rerikh's article to my attention.) However, a recent discovery has cast doubts on the above interpretation. Prof. H. Franke of Munich writes (p.c. of 7 Oct. 2002): 'The title Gambu occurs frequently in Chinese texts from the Yüan period in various transcriptions which all go back to a form to be reconstructed as Gambu or Kambu. I have now found that Gambu is in reality a Tangut word, meaning "commander of an army", in Tangut *nga-mbju*. The Tangut characters for this word are nos. 5162 and 3468 in M.V. Sofronov's *Grammatika tangutskogo yazyka*, vol. 2 (Moscow 1968). For the translation of *nga-mbju* see E.I. Kyčanov and Herbert Franke, *Tangutische und chinesische Quellen zur Militärgesetzgebung des 11.-13. Jahrhunderts* (Bayer. Ak. d. Wiss., Phil.-hist. Klasse, Abhandlungen Neue Folge Heft 104, München 1990), p. 76, no. 237: "Kommandierender einer Armee, General, Feldherr." Also Ch'eng Chü-fu in his family history of Hsi-li Gambu in *Ch'eng Hsüeh-lou wen-chi* (Taipei 1970), ch. 15, 16b, says that Gambu (here written 鈐部) is a military office of the Tanguts (河西軍職).' See Franke H 2002, 260. For the Hsi Hsia kingdom, cf. below, n. 151.

'Halted at Ayil Qaraqana', or 'Set up camp at Ayil Qaraqana.' On Ayil Qaraqana, an unknown locality on the Kimurqa Stream – the small right-bank affluent of the Onon on which see n. 88 above – see HCG, 280. For the word *qaraqana* (= mo. *qaraγana*), see below, n. 195.

The reason for Temüjin's withdrawal from Bürgi was, it seems, to avoid hindering the progress of To'oril and Jaqa Gambu, and their large body of mounted warriors. Temüjin left Bürgi, on the right (= western) bank of the Kerulen, and moved upstream along the Tünggelik, reaching the Tana and thence the Kimurqa. For the Tünggelik Stream, see above, nn. 5 and 100.

§ 108. 'Jamuqa, seeing the troops of Temüjin, To'oril and Jaqa Gambu' (*Jamuqa ede Temüjin To'oril Jaqa Gambu-tan-u čeri'üd-i üje'et*), lit. 'Jamuqa, seeing the troops of these – Temüjin, To'oril and Jaqa Gambu.' Here the enclitic *-tan* = 'and' (cf. lat. *-que*); see the example from § 183 cited in Mo, 30. It cannot mean 'and others' since only those three army leaders are involved.

'Even if there be a blizzard (*boro'an*).' *Boro'an* 'blizzard, snowstorm' appears in § 78 in the form *boroqan* (= pmo. *boroyan*). Mo. *boroyan* means only 'rain' (syn. with *qura*, the latter being also the word for 'rain' in the SH, as in the present passage). For *boro'an* (cf. tu. *boran*), see TMEN, no. 100; RH, 200, no. 19 (for no. 18, where *borau*n is the metathetical form of *boruan* [= *boru'an*]); Sinor 1977; Meserve 1992; and the references cited in those works. The alliterative passage is a saying emphasizing the need to be punctual at a rendezvous, employed here with special reference to a military operation. See Cérésodnom 1986, 79. The extreme importance given to punctuality in such circumstances by the Mongols has already been mentioned. See above, n. 104. Cf. Lorincz 1975, 121.

The ancient Mongols verbally sealed and formalized an oath or promise simply by uttering the word 'yes' (*je*), so that for a Mongol to say 'yes' was tantamount to pledging his word. Cf. § 255. Hence 'to be remiss in one's "yes"' means simply 'not to keep one's word.' For *andaqartan* = *andaqar-tan* (= pmo. *andayar-tan*) 'bound (pl.) by oath', cf. *Lettres*, 66. For the expression used by Jamuqa, see also Gaadamba 1968, 105.

For *jerge* 'rank', in the military sense, see TMEN, no. 161.

'It is up to younger brother Jamuqa to punish and lay blame', lit. 'Let younger brother Jamuqa decide *himself* the punishing and blaming.' Cf. *Lettres*, 83, where, however, *godulaγu* and *čimarlaγu* should correctly read *qodulaqu* and *čimarlaqu*. On these two words see Oz¹, II, 281-282, nn. 6 and 7; Vietze 1990, 385. For other examples of the use of the expression *medetügei* 'let decide', see *Lettres*, 83-84.

§ 109. 'Starting from Botoqan Bo'orjin they arrived at the river Kilqo.' The troops of To'oril Qan, Temüjin, Jaqa Gambu and Jamuqa left the upper reaches of the Onon and proceeded, in a northwesterly direction, towards the Bu'ura Steppe (Bu'ura Ke'er) near present Kyakhta (see above, n. 105). As already stated by Pelliot (HCG, 281), it is most unlikely that they would have crossed the river Khilok – the Kilqo of the SH – to carry out their plan of attacking the enemy by surprise from the north. This enormous detour would have forced them to cross the Khilok *twice*, as well as the river Chikoi, in order to reach the enemy camp. However, they did cross a river and from the strategic point of view this could only have been the Chikoi. A possible explanation is that the 'Kilqo' of our text is a mistake for 'Čikö', i.e. the Chikoi, an error which may be due to the fact that these two rivers run a parallel course, both flowing into the Selenga. In the 13th and 14th century works, confusion among the rivers of Mongolia is by no means a rare phenomenon. Cf. Poppe 1956, 36ff. On the Čikö/Chikoi, see *ibid.*, 36. However, not only is the Kilqo River the one also mentioned in § 105, but it is this river and not the Čikö that likewise appears in the corresponding passages in the AT¹ (26b, 27b). If, then, 'Kilqo' is the correct form, the only alternative explanation is that the SH account of the joint campaign against the Merkit is a conflation of two, or perhaps even three, separate operations carried out at different times against this tribe, as suggested in fact by Pelliot after a comparative analysis of all the sources. See HCG, 266-267. Ligeti (Li, 149-150, n. 106) has correctly pointed out that the Bu'ura Steppe must be situated south of the

Khilok (not to the north of it, as in Haenisch's map in Ha, 194); this is also confirmed by the fact that the campaign ended at Talqun Aral, at the confluence of the Orkhon and Selenga rivers (see § 115). According to Ligeti (loc. cit.), the joint forces did cross the Khilok twice to attack the three Merkit tribes by surprise from the rear, the first crossing having probably been effected more to the east, by fording, before the beginning of the actual hostilities, so as to avoid a second, dangerous crossing during the campaign.

'Descending on the smoke-hole/...': cf. above, § 105, where the poetic passage is almost identical. Cf. also Okada's remarks in Okada 1972, 63.

The section 'While Toqto'a Beki was asleep ... at full speed.'" is translated and discussed in Mo, 48-49 (cf. also *ibid.*, 123). In this section Toqto'a is mentioned for the first time with his title of *beki*, on which see above, n. 49. Cf. HCG, 271.

For the Barqujin territory, i.e. the Barqujin Lowland (*töggüm*), corresponding to the Barguzin valley between the estuary of the Barguzin River and that of the Selenga, see above, n. 8.

For the expression *čö'en beyes-iyen*, lit. 'few in number and with nothing other than their bodies', see Mo, 176-178, n. 158. Cf. below, n. 197.

§ 110. This section, describing Börte's rescue from the Merkit camp, is, together with 'Hö'elün's Lament' (§§ 77-78), Qargil Šira's attempt on little Tolui's life (§ 214) and a few others, one of the literary highlights of the SH. It has a romantic flavour which is, on the whole, absent in the harsh milieu of this early narrative. Cf., on this subject, Šarközi 1978. However, as already noted by Pelliot (HCG, 266), the story of Börte's rescue as told in the SH is of doubtful historicity, and quite at variance with Rašid al-Dīn's sober account. See also NHHO, 25, n. 2.

'Our troops' (*bidan-u čeri'üt*). This is the first of several instances in which the SH narrator identifies with Činggis Qan's side – as if he were an actual participant in the action just being

described. For the usage of this literary device, cf. Čoïmaa 1994.

The verb *dürbe-* can be rendered 'to flee in disarray', 'to flee in haste', or 'to flee in panic' – as when routed by the enemy.

For the connotations of *tala-* 'to plunder, spoil, ravish', cf. TMEN, nos. 923, 926. A comprehensive study of the early Mongol terminology concerning warfare, raiding and plundering, maiming and killing is long overdue. See, provisionally, GGMGL, 110ff.

In the present section much use is made of the auxiliary verbs *yabu-* 'to go', and *ayisu-* 'to approach', on which see above, nn. 15, 55; and Aalto 1973, 37.

'He came upon her' (*učiraju*). It may seem premature to introduce the verb 'to meet, encounter' (*učira-*) at this point in the narrative, but what immediately follows is, strictly speaking, parenthetical matter in the text. Instead of placing this within parenthesis, I have overcome the problem by simply adding 'for.' Cf. Cl, 45; and Oz¹, II, 291 and n. 1.

For *čilbur* 'tether, halter (strap)', see TMEN, no. 181; RH, 80, no. 12.

'They fell into each other's arms', lit. 'they threw themselves on each other and embraced each other.'

'That very (or same) night' (*söni bö'et*) is, literally, 'having been (= while it was still) night.' *Bö'et* (= mo. *büged*) has the meanings of: 1) 'having been' = 'while being', 'while', 'during'; 2) 'and, then' – an extension of (1); and 3) 'precisely, that very (same)', also an extension of (1). Cf. GHMBK, 581 (s.v. 'bö'ed'), 583 (s.v. 'bü'ed'); VG, 90-91; and, especially, Oz¹, IV, 12-16, n. 1.

'As for the Merkit people ... right there.' This sentence has been understood differently by various translators. I agree with those among them (Pelliot, Kozin, Damdinsürēn, Ligeti, etc.) who take 'right there' (*miin tende*) to mean the very place where the fugitives found themselves, not 'the same place where Temüjin had stopped to pass the night' (Cl, 45, n. 19). It is

unlikely that the fugitives would have settled for the night in exactly the same spot where their enemies had encamped.

§ 111. 'At the very beginning' (*türün urida*), lit. 'Formerly at the beginning.' For *türün* 'at the beginning', see de Rachewiltz 1982, 57-58, n. 29; Cleaves 1950, 106, n. 114; idem 1982, 86, n. 60; Oz¹, II, 297-298, n. 1.

The name of the tribe of Qa'atai Darmala, the Qa'at Merkit, has dropped out of this paragraph; I have added it following AT¹, 28a (where 'Asyad' is a copyist's error for 'Qayad').

'Mother Hö'elün was abducted by Yisügei Ba'atur' (*Yisügei Ba'atur-a Hö'elün Eke-yi bulıju abtalāi*). For this passive construction, see Poppe 1964, 370, 373.

'It was at the time when Temüjin circled Burqan Qaldun three times', i.e. when the Merkit raiders pursued him around the mountain, as colourfully related in § 102. My earlier rendering of these words (Ra, II, 155) is incorrect. The verb *qači'ul-* (= pmo. *qačiyul-*) means 'to go round, (en)circle'; cf. § 102 where, as here, this verb (again in the factitive form!) is rendered in Chinese as *jao* 繞 id. The sentence in question is a temporal one and, as usual in Mongolian, the subject, i.e. Temüjin, is in the accusative. See GWM, 149, § 517; JŚ, 181, B (third example); cf. the opening sentence of the so-called 'Stone of Chingis' (de Rachewiltz 1976, 487) for the same construction. Cf. also the SH, §§ 145, 199 and 205.

Čilger Bökö was the younger brother of Yeke Čiledü, the first husband of Hö'elün, who by this time may have been dead. In Mongolian *čilger* has several meanings, but in the present case it must signify 'strong, robust' (cf. kh. *čilger* id.), rather than 'élancé, mince' (Bese 1974, 92). *Bökö* means 'a person of great physical strength', hence 'wrestler, prize-fighter' (see above, n. 41). Obviously, Börte was given to him to right the wrong done to his elder brother.

The entire poetic passage has been translated and discussed in Mo, 50-53. There are several words in it of which the exact meaning is still not clear. Cf. Poppe 1950a, 266-267. In the

following I shall amplify on some of these obscure words and, at the same time, give additional references to some others.

For the expression *qalisu körisü* meaning 'scraps of skin', cf. Vietze 1990, 382-383, as well as Oz¹, II, 298-299, n. 3.

'It aspired to eat' or 'It hoped to eat', the verb *ješi-* (= mo. *jši-* 'to estimate, imagine, etc.') may be rendered either way. See Oz¹, II, 299, n. 4.

'I, brutal and base Čilger' (*qatar ma'ui Čilger bi*). The word *qatar*, not glossed in the text, has puzzled previous translators and has been left untranslated by Mostaert and by Cleaves. AT¹, 28b, has *qatar* or *qadar*. I have no doubt that it is tu. *qadir* ~ *qadar* 'grim, brutal, rough, harsh.' See DTS, 401b, 403a; ED, 603b; TMEN, no. 1381. Cf. yak. *xadaar* 'obstinate, stubborn.' The Ming editors and translators who evidently did not know this term transcribed it incorrectly as *qatar* instead of *qadar* owing to the ambiguity of the Uighur script. See de Rachewiltz 1995, 280. For other interpretations, cf. Poppe 1950a, 267; TH, 173 (= JYT, 302); Vietze 1990, 384. *Ma'u(i)* (= mo. *mayu[i]*), lit. 'bad, wicked' (x *sayin*), is a term employed here to designate, in a self-deprecatory manner, a socially inferior person, a base-born individual. Cf. Mo, 183, 225. On this word see also TMEN, no. 361.

For *qaraču* 'lowly', and *qara teri'ün* 'black head', see below.

'Who will act as a shield for me?', lit. 'By whom shall I be shielded?' Cf. Poppe 1964, 376.

For *quladu* (kh. *xult šuvuu*) 'buzzard', see WTCWC, III, 4136.1; MMED, 687a. However, in Buriat *xulda* (< *quladu*) is the 'hen-harrier', a hawk of the genus *Circus*. See BRS, 600a. Cf. Gantogtox 1990, 124.

For *quluqana* < *qulaqana* (= pmo. *qulayana*), see Cleaves 1961, 73, n. 7. Cf. also TMEN, no. 308; RH, 220, no. 9. For *küčügene* 'mouse', see above, n. 89.

'I, thieving (*qunar*) and base Čilger.' The word *qunar*, like *qatar*, is not glossed and has likewise puzzled SH translators. I believe that it, too, is a Turkic word, meaning 'stealing, carrying

off' (a participle of *qun-* 'to steal, carry off'). Cf. DTS, 466a; ED, 632b. This interpretation fits well in the present context, in which Čilger accuses himself of having abducted (lit. 'gathered') Lady Börte, thus behaving like a robber. For other interpretations, cf. Poppe 1950a, 267; TH, 183 (= JYT, 319). See de Rachewiltz 1995, 280-281.

The epithets 'favoured' (*qutuqtai*) and 'fortunate' (*sutai*) applied to Börte refer to the favour and good fortune granted by Heaven (*tenggeri*), which has decreed a royal destiny for her. For the expression *qutuqtai* (= pmo. *qutuqtai*) *sutai*, cf. *Lettres*, 22. For *qutuq* see above, n. 105; for *sutu* ~ *sutai* (pl. *sutan*), see also above, n. 74.

'Boastful (*qokir*), base Čilger.' *Qokir*, like *qatar* and *qunar*, is left untranslated in the Chinese interlinear version. It has also been variously rendered, with several translators opting for 'filthy', 'mean', 'crooked', 'miserable' and the like on the strength of mo. *qokir* 'dry dung, dirt, rubbish', *qokiγur* (kh. *xoxiur*) 'emaciated, surly (see below)', and *qokiγar* (kh. *xoxigor*) 'lean; crooked.' However, the word *qokir* also has the meaning of 'boastful, boaster, braggart' (WTCWC, II, 2430.4; Gol., II, 145c), with the related connotations of 'liar, joker' (cf. kalm. *χokγ* id.). In this acceptance, *qokir* is an adjective, whereas the extended meaning 'filthy' (adj.) from 'dung' (subs.) is not warranted. The rendering *gammeina* 'obstinate, stubborn' of Oz¹, II, 296-297, 302-303, n. 12, is based on kh. *xoxir* which, according to Cév., 699b, means 'having an unfriendly and nasty character; surly (*xoxiur*).' The word 'boastful' fits the context well, insofar as it describes a 'commoner', like Čilger Bökö, who 'has put on airs' by possessing a noble lady, and I therefore believe that this is the meaning obtaining in the present case. The main point of Čilger's poetic self-criticism is that a lowly, common tribesman (*qaraču*) ought not to covet things pertaining to a noble chief, or lord. Cf. Mo, 52. See de Rachewiltz 1995, 281-282. As already noted (see above, n. 21), *qaraču* 'commoner, common people (= tribesmen)', and *qara teri'ün*, lit.

'black head' (of a commoner), are synonyms containing the common element 'black' (*qara*), and refer to low birth and status, standing here in opposition to the white colour of the birds (goose, crane, etc.). 'White' (*čaqa'an*, *čaqān*) is the colour symbolizing all that is noble, aristocratic and good, hence a symbol of good luck. Cf. n. 63 above. (By contrast, in China white traditionally denotes what is common, vulgar, unlucky and of no value.) For a discussion (along parallel lines) of the terms *qatar*, *qunar* and *qokir*, cf. Doerfer 1996.

'My shrivelled head' (*qokimai teri'ün*) – shrivelled, or withered, by constant exposure to the sun, characteristic again of the 'black' head of a common tribesman.

'Worth but (i.e. only)', lit. 'so much as' (*tedüi*) = 'no more than.'

'Dreadful (*qaratu*), dark (*qarangqu*) gorges.' The word *qaratu* = *qaratai*, the possessive suffix *-tu* ~ *-tai*. According to TH, 171 (= JYT, 298), *qaratai* is still used (as a dialect form) in Inner Mongolia with the meaning of 'obscure, dark.' In their usual acceptance, however, *qaratu* and *qaratai* (~ *qartai*) mean 'envious; nasty, awful.' See Kow., 833b-834a; Gol., II, 97c; Les., 935b; MKeT, 1255b. Čilger wishes to hide in such a dark and horrible gorge where his pursuers would not dare to follow him, and in this way save his life which is now worthless.

'Shelter' (*qoriya'an*), lit. '(protected) enclosure (or precinct).' *Qoriya'an* = *qoriya* id. + the relatively rare denominal noun suffix *-an* (= pmo., mo. *-yan*; see 'Trois documents', 452-453), and not *qoriya* + *-an* ('Reflexivsuffix'), as stated in TMEN, I, 433. Cf. Oz¹, II, 506; Ba, I, 317. Thus, pmo. **qoriyaγan* = pmo., mo. *qoriya*. On this important word, see TMEN, no. 303.

For the bird and animal similes in this section, see Boyle's comments in Boyle 1978a, 183. Cf. also Lorincz 1975, 121-122.

§ 112. 'A cangue *made of* a wooden board', lit. 'a plank cangue' (*qabtasun buqa'u*), i.e. a heavy wooden board opened in the middle and worn round the neck. Cf. above, n. 81.

'They took him straight (*ĵori'ulba*) to Qaldun Burqan', lit. 'They caused him to aim at/to (= to go straight to) Qaldun Burqan.' Several translators have taken the verb *ĵori'ul-* (fact. of *ĵori-*) to mean 'to cause to lead', i.e. they made Qa'atai Darmala lead (= guide) them to Burqan Qaldun (by the shortest way). This is due to a misinterpretation of the verb *ĵori-* and of the Chinese sectional summary by Haenisch (Ha, 28), perpetuated by Waley (Wa, 240), Ligeti (Li, 36) and myself (Ra, II, 157) among others.

For the abduction of Belgütei's mother Sučigil (*or* Sujigil), see § 102, when after their raid the Merkit chiefs said to each other, 'We have now seized their women.' Unless she had somehow managed to escape, Hö'elün must have been abducted together with Börte and Sučigil, but there is no mention of her, which is interesting.

'I am told that my sons have become *qans*, but here I have been joined with a base man (*ma'ui gü'ün*). How can I now look my sons in the face?' The only surviving son of Sučigil was Belgütei; hence by 'sons' are meant *sensu lato* the other sons of Yisügei Ba'atur, i.e. Temüjin and his brothers. They had not become *qans*, although Temüjin was at the head of his own troops in the attack against the Merkit. Such a statement was obviously put into Sučigil's mouth later and, indeed, the whole episode is of doubtful historicity, finding no support in Rašīd al-Dīn's version of the story of Börte's captivity. See ČK¹, 31-32 (= ČK², 34-36). Apparently, Sučigil had been given to a common Merkit tribesman, hence the reference to the 'base (*ma'ui*, see above, n. 111) man.' It was this socially degrading match, not the sexual fact in itself, that made Sučigil ashamed to the extent of running away from her son. See Ratchnevsky 1976, 516, 527, n. 37. Nothing more is heard about her. In this section, Belgütei receives for the first time the epithet *noyan*,

'chief, noble', which reappears in §§ 190 and 191. See HCG, 185.

'He then shot knob-headed arrows at any men of Merkit stock (*Merkidei ele yasutu gü'ün-ni*).' For the knob-headed arrows (*qodoli*), see above, n. 77, and below, n. 116. For the generalizing particle *ele* used in this context, see Street 1986, 207-209. *Yasutu* is, literally, 'having the bone (*yasu[n]*).' *Yasu(n)* is one of the main kinship terms in the social organization of the Mongols, designating a common (patrilineal) line of descent, thus meaning 'lineage, stem', as well as 'stock', as in *ger. Stamm*. See above, n. 9. For this term, cf. TMEN, no. 405 (and the references contained therein); Cleaves 1951, 75, n. 19; Yang LS 1956, 49-51; MSR, 129; Fletcher 1986, 16. Hence, 'having such a bone' = 'being of such a stock.' Cf. *mo. yasutai id*. See Les., 430a-b. But why did Belgütei shoot *qodoli*-arrows, i.e. blunt arrows, at any man of Merkit stock that he saw in the encampment? I think it was simply to mark them for killing. These bone-tipped arrows, often pierced with holes so that they whistled as they flew (see below, n. 116), were used for a variety of purposes, including ceremonial ones. By hitting a person with such an arrow it meant that that person must die; the actual killing was carried out by the soldiers or guards. It should be noted that, in the present instance, the 'ceremonial' hitting with the arrow was accompanied in each case by the words 'Bring me my mother!', which acted as a sort of imprecatory formula by which the victim was held individually responsible for the *collective* crime committed upon the person of Belgütei's mother. For the earliest recorded instance of the use of 'whistling' arrows to indicate a person to be killed, see the interesting episode from the life of the Hsiung-nu chieftain Mao-tun 冒頓 (209 B.C.) in Krueger 1961. Cf. also KCWL 57, 14a (*shen-tao pei* 神道碑 of Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai 耶律楚材, 1189-1243, by Sung Tzu-chen 宋子貞 [1267]) for another episode involving the use of 'whistling' arrows in Ögödei's reign (1231). See KIPMX, 75, 108-109, n. 114.

'Those suitable to be embraced ... through the door', i.e. they seized the Merkit women and turned them into concubines and slaves, as was the custom. The expression 'to be let through the door' (*e'üten-tür oro'ulda-*) is a euphemism for 'to serve inside the tent as a slave (or serf).' Cf. Oz¹, II, 308, n. 5. For the binomial expression ('*mot-couple*') *eme kö'ün* = 'wife' rather than 'wives and children' (as in On, 41), see above, n. 104.

§ 113. 'With my strength increased by Heaven and Earth.' For the early Mongol concept of Heaven (*tenggeri*) and Earth (*qaġar*) bestowing strength (*güčü*) and protection (*ihe'el*) on a man destined to be a ruler, see de Rachewiltz 1973; Skrynnikova 1989b; KHIV, 62 et passim. For the connotations of the word *güčü(n)* (= mo. *küčü[n]*) 'strength, power' < tu. *küč* id., see TMEN, no. 1662; Skrynnikova 1987, 126-128; KHIV, 100ff. (For the suffixless form with loss of final *n* in the present passive construction, see Poppe 1964, 373, 374.) The Mongol concept of Heaven-granted strength is also borrowed from the Turks. See Clauson 1962, 92-96; de Rachewiltz, op. cit.; Mori 1981, 50-51. On these terms and concepts, see also above, nn. 1, 63, 74 and 113, and below, n. 125. In the present section we have a combination of *tenggeri* and *qaġar* (as in §§ 121, 125, 208, 224, 254, 260, 281), and of *tenggeri* and *etügen* (*ötögen* in § 255). *Etügen* ~ *ötögen* has the regular epithet *eke*: *eke etügen* ~ *ötögen eke* 'Mother Earth.' Whereas *qaġar* means 'earth' *sensu lato* – including the Earth-deity –, *etügen* ~ *ötögen* (*ötegen* ~ *ötögen* < *etügen* ~ *itügen*; pmo. *etügen*, *itügen*, *ötegen*, *ötögin*) *eke* is the Earth-deity *sensu stricto*. (For the association *tenggeri* – *ötögen* and *tenggeri* – *qaġar*, see also the beginning of Hungwu's letter to Ajaširi in the HIIY, *Matériel I*, 1 (1r,2), 15; and Cleaves 1959, 57 [9v]. The Earth-goddess was known also by other names, such as Načiyai (see below). In the early shamanistic conception of the Mongols, (Mother) Earth is the counterpart of Heaven (Above), the Supreme Power of the Turkic and Mongolian speaking peoples of Inner Asia. See

above, n. 1, and, specifically on the role of the Earth as goddess, DBSS, 65-72 (= Banzarov 1981/82, 65-70); Lot-Falck 1956 and 1975; Roux 1962, 199-206; RTM, 132-137. The name *etügen* ~ *ötögen* and its relationship with tu. *Ötüken*, the name of the sacred 'mountain' of the Turks (T'u-chüeh) corresponding to the Khangai range, have been discussed by various scholars, also in connection with the other names (Načigai, Itoga, etc.) of Mother Earth. See, in particular, Pelliot 1929, 212-219; NMP, II, 791-792, s.v. 'Natigai'; Cleaves 1949, 129-130, n. 246; idem 1954, 124-125, n. 326; de Rachewiltz 1982, 61, n. 66; Mostaert 1957a; idem 1962, 201, 218, n. 21; Oz¹, II, 311-312, n. 2; Sinor 1939, 551-555; Dien 1956, 19; SWPB, 123-124, II.10; YSLT 1:1982, 225; *Matériel II*, 4; Cleaves 1991, 136-138, n. 35 (with further references); ASTJ, 25ff.; G. Kara in *Shaman*, 1998, 176-177; and TI, 98-99, n. 255. Cf. also below, n. 238. For the geographical situation of *Ötüken* in Mongolia, see RBC, 197; and Klyashtorny 1982, 346 (cf. below, n. 273). The meaning of *Ötüken* is, probably, 'Lord of Prayer' (< tu. *ötüg* 'prayer, request to a superior' + *qan* 'lord', the latter term often applied to imposing mountains); cf. tu. Tamyan 'Lord of the Wall' (< *tam* 'wall' + *qan*) for the T'ien-shan, and Qadirqan 'The Severe Lord' (< *qadir* 'severe' + *qan*) for the Khingan range. For *ötüg* see below, n. 154.

The words *erketü*, *eke*, *ere* and *ebür* in the poetic passage are in *e*-alliteration; therefore, the epithet *eke* is placed before *etügen* instead of after it, as it should be. *Tenggeri*, 'Heaven', is qualified as *erketü* 'mighty, powerful', but this term means more than that: it designates the 'majestic' power, or authority, of a ruler, be it of heaven or earth. Cf. tu. *erklig* id. in ED, 224a-b. See also Clauson 1962, 96-99. For the alliteration in this stanza, see Poppe 1969, 273-274. (The form *tenggiri*, instead of the usual *tenggeri*, occurs twice in this section, and again in §§ 121 and 125.)

'Carried through' (*gürgejü*): the victory over the Merkit was decreed by Heaven and made possible by Mother Earth. In

other words, She created the favourable conditions for it to be achieved.

‘Of the Merkit people/Who take their revenge as a man *does* (*ere hačitu*).’ *Ere hacitu* is, literally, ‘man-vengeful.’ I base my interpretation on an unpublished note by Mostaert. For other interpretations, see Pe, 151; Li, 36; Cl, 47; On, 41.

‘To empty the breast and tear to pieces (lit. “to break off a piece of”) the liver’ can be understood both figuratively, in the sense of causing extreme affliction and irreparable damage, and literally, as referring to the ancient and well-known ritual of tearing out the living heart and/or liver of war prisoners. Isolated cases of this practice are recorded in Mongolia even in the 20th century. See MHM, 33, 197, 320; and LC, 86-88.

‘We emptied their beds’: cf. § 105 and com.

‘Thus we destroyed (*busan*[g]qaju) the Merkit people: let us *now* withdraw! (*icuya*).’ The verb *busangqa-* (= pmo. *busangya-*) corresponds to mo. *busaniγul-* ‘to destroy, ruin, scatter.’ According to Oz¹, II, 313, n. 5, the correct reading is *busanya-* < *busaniya-* (fact. of *busani-*), but the form *busangya-* is confirmed by § 208 (twice), as well as by AT¹, 29a. As for *iču-* ‘to withdraw’ see *Lettres*, 25; cf. above, n. 73.

In this and several other passages of the SH we encounter words like ‘to destroy (annihilate, bring to an end)’ (*busangqa-*, *bara-*, *ülitke-*, *muqutqa-*), besides those for ‘to plunder’ (*da’uli-*), ‘to crush, suppress’ (*daru-*), and ‘to subjugate’ (*dorayida’ul-*). ‘To destroy’ or ‘to annihilate’ a people (= tribe or subtribe) must not be taken literally – it is merely a way of saying that on that occasion a particular group of people lost through defeat their power and unity, and no longer counted as a force to be reckoned with, chiefly because their leadership, viz. the members of the leading clan(s), were usually systematically killed (unless they managed to flee before the debacle). Accordingly, this ‘destruction’ could be a temporary or permanent event. We find the same terminology in the Old Turkic literature. See also the remarks below, nn. 133 and 154.

§ 114. This paragraph has been discussed in detail and translated in Mostaert 1956.

‘With fire in his eyes’: for this expression, cf. §§ 62, 66, 82 and 149.

The name of the five-year-old (= four-year-old in Western reckoning) foundling was Kūčū, meaning ‘Strength’, or ‘Might’ (see above, n. 113), written Gūčū in § 138 et passim. For *k ~ g* in the SH, see ‘Quelques problèmes’, 240-243.

In the SH the word for ‘boots’ is *qudusun* (cf. § 145), corresponding to mo. *γutul*. For this word see TMEN, no. 263; Serruys 1982, 475-476; Gantogtokh 1989, 119-120; Gantogtox 1990, 125.

‘A dress of otter skins.’ The otter is called *usun-u buluqan* (= mo. *buluyan*), lit. ‘water sable.’

For the important term *sauqa ~ sauqat* (= pmo. *sauya*, *sauγad*) ‘present’ and its history and connotations, besides the references given in Mostaert 1956, 9, n. 10, see TMEN, no. 222; HCWLYTT, 32-39, no. 8; and RH, 291, no. 33: *sauqat* ‘present.’ Essentially, *sauqa(t)* designated presents one took on a journey to repay the hospitality one received, hence a sort of due which the receiver expected by custom – often mistaken by outsiders for a bribe.

With Kūčū (Gūčū) begins the series of orphaned infants and children of enemy tribes, defeated by the Mongols and their allies, who were adopted by Hö’elün or Börte, and who thus acquired the status of brother or son of Temüjin/Činggis Qan. Four foundlings are mentioned in the SH, viz. the Merkit Kūčū/Gūčū (§ 114), the Besüt Kōkōčū (§ 119), the Tatar Šigi Qutuqu (§ 135), and the Hūšin Boroql/Boro’ul (§ 137). Three more are mentioned by Rašid al-Dīn: the two Tatar Tutuqli’ut brothers called ‘Kūli’ (? Tuli) and Qara Mengetü Uha (? Üge), who were not regarded by Činggis Qan as his adoptive sons; and the Tangut Čaqan (Čayan), whom Činggis regarded as his fifth son. See SL, I/1, 108-109; I/2, 266. The theme of Hö’elün’s numerous adoptions is, according to Pelliot, ‘un thème épique fortement sujet à caution’ (HCG, 375), and therefore of doubtful

historicity. However, I do not think that one can justifiably dismiss outright these 'adoptions' which, as shown by F. Aubin, were a regular feature of Mongol medieval life and society, and indeed a well established institution. See Aubin, 1975, 471ff.

§ 115. 'Had smashed the lock-carts' (*čorqan ger čoqoli'ulju*). The word *čorqan* is not glossed in the interlinear translation; however, it is listed in the HIIY, I, 11a, in the form *čo'orqa* with the meaning of 'lock.' See *Matériel I*, 47. The corresponding form in Written Mongolian is *čuyurɣa(n)*. See Kow., 2200a: *čuyurɣan*, *čuyurɣa*, *čurɣa*, *čurɣan*. Cf. Gol., II, 293b: *čuyurɣa*, *čuurɣa*; and kh. *cuurga* 'lock, socket or hole for a bolt.' For mo. *uɣu* = mmo. *ō*, cf. the same phenomenon in Dagur (IMCS, 62-63). Thus, SH *čorqan* = *čōrqan* < *čo'orqan* (w.f. *čoɣorɣan*). Cf. TH, 318 (= JYT, 552); and Oz¹, II, 318, n. 1. See also § 124: *čo'orqatai tergen* 'lock-cart', lit. 'cart having a lock.' The *čōrqan ger*, lit. 'lock-tent', was the locked tent-cart where goods and valuables were stored. These carts are mentioned by medieval travellers like Ibn Baṭṭūṭa. See Li, 150, n. 115. Smashing these movable treasuries to seize their contents, and ravishing the beautiful women (see the second line of this alliterative passage) were the highlights of a successful raid. The word for 'to smash' in our passage is *čoqoli'ul-*, factitive of *čoqoli-*, which corresponds to mo. *čoɣol-* 'to pierce, punch, perforate.' Cf. ord. *čuyuli-* [sic] 'to demolish a building' (according to TH, 317 [= JYT, 550-551]). However, AT¹, 29b, has *čoɣorilaɣu* (not *čoɣorulaɣu* as in ATL, 73), which suggests that the original text may have read *čoɣoriɣulju* = mmo. *čoqori'ulju*, instead of *čoqoliɣulju* = mmo. *čoqoli'ulju*; hence Ko, 227: *čoqoriulju* (cf. *ibid.*, 537 and 611); L², 73: *čoqori'ulju*; and Ir, 81: *čoɣoriɣulju*. Cf. also Pelliot's '*čoqori'ulju?*' in Pe, 29, n. 5. For mmo. **čoqori-*, cf. mo. *čoɣora-* 'to be pierced, to burst open.' Oz¹, II, 317; Γa, 53; and Če, 85, follow the SH reading. Although I opt for the form in *-l-*, which is found in all editions of the SH, the form in *-r-* cannot be excluded on the

grounds of the AT reading. In either case the meaning is not affected.

'The splendid women.' Here the term 'splendid' (*čoqtai*) has class and status connotations, indicating women of rank, as evident from both the Chinese interlinear gloss and the continuous version. See Cl, 48, n. 39.

Orqan = Orqon (< Orqan); for *o* < *a* in the second syllable, see IMCS, 54.

For Talqun Aral, see above, n. 105.

Temüjin and Jamuqa returned together to the latter's camp on the Onon, i.e. in the Qorqonaq Valley (see above, nn. 57, 104); To'oril returned to his camp on the Tūla (see above, n. 96) by way of the Hökörtü Valley north of Burqan Qaldun – this valley in the Great Khentei is still unidentified – and the two mountain passes (?) Qača'uratu Subčit and Huliyatu Subčit. According to Pérlée², 7 and 5, the former corresponds to present-day Gačuur or Gačuurn Am east of Ulan Bator at 47° N and 107° E, and the latter to Uliatain Am (Uliastain Am) at 49° N and 107° E. Pérlée², 5, states that the term *subčit* is the plural of *subči*, a term used by the Mongols in ancient times for a mountain pass (= *am[a]sar*). Cf. Pérlée⁴, 92. This term may be related to *sübe* 'opening, narrow passage.' There are two *subčit* mentioned in this passage: Qača'uratu (= pmo. Qačayuratu, lit. 'Having Spruces') and Huliyatu (= pmo. Uliyatü, lit. 'Having Aspens') Subčit. In the YS² 2, 29, there is mention of a region called 'the region of the Three Sübci(t)', where Tolui visited his brother Ögödei in the summer of 1229. Tolui was then regent of the empire and, as 'guardian of the hearth', his residence was at Činggis Qan's former *ordos* at Köde'e Aral by the Kerulen. We know that soon after this meeting the great *qurilta* that elected Ögödei was held right there (see de Rachewiltz 1993/94, 4-5; and below, n. 269). We also know that Ögödei liked spending part of the summer in the mountains (see Boyle 1972, 127). It is then logical to assume that 'the region of the Three Sübci(t)' of the YS was the mountainous area south of Burqan Qaldun (= Khentei Khan) and east and north-east of present-day Ulan

Bator, thus confirming the localization given for the two *subčit* in the SH, and Pêrlée's identification.

For *abala-* 'to hunt by making a circular battue' (< *aba* 'a circular battue'), and Mongolian hunting practices, see Vlad.², 48-49; TMEN, nos. 1, 570, 582; Harayama 1972 (esp. pp. 1-3); Munkuev 1976, 1ff.; MCS, 27-37; the important contributions of J.A. Boyle, S. Jagchid and C.R. Bawden, D. Sinor and others in JAV (cf. also IACME, III); and M. Tatar in DM, 150-153. Cf. also BM, 245, and MSKK, 29-36. The subject deserves a comprehensive treatment which is still lacking, and not for want of material.

§ 116. This is the first reference in the SH to an earlier oath of *anda*-ship (sworn friendship) between Temüjin and Ĵamuqa, at the time when the former was only eleven (= ten) years old. However, it was only after the defeat of the Merkit that the two friends became truly *andas* (see above, n. 96).

'Let us *now* love each other *again*' (*amaralduya*). For the verb *amaraldu-*, reciprocal form of *amara-* 'to love, to show or express friendship', cf. *Lettres*, 79.

The more solid knucklebones from the tarsus of the roebuck, or made of molten copper, were used for playing the popular game on ice; otherwise, those from a sheep's tarsus were normally used. See Li, 150-151, n. 116. The text literally reads, 'they became sworn friends *through* (= *by means of*) an anklebone filled with (lit. "having") copper (? brass).' 'Through' or 'by means of', expressed with the instrumental case following *ši'a* (= mo. *šaya[n]*) 'anklebone', has dropped from our text but has been preserved in the corresponding passage in AT¹, 30a (*šayai-bar*). Cf. Poppe 1975b, 155-156. My rendering 'copper knucklebone' (*činggültüktü ši'a*) is based entirely on the Chinese interlinear gloss 銅灌的髀石 'knucklebone in which copper has been poured', but ch. *t'ung* 銅 by itself can mean 'copper' as well as 'brass' and 'bronze.' Unfortunately, the word *činggü(l)* is not elsewhere attested with any of these meanings. This has led to differing interpretations.

Cf. TH, 315 (= JYT, 548), and Oz¹, II, 323-325, n. 2, which claim that *činggöl* = mmo. **čenggel* 'something bent like a hook' (> *čengelde-* 'to bend'; cf. MA, 132a); and, according to Ozawa, *činggültüktü* = *čenggültügtü*, i.e. *činggöl* + the denominal noun suffix of manufacture *-ltüig* + the possessive suffix *-tü*. *Čenggültügtü* would then mean 'made with something bent like a hook', and *čenggültügtü ši'a* 'a knucklebone bent like a hook' (ibid., 322). Cf. EI-Ar, 300; On, 42 and n. 124. However, AT¹, 30a, which has the reading *činggel-dür-tü* (corr. *činggeltüg-tü*), has also a gloss to this word reading *nayadundur anu* 'for play', obviously relating the word in question to mo. *čenggel* 'fun, amusement.' Cf. LDAT, 95. For other interpretations, see Γa, 305, n. 403; Če, 85, 334, n. 165; Vietze 1990, 386-387. In my opinion, the Chinese gloss cannot be dismissed without good grounds, and the arguments proposed so far are not wholly convincing. Knucklebones loaded with metal were well known; in Russian there is a special word for them, viz. *svinčatka* 'knucklebone loaded with lead.' For knucklebone games still played by Mongolian shepherds, cf. GMS, 17-28.

Da'utu (= mo. *daγutu*) *yor* 'whistling (lit. "sounding") arrowhead.' These heads, usually made of perforated bone, were used since ancient times by the Chinese and Inner Asian nomads to make the famous 'whistling arrows' (ch. *ming-ti* 鳴鏑). See what has been said above (nn. 77 and 112) about the 'knob-headed arrows' (*qodoli*), some of which were also bored to produce a whistling sound. On the whistling arrows (mo. *boroγa*, etc.), see PHDA, 224-226; Uray-Köhalmi 1953; Wallacker 1958; Li, 150-151, n. 116; and Reid 1992, 88. In the HTSL, 18a, they are mentioned in the list of various kinds of arrows used by the Mongols. See CG, 174-176; cf. MCAT, 132, 26, n. 1; GGMGL, 142. During Činggis Qan's life the Chinese defector Liu Wen 劉溫 had gained renown at the Mongol court for his skill in making whistling arrows. See TOA, 38; HYL, 25, 66, n. 154. William of Rubruck received from Möngke Qayan as a present for the king of France a strong bow and two

arrows with heads of silver, full of holes, which – he writes – ‘sibilant quando iaciuntur quasi fistule’ (SF, 255; cf. GR, 169-170; MWR, 185 and n. 3). No mention of these arrows is found in Marco Polo’s book. For several references to whistling arrows in Chinese literature, see PWYF, V, 4026b; DKJ, XII, 46672.134. Cf. also Tserensodnom 1993, 199. Ĵamuqa made the whistling arrowhead himself by gluing together ‘the two horns of a two-year-old calf’, i.e. the four halves of the two horns of a calf, as correctly interpreted by Cleaves (Cl, 49). For his part, Temüjin gave Ĵamuqa a *qodoli*-arrow, i.e. a knob-headed arrow (see above, n. 112), the knob (lit. ‘tip’: *manglai*; see above, n. 4) of which was made of juniper wood (*arĉa*). *Arĉa* (= mo. *arĉa*; kh. *arc*) is the *Juniperus* L., not the cypress (*Cupressus* and *Chamaecyparis*) as in Cleaves (loc. cit.). See TMEN, no. 448.

For the symbolic meaning of the exchange of knucklebones and arrows between the two *andas*, cf. Roux 1976, 559; idem 1977, 18. See also below, n. 117.

§ 117. This section, fully translated and discussed in Mo, 53-59, begins with the quotation of an alliterative saying of ‘the old men of former ages’ (lit., ‘the former elders’: *uridus ötögüs*), i.e. with a proverb to the effect that two persons that have declared themselves *andu* shared the same life, hence the need for mutual love and protection. For this saying, see Gaadamba’s remarks in which he equates ‘life’ (*amin*) with ‘mind’ or ‘thoughts’ (*sanaya*) (MNTSZA, 118-120). Cf. also Pêrlée 1962, 26-27. For the word *ariĉi* ‘safeguard, protection’, see TH, 95 (= ĴYT, 169).

In the previous section we were told how on an earlier occasion (when Temüjin was eleven [= ten] years old) Temüjin and Ĵamuqa had exchanged gifts to consecrate their oath of *anda*-ship – these gifts being an integral part of the ritual. In renewing their sworn friendship now as adults, a further exchange of presents takes place with more appropriate objects. These consist of golden belts and beautiful horses – all valuable

things and, in the case of the belts, also of great symbolic significance. See above, n. 103; Li, 148, n. 103, and 151, n. 117; cf. Roux 1975, 60; idem 1977, 18-19; Aubin 1975, 466, n. 8; 489 and n. 72; Sárközi 1978, 146; Göckenjan 1998, 141.

Toqto’a’s mare is defined as *esgel* ‘(mare) that has not foaled for several years’, and *qali’un* (= mo. *qali’un*), a term properly designating a horse with a coat varying from yellowish white to yellowish black, with a black mane and tail, and a black stripe along the spine. See Mo, 58. Cf. TMEN, no. 260; HCWLYTT, 154-156, no. 44; RH, 79, no. 3. See, however, below.

For the particle *gü* (= mo. *kü*) ‘also’, see Street 1982, 627. Cf. ‘Trois documents’, 460.

Dayir Usun’s horse was ‘kid-white’ (*ünügün ĉaqa’an*), i.e. its coat was white like a kid’s coat. For *ünügün*, lit. ‘young she-goat’, cf. Hung 1956, 30, n. 5; RH, 218, no. 26 (‘a kid’). It also had a ‘horn’ (*eber*), i.e. a protuberance on its forehead in the shape of a horn – a well-known phenomenon with horses. See Mostaert 1950, 3-4; Mo, 56. There has been some divergence of opinion among scholars on how to interpret the words *ebertü ünügün ĉaqa’an*. See Lubsangbaldan 1989. According to this author, *ebertü* means ‘having whiskers’ (*saqaltai*) rather than ‘having a horn.’ However, his argument runs counter to both the Chinese interlinear gloss and Mostaert’s cogent remarks on the subject. It is also not certain whether the expression *ebertü ünügün ĉaqa’an* is purely descriptive or is the actual name of the horse. Cf. Mostaert 1950, 4, and Mo, 55, from which it appears that Mostaert actually regarded it as the horse’s name. This also applies to the words *esgel qali’un* discussed above, which may well be the name of Toqto’a’s horse. Cf. Ev-Pop, 83.

For the Leafy Tree (Saqlaqar Modun ~ Mudun) in the Qorqonaq Valley (Qorqonaq Ĵubur), see above, n. 57. Our passage specifies that the Leafy Tree was ‘on the southern side of the Quldaqar Cliff in (lit. “of”) the Qorqonaq Valley’ (*Qorqonaq Ĵubur-un Quldaqar Qun-nu ebür-e*). The Quldaqar Cliff is mentioned only once in the SH and its situation is

unknown; apparently it was somewhere in this unidentified valley at the headwaters of the Onon River on the eastern slopes of the Khentei. The fact that it was at the Leafy Tree that Temüjin and Ĵamuqa renewed their pledge confirms the assumption made earlier that the Leafy Tree was a place consecrated by tradition and a locality where important ritual acts were carried out accompanied by dancing and feasting. Cf. §§ 57, 206. For *modun* ~ *mudun*, see above, n. 79.

For the words *toyilan* 'feasting', see Cleaves 1949a, 520; Poppe 1955, 41.

'They slept together', lit. 'they spent the night together.' For *könjile* 'blanket', see Cleaves 1985, 249, n. 57. Some scholars (e.g. Onon, Ozawa, Even and Pop) relate *qaqča* 'alone' (ch. *tu* 獨) to *könjile-de'en*, lit. 'in their blanket', and understand 'under one blanket', but this is not correct. Cf. § 201 for Ĵamuqa's recollection of these early events.

§ 118. 'Temüjin and Ĵamuqa loved each other ...', lit. 'When Temüjin and Ĵamuqa loved each other, they loved each other ...'

'From their present encampment', lit. 'from that encampment *where* they had been staying.'

'They broke camp and set out ...', lit. 'When they moved on, they moved on ...'

Alačuq, which I translate as 'shelter', is a Turkic word designating a type of tent or, as is more likely in the present context, a light summer hut made of tree-bark or twigs. Cf. Poppe 1955, 38; Mu, I, 219-220, n. 11; Khomonov 1970, 36; MSR, 121; TS, 94; Rassadin 1995, 113; and especially TMEN, no. 519. A literal rendering of the sentence would be 'Let our horse-herders reach (= have sufficient) tents!'

'There will be enough food/For our shepherds and lamb-herds!', lit. 'Let our shepherds and lamb-herds reach (= have sufficient) *food for* the gullet!' For *qoniči(n)* 'shepherd' (pl. *qoničit*), see TMEN, no. 118; Poppe 1975, 167. Here we find the form *qoninčit* instead of *qoničit*. Cf. *qonint* for *qonit* (§

124); *qant* for *qat* (§ 272); and *qadunt* (= *qatunt*) for *qatut* (§ 198). See Mo, 109; *Matériel II*, 38 (13r, 3). The verb *gür-* (= mo. *kür-*) 'to reach, attain to' indicates here the attaining of a state of sufficiency or even plenty. See Kow., 2653b: 'suffire, être suffisant'; DO, 438a: *k'ur-* id. This is important to understand Ĵamuqa's apparently cryptic utterances, which somehow remind us of Bodončar's riddle in § 33.

It is clear that Ĵamuqa is offering Temüjin a choice: *either* to pitch camp on the wooded mountainside, where the horse-herders would be better off since they would be able to build themselves shelters with bark and twigs, *or* to pitch camp along the river, where the shepherds could find better grazing for their animals. On the face of it, Ĵamuqa's question is anything but an idle one; on the contrary, it must have been dictated by a practical exigency. What may have puzzled Temüjin and made him suspect an ulterior motive, was *the way* Ĵamuqa put the question and the fact that he left the choice to him, ostensibly the junior partner. It was, however, Börte who, with her sudden intervention (she did not even give Hö'elün the chance to express her opinion), fanned Temüjin's suspicions and was actually responsible for his decision to abandon his partner. One may argue, as Lattimore does, that Ĵamuqa, prompted by power rivalry and seeking a confrontation with his *anda*, would have opposed Temüjin's choice *in any case*, hence Temüjin's legitimate doubts. Equally plausible is Grousset's suggestion that Börte's action can be explained by her desire to precipitate a confrontation with Ĵamuqa who, she may reasonably have felt, was an ambitious man and Temüjin's major obstacle to tribal leadership. She played an almost identical role in relation to Kököčü Teb Tenggeri (§ 245). See Lattimore 1963b, 62; CW, 77. But one should not lose sight of one important thing that tends to be overlooked, viz. the 'riddle' element in Ĵamuqa's question (note that in the SH account the words are in alliterative poetry!), a riddle that Temüjin admits he 'couldn't understand.' Börte's words, too, indicate that she could not understand the meaning of the words, but she believed they

concealed a scheme against Temüjin, hence her reaction. If neither Temüjin nor his wife could understand Ĵamuqa's poetic riddle, what hope have we, who are so far removed from that culture, to understand what was the *real* meaning of those words?

I am of the opinion that the story of Ĵamuqa's cryptic utterances and Börte's interference is nothing but the *post eventum*, 'official' justification for what was, in effect, Temüjin's callous betrayal of his sworn friend and ally. He used this technique throughout his career, as amply shown by the SH, and *we* need not be deceived by poetic riddles. The separation from Ĵamuqa was no doubt due to Temüjin's ambition to gain supremacy – as a leader in his own right – over the subtribes and clans that owed allegiance to the Mongol (= Mongqol) tribe, as subsequent events will show. However, it seems that the actual rupture of the friendly relations between the two *andas* was somehow engineered by Temüjin's senior relatives Altan and Qučar, who were at that time in Ĵamuqa's camp (see § 127). The exact circumstances (and backstage machinations) which culminated in the break-up will never be known and we can only make a guess on the basis of the available source material, much of which is tendentious. This paragraph has caused a good deal of controversy among ideologically motivated scholars and different interpretations have been put forth (some of them patently spurious) which have further coloured – and clouded – the issue. Cf. GKV, 30-32; Vlad.², 105-107; Ko, 38-41; Da⁵, 62; Lattimore, loc. cit.; idem 1978, 133; Gumilyov 1974, 201; Hambis 1975, 14, n. 23; H. Hasumi in ACS 28:1978, 1-13 (covering SH, §§ 118-123); Hamayon 1979, 128-129; Ja, 134-135, n. 3; ČK¹, 34-35, and, especially, note 134 on p. 34 (= ČK², 37-39, 230, n. 163); Načurydorži 1989 and Nacagdorž 1990 (reviewing also Barthold's, Kozin's and Gumilev's theories); On, 43, n. 127 (cf. the somewhat expanded 2001 version, 96-97, n. 245); Wu Pao-shan in ÖMBYS, 1990.2, 116-118; and Meserve 2001, 94.

'These words of Ĵamuqa ... these words of his', lit. 'this word of Ĵamuqa ... this word of his.' For the use of *ene* 'this' and *tere* 'that' in the SH, see Street 1990 (esp. pp. 179, 186).

'Grows *easily* tired' (*uyidangqa*), i.e. 'bored (= fed up).' Cf. mo. *uyid-* 'to be bored, fed up.' Cf. also § 179.

'Let us separate completely (*šili'ui-a*).' *Šili'ui-a* (= pmo. *siliγui-a*) is an adverbial dative of *šiliγui* ~ *šiluγui* (cf. AT¹, 31a). Cf. mo. *siluγun* 'straight(forward), upright.' In other words, the separation should be 'neat', hence 'complete.'

§ 119. The Tayiči'ut, it will be remembered, were last mentioned in §§ 79-87, quite sometime before the current events. Then it was Temüjin who was in dread of the Tayiči'ut 'relatives' who had captured him and from whom he had so successfully escaped. But now Temüjin has become a leader in his own right and when the inevitable split with Ĵamuqa occurs, the Tayiči'ut, still hostile to him, naturally side with Ĵamuqa as many other clans did, the Besüt among them. The Besüt were also related to Temüjin's line via the common ancestor Qaidu (see § 47). On them, cf. HCG, 156.

Kököčü is the second of the several foundlings adopted by Hö'elün and Börte (see above, n. 114). He was found in the Besüt camp which, according to the SH, was within the larger encampment of the Tayiči'ut (cf. § 138), and consequently was a Besüt, not a Tayiči'ut (Aubin 1975, 471). He became a commander of a thousand (no. 18 in § 202); his last appearance is in § 244 of the SH. On him see Mu, II, 362-363, n. 25. He must not be confused with Kököčü (Teb Tenggeri), one of Father Mönqlik's sons (see § 244 and com.).

In this section (§ 119) we have the first occurrence of the term *bidanu'ai* 'ours', i.e. 'our people' = Temüjin's people, the Mongqol tribe. This *may* indicate that the narrator was an actual witness or participant in the events, as suggested by Gumilev. See Gumilyov 1974, 196 (where, however, '§ 120' is a mistake for '§ 119'). Gumilev's date of 1182 for the split between Temüjin and Ĵamuqa is based on Rašid al-Dīn (see SL², I/2,

120). In view of what has been said earlier (see above, n. 104) and the fact that a year and a half had elapsed between the Merkit's defeat and the separation of the two *andas* (see § 118), I think it more likely that the latter episode occurred in 1183 or 1184. It should be noted that Rašīd's account of these events differs from the SH version, as do also the accounts in the SWCCL and the YS. For these discrepancies, which at present cannot be reconciled, see SL², I/2, 85-86; YS² 1, 3-4; HCG, 24-25, 265-267; GK, 37-39. Cf. also EM, 566.

§ 120. 'The three Toqura'un brothers', lit. 'these three Toqura'un elder brothers and younger brothers.'

This section contains an interesting list of Temüjin's early *nököt* (see above, nn. 13 and 90), recorded for posterity with the tribes and clans from which they came – twenty-one altogether (however, the Ĵalayir are mentioned twice, and the Barulas also twice). Except for one group (the Ba'arin), none of them actually formed a *güre'en* (= mo. *küriyen*) or circular camp (see above, n. 90). Nevertheless, they represented the nucleus of the tribal power that allowed Temüjin to begin the difficult ascent to steppe supremacy. At this stage Ĵamuqa commanded more prestige as a leader, as evidenced by the support he retained from among other major groupings which, not long after, led to his resounding victory over Temüjin at Dalan Baljut (§ 129). Indeed, Temüjin's decision to break with Ĵamuqa may appear to have been somewhat hasty and premature, although ultimately it paid off handsomely. Cf. ČK¹, 35-37 (= ČK², 39-40).

Several of the clans and tribes are already mentioned in the previous chapters. They are the Barulas (§ 46), Mangqut (§ 46), Arulat (§ 47), Uriangqai (§§ 9, 12, 97), Besüt (§ 47), Suldus (§ 82), Qongqotan (§ 47), Olqunu'ut (§ 54), Dörben (§ 11), Noyakin (§ 46), Oronar (§ 47), and Ba'arin (§ 41). These, and most of the other tribes, clans and personages mentioned in this section are discussed in HCG, passim (see the Index); and in Mu, I, 222-242. Most of the personages listed appear again, and repeatedly, in the SH, and they are known to us also through the

Persian and Chinese sources. Cf. Honda 1952, 61ff. The etymologies of many of their names are discussed in Poppe 1975, 161, 163, 165, 166; and in Bese 1974, 92, 93, 94; idem 1978, 358-359, 361-362; idem 1980, 323; idem 1988, 18-19, 22-23, 26-27, 33-35, 38. Some additional references are given below.

Of the three chiefs of the important Ĵalayir tribe (on which cf. HCG, 65-66 et passim, and below, n. 137) only the third brother, Qaraldai Toqura'un, appears again in the SH (§ 124). Qada'an Daldurqan is one person, not two (Pe, 154, n. 1; Ha, 31; Do¹, 83; Oz¹, II, 342); see §§ 124 and 174. The Čangši'ut and the Baya'ut were two subordinate tribes of the Kiyat. There is a long discussion on them in HCG, 82ff. Cf. also below, nn. 213 and 239. For Önggür, the son of Mōnggetü Kiyān, besides HCG, 77 et passim, see also W.K. Park in *MH* 2:1994, 48-62; and below, n. 213. For Ĵetei of the Mangqut, see Boyle 1956, 149. Ĵetei's brother Doqolqu Čerbi has been wrongly identified by Rašīd al-Dīn with Bo'orču's brother and the Arulat clan. For the source of this error see HCG, 353, and Li, 175-176, n. 227. Cf. also Boyle, loc. cit.; TMEN, no. 205; Ratchnevsky 1966, 183, n. 12; and TDMI, 464. Doqolqu's designation of *čerbi* (pl. *čerbin*) 'chamberlain' (cf. also Ögölen Čerbi and Söyiketü Čerbi in this section) is a well-known ancient Mongolian official title, but its functions are still imperfectly known since they are nowhere spelt out in detail in our sources. Apparently, one of the main functions of a *čerbi* was to supervise the domestic staff of the *qan*'s establishment. See below, n. 191. (The appointment of Doqolqu, Ögölen and Söyiketü as *čerbin* is actually recorded in § 191.) The name of Degei's younger brother Küčügür is transcribed as Güčügür in § 124. For Küčügür ~ Güčügür, cf. 'Quelques problèmes', 242-243. For this name see below, n. 141. On him see also § 223, where he appears with the epithet *moči* 'carpenter' because of his appointment as manager of the tent-carts. Taki of the Suldus is called Taqai Ba'atur in §§ 151 and 186, and Daqai in § 126. For this personage, see HCG, 126-128, 254-255; and below, n.

186. Cf. also Rybatzki [2003], s.v. 'Taqai ~ Daqai.' For Ögölen (~ Ögölei ~ Ögöle ~ Ögele) Čerbi, see Boyle 1963, 237, no. 3, and Bese 1980, 323. As noted by Pelliot (HCG, 348), Bo'orču was an only son (cf. § 90), hence Ögölen Čerbi, who is called here 'younger brother' (*de'ü*), must have been his younger cousin. The same applies to Ča'urqan and Sübe'etei, who were the younger cousins, not brothers, of Ĵelme. (Ča'urqan and Sübe'etei were the sons of Qaban; Ĵelme was the son of Old Ĵarči'udai, see § 97.) For this usage, see above, n. 74. For the Arulat (cf. § 47), see also TMEN, no. 18. For the role of the Uriangqai Ča'urqan (on his name see below, n. 183) and Sübe'etei (on whom see below, n. 199), cf. Jackendoff 1977, 27ff. As in other similar instances in the SH, Sübe'etei's epithet Ba'atur (on which see above, n. 50) is introduced here anachronistically. It would seem that the designations conferred on the above personages on this occasion were confirmed in 1204, at the time of the reorganization of the army by Činggis Qan prior to his campaign against the Naiman, but another interpretation is possible, viz. that they are called *čerbi* here (and in § 124) retrospectively, as indeed is the case of Sübe'etei's appellation of Ba'atur. See below, n. 191. For Söyiketü Čerbi see HCG, 256; Boyle 1963, 242, no. 16; Hambis 1975, 42ff.; and below, n. 191. Sükegei Ĵe'ün of the Sükeken (corr. Sügegen, see HCG, 129) appears several times in the SH (§§ 124, 151, 177), also with the correct spelling Sügegei (§§ 126, 177, 181). On him see HCG, 127, 255-257; Bese 1988, 33-34. Čaqa'an U'a (on this name see HCG, 137-138) was a Ne'üdei (w.f. Negüdei), i.e. a member of the Negüs (or Ne'üs < Negüs) tribe, on which see *ibid.*, 70. See also below, n. 129. For the Qorolas (~ Qorulas), see below, n. 141. For the name Moči ('Carpenter') of Moči Bedü'ün, see Cleaves 1951, 99-100, n. 152. On him see also below, n. 209. For the name Ikires, cf. also TMEN, no. 651. With regard to Butu, son of Nekün of the Ikires, the SH says that 'he had made his way here', i.e. he had come to Temüjin's camp 'as son-in-law' (*gürege[t]-te*). This is

a set expression meaning 'as (one does in the case of) sons-in-law' (see above, n. 66) and should not be taken literally. Butu had come to stay with Temüjin because he was engaged to his sister Temülün (see § 60), who must have been fourteen or fifteen at the time. Butu did indeed marry her; later, after her death, he married Činggis Qan's daughter Qočin or Qojin Beki (see § 165; cf. also § 202). His name should probably be read Botu, not Butu, on the strength of other Chinese transcriptions. On him see SL², I/1, 132, 164, 165; I/2, 70, 179, 271; CG, 244b (Index); HCG, 49-50; Ratchnevsky 1966, 184, n. 12; *idem* 1976, 525-526, n. 22; and Bese 1978, 361-362, no. 11. For the Barulas and Qaračar, cf. § 202, and Grupper 1992/94, 21-22. Qorči is here a proper name – the name, in fact, of a famous future commander (see §§ 202, 207, 241); however, the word *qorči* is a well-known Mongolian official title meaning 'quiver-bearer', and one held by several personages in the SH. See Cl, 257b-258a. Cf. above, n. 2. For this title, see HCG, 20, 75; TMEN, no. 301; HCWLYTT, 96-99, no. 21; MKSLT, I, 725-736; and also DO, 709b. For Old Üsün (Üsün Ebügen), see below, nn. 210, 216. For Kökö Čos of the Ba'arin (see above, n. 41), cf. also Gaadamba 1968, 86-87.

Several of the personages in this section have compound names, such as Qada'an Daldurqan and Sükegei Ĵe'ün. In a few instances the Chinese interlinear version glosses each element of a name as a 'person's name', thus making it appear (as in the case of Qada'an Daldurqan) that we are dealing with two individuals instead of one. This is due to the fact that the Ming authors of the interlinear version were not aware that these were double names. See Cl, 52, nn. 49 and 50; and Pelliot's comments in HCG, 333.

'Also came as one camp (*güre'en*)', i.e. forming a circular camp. For *güre'en*, see above.

§ 121. The Ba'arin clan to which Qorči belonged claimed descent from Bodončar and the woman from the Ĵarči'ut whose capture is related in § 38. The Ĵajirat, alias Ĵadaran, clan to which

Ĵamuqa belonged also claimed descent from this couple. See §§ 40, 41. Cf. above, n. 104. This accounts for Qorči's remark about their common origin. As already noted by Gaadamba, the graphic expression he used is an idiom or set phrase from everyday parlance stressing the common origin from the same mother or ancestress (not from the same father or ancestor alone, who may have had several wives). See MNTSZA, 120-123 (see below, however, regarding Gaadamba's interpretation of the word *keke* of the saying in question); Cérénsodnom 1986, 80. Cf. Bese 1973. In the free sectional summary the idiom in question is rendered with its Chinese counterpart *t'ung-pao* 同胞, lit. 'from the same womb' – still a common term expressing consanguinity. The forefather Bodončar is called *boqdo*, glossed *hsien-ming* 賢明 'wise and enlightened.' In the SH the form *boqdo* alternates with *boqda* (= mo. *boγda*), from which it derives through assimilation of the vowel of the second syllable to that of the first syllable. Cf. §§ 200, 254: *boqda*, and § 254: *boqta* (pro *boqda*). Here, however, *boqdo* is a term of respect for the illustrious ancestor, corresponding to our 'august, blessed.' Cf. Pe, 154. Strictly speaking, Bodončar Boqdo is Bodončar the August. Cf. § 254, where this epithet is applied to Činggis Qan's deceased mother Hö'elün.

'Womb water' (*keke*), i.e. the amniotic fluid: *hehi* (< *kekei* ~ *keke*) in the contemporary Naiman dialect of Inner Mongolia. See TH, 210 (= JYT, 364). The rendering 'caul', i.e. 'placenta', by several translators (e.g. On, 45; but see his revised version in the 2001 ed., 99) is supported, however, by MÜIT, 1001a, where this meaning is listed together with that of 'amniotic fluid.' In MNTSZA, 120-123, as well as in Γa, 310-311, n. 419, Gaadamba interprets *keke* as corresponding to *eke* 'mother', which is unwarranted. I think it is better to follow the Chinese gloss (*pao-chiang* 胞漿, lit. 'womb fluid').

'We would not have parted from him, but a heavenly sign appeared before my *very* eyes revealing *the future to me*', lit., 'We would not have parted from Ĵamuqa, *but* a portent (*ja'arin*)

came (= occurred) and showed *the future* to my eyes.' The word *ja'arin* (= pmo. *jaγarin*) is a deverbal noun in *-ri(n)* from *ja'a-* (= pmo. *jaγa-* ~ *jiγa-*, mo. *jiγa-*) 'to announce; to foretell.' For the suffix *-ri(n)* designating the result of an action, see GWM, 49, § 179; MÜIT, 2857b-2858a, no. 523 (cf. *sa'uri* ~ *sa'urin* 'seat'); Mo, 223, n. 209. Thus, *ja'arin* is, literally, 'announcement; foretoken, sign', i.e. 'portent, omen' – rendered in the Chinese gloss with *shen-kao* 神告, lit. 'divine announcement' = 'a portent or omen from Heaven (or the gods).' I have, therefore, rendered *ja'arin* as 'heavenly sign.' Cf. Pe, 155: 'signe céleste', Ha, 32: 'himmlisches Zeichen', etc. This word occurs again in § 206 in the full expression *tenggeri-yin ja'arin* 'heavenly sign', and in § 244 in the plural form *ja'arit* 'heavenly signs', as also in the second occurrence in § 121. The use of this term, which derives from a verb meaning 'to announce', is justified by the fact that these 'signs' consist of a portent conveying a verbal message from Heaven – a phenomenon also common to other cultures (cf. the 'signs' in the Bible). I think that this is a satisfactory explanation. However, some scholars, both in Mongolia and in the West, suggest or claim mainly on linguistic grounds that *ja'arin* designates either a person, i.e. a shaman, or a heavenly spirit ('esprit céleste') acting as an agent of Heaven. See Humphrey 1994, 201 (and the references to Mongol scholars in note 12, where, however, that to 'Dashtseren 1985: 151' is not *ad rem*), and Ev-Pop, 85, 174, 204. In view of the above, I am of the opinion that this is definitely not the case. Note 133 in On, 45, which is based on TH, 287 (= JYT, 496-498), is somewhat misleading since it is not true – as Onon claims – that 'in Orkhon Turkish *ja'arin* meant "to foretell, prophecy."' Tu. *yarin* means 'shoulder-blade', and a semantic relationship between this word and mmo. *ja'arin* 'sign, portent' (as postulated in TH, loc. cit.) is purely hypothetical. Cf. Oz¹, II, 349, n. 3; TMEN, no. 150; and CCME, 204.

The tent-cart (*ger tergen*) was a mobile tent (yurt), i.e. a tent permanently mounted on a cart. Some of them were apparently very large and, according to some early accounts, had to be

drawn by up to twenty-two oxen. See William of Rubruck's description in his *Itinerarium* (SF, 172-173; MM, 94; GR, 90; MWR, 73). They are often mentioned by medieval travellers. Cf. Li, 151-152, n. 121. See also Cleaves 1955, 37-38, n. 26; CEME, 15-16; and in particular Gervers & Schlepp 1995 for a redimensioning of the facts.

'With uneven horns' (*so[l]jir ebertü*), i.e. with 'horns the tips of which are not on the same level, but where one is lower than the other.' See DO, 581b. This is, of course, because one horn had partly broken off. For an interpretation of the symbolism of the fallow cow and the hornless ox in terms of an 'animal judgement', see Meserve 2001, 94-95.

'She kept saying, bellowing repeatedly', lit. 'saying and saying, bellowing and bellowing.' 'Raising more and more dust', lit. 'raising and raising the dust.' Note the repetition of the same words to create a stronger effect. For the word *muqular* 'hornless (ox)', cf. § 214; see HCG, 57; and Pao, 57, n. 60 (Pao, however, was not aware of Pelliot's remarks in HCG).

The 'wide (lit. "great") road' (*yeke terge'ür*) is the royal road along which Temüjin proceeds on his way to supreme power. The *qan*'s imposing tent harnessed to the ox symbolizes the whole domain and people (*ulus*) which Heaven and Earth have jointly decided to entrust to Temüjin. According to Ligeti, the great shaft under the tent – its 'backbone', as it were – is the very symbol of sovereign power. See Li, 152, n. 121. The quality of 'great(ness)' (*yeke*) attached to all these images pertains to the supreme leader and the royal clan.

'Lord of the people' (*ulus-un ejen*), an expression often rendered as 'Lord of the nation (or country).' Cf., for example, Na², 96; Ha, 32; Li, 39; Mu, I, 243; Do¹, 84-85; Ja, 140; Ta, 53; Cl, 53; On, 45 ('nation's master'). Such a translation is certainly acceptable; however, I prefer to be consistent with my translation of the same expression in § 53. Cf. Pe, 155, where a similar consistency is observed. We must not forget that, historically, we are 'supposed' to be still in a situation which is not fundamentally different from that of Ambaqai's time, even

though the author(s) of the SH, writing much later, probably used here the word *ulus* in the then current meaning of the '*qan*'s patrimony', i.e. the Mongol nation *sensu lato*, the empire. Nevertheless, the same expression occurring in the Chü-yung kuan inscription in 'Phags-pa script (1345) is also rendered as 'Lord of the People' in MMHS, 61. For further remarks on the subject, cf. also KHIV, 28-29; above, n. 53, and below, n. 202.

For the verb *jī'a- ~ ja'a-*, glossed *kao* 告 'to announce, inform, tell', which has in the present context also the extended meaning of 'to reveal in advance, foretell, prophecy', see above.

For the office of commander of ten thousand (*tümen-ü noyan*), see below, n. 191.

'So many great affairs (*törö*)', lit. 'so many principles (or norms, laws).' *Törö*, glossed here *tao-li* 道理 'principle', refers to fundamental matters concerning governance. For this pregnant word, see TMEN, no. 134; the discussion in KHIV, 45-51, 116ff.; and WG, 481 (Index).

'To take freely' (*darqalan*), i.e. enjoying the status of *darqan* 'freeman, privileged.' See above, n. 51.

Qorči asks as reward for his prophecy to be allowed to choose thirty beautiful women as wives, i.e. one for each night of the month. On polygamy among the Mongols, cf. Ratchnevsky 1976, 514-515. Qorči's request was eventually granted. See §§ 207, 241.

'Heed me closely', lit. 'listen turning towards me' (*minu esergü sonos*).

§ 122. The Geniges claimed descent from Čaujin Öртеgi, the third son of Qaidu (see § 47). Cf. HCG, 74, 344. They likewise came as a circular camp (*güre'en*); see above, n. 120. The same applies to the other groups mentioned in this section. To avoid the continuous repetition of the word 'circular' throughout the translation of this section, 'camp' stands for 'circular camp.'

Qunan (= pmo., mo. Гунан) means 'Three-year Old.' See Cleaves 1949b, 432-433. Qunan of the Geniges appears again in §§ 202, 210, 216 and 243.

For the word *teri'üten* 'having at the head; and others', see Ligeti 1971, 142-143.

Dāritai Otčigin was the younger uncle of Temüjin mentioned in §§ 50, 54, 56. On him see above, n. 50.

For the Ĵadaran or Ĵajirat clan, see § 40, and above, nn. 104, 121. Cf. also Ratchnevsky 1987, 64. For Mulqalqu, see also §§ 124, 223; Mo, 134.

On the Ünjin (= Nünjin), a clan or subtribe (*oboq*) of the Oronar, see HCG, 71, 73, 76. For the Saqayit, see *ibid.*, 71; Poppe 1975, 166, 167.

For the unidentified locality Ayil Qaraqana on the Kimurqa Stream, see above, nn. 88, 107.

Sorqatu Ĵürki (*or* Yürki) first appears in § 49 under the erroneous name of Qutuqtu Yürki. See above, n. 49. For the Ĵürki(n) or Yürki(n), the *oboq* that claimed descent from Sorqatu Ĵürki, see Vlad.², 90-91; HCG, 200-201; Cleaves 1955a, 385; Hao Shih-yüan 郝時遠 in CKMKSC, 279-285; and Poppe 1975, 165. Cf. below, n. 139. Sača Beki (called Seče Beki in § 49; for the title *beki* see n. 49), was Temüjin's first cousin. For his brother Taiču, also mentioned in § 49, see HCG, 180-181.

For Nekün Taiši, the second son of Bartan Ba'atur, see §§ 50, 54, 56; HCG, 184-185.

For Nekün Taiši's son Qučar (~ Qočar) Beki, see HCG, 68-69, 184. Being the son of Nekün Taiši, he was also Temüjin's first cousin.

Altan Otčigin is the Altan of § 51, third son of Qutula Qan, and therefore first cousin of Yisügei. Cf. HCG, 125, where Pelliot's criticism of T'u Chi is, however, unwarranted. For his designation *otčigin*, see above, n. 51.

Regarding the movements of Temüjin and his new allies, it is evident from the last paragraph of this section that, after having spent some time at Ayil Qaraqana by the Kimurqa to gather the clans that had defected from Ĵamuqa, Temüjin returned to his home grounds at Qara Ĵirügen in the area of (lake) Kökö Na'ur, the river Senggür and the Gürelgü mountains (see above, n. 89). Appropriately, it was there that he will be

elected chief of the confederated tribes as related in the next section.

§ 123. This is one of the most important sections of the SH, since it records Temüjin's 'first' election as *qan* and his alleged assumption of the name Činggis, both events raising complex issues. The promoters of such an election are his three cousins Altan, Qučar and Sača Beki mentioned in the previous section (§ 122), who, as the more senior members of the Kiyat BorĴigin lineage, unanimously agreed to appoint him their leader and chief of the new tribal confederation. Sinor's statement that none of the three men in question were 'of outstanding importance' (Sinor 1993, 247) is inaccurate considering that these men were all rightful pretenders to *qan*-ship and, as pointed out by Ligeti (Li, 153, n. 130), they actually abdicated their birthright in favour of Temüjin with their oath of allegiance. The text says: *Altan Qučar Sača Beki bürün (?) eyetüldüjü*. The word *bürün*, converbum praeparativum of *bü-* 'to be', is somewhat puzzling here; the Chinese transcription *pu-lun* 不倫, glossed *kung* 共 'together', may indeed stand for *bolun* 'together', or for *bürin* ~ *bürün* 'all' (for *i* ~ *ü*, cf. *üjig* ~ *üjüg*, etc.), as suggested by Oz¹, II, 359, n. 1; and El-Ar, 328, n. 1. Cf. Pe, 32, n. 3; H, 111, n. 123. However, in the SH *bürün* is used also as subject emphazier, as in § 90: *nökör či bürün ... ayisu* 'Friend, you came' The Chinese gloss indicates that the more likely reading should be *bolun*, but the Chinese sectional summary renders the word in question with *chung-jen* 衆人 'everyone, all.' Moreover, the reading *bürün* is supported by the 'bükün' of AT¹, 32b – an obvious copyist's error. Though the problem is unresolved, the meaning is clear. The issues concerning the election will be discussed further on, also in the light of § 179.

'Palatial tents' (*ordo ger*), lit. 'ordo-tents', i.e. the large and splendid tents belonging to the *ordo* or *qan*'s 'Palace' (often used in the hon. plural: *ordos*; cf. HW, 126), a tent complex consisting of his residence and those of his dependants. For

these tents, see Gervers & Schlepp 1995, 102, 115. In the present translation, *ordo ger* as a generic term is rendered 'palatial tent(s)'; however, when used with reference to Činggis Qan's own residence, especially in his ordinances concerning the Guard (*kešik*) duties, it is rendered as 'Palace tent.' This is the first occurrence in the SH of the word *ordo*, an important term in Turkic from which it passed into Kitan, Mongolian, etc. In origin, *ordo* designated the camp of the élite cavalry guard of the *qan* in the middle of which stood the *qan*'s tent or yurt. An excellent description of the *ordo* organization of the Kitans is found in the *Liao-shih*. See HCSL, 732a, for the numerous references to this term. For its usage in Turkic, see ED, 203a-b; and DTS, 370b; and for its diffusion, see TMEN, no. 452. Cf. also Yanai's important essay in MSK, 663-768; Pelliot in *TP* 27:1930, 208-210; Munkuev 1976, 430, n. 19 (where, however, the reference to Weng Tu-chien's article is not pertinent); MSR, 120, 121; Pritsak 1988, 772; and below, n. 229. There is no textual justification for the six words that Poppe (1975b, 155) claims should be inserted between *ger* and *qari irgen-ü*.

'Foreign people' (*qari irgen*). For the term *qari* 'foreign (= other, different from us)', see de Rachewiltz 1982, 59, n. 50; cf., however, Ligeti in *AOH* 38:1984, 330, n. 30; and de Rachewiltz in *ZAS* 19:1986, 32. See also Sugita 1979, 45; Oz¹, II, 360, n. 2; and below, n. 255.

'Ladies and maidens (*ökin qatun*) with beautiful cheeks.' As noted by Ratchnevsky, the finest looking women were reserved by right for the *qan*. See Ratchnevsky 1976, 513. For the expression *öki(n) qatu(n)*, see above, nn. 54 and 55. Cf. the episode about the beautiful Qulan and Naya'a related in § 197, which illustrates the application of the *jašaḡ* in this regard. Cf. also Vernadsky 1938, 342, 351. Poppe's rendering of the passage from *öngge sayin* to *öksü ba* (Poppe 1975b, 155) is vitiated by an unwarranted insertion of several words in the Mongol text.

Oro'a görö'esün 'the cunning wild beasts.' For *oro'a* (= *mo. oroγa*) 'cunning' = 'difficult to catch', see Ozawa 1972, 580. Cf. Oz¹, II, 360, n. 4; DO, 520a.

For the verb *utura-* 'to go first (i.e. as headmen of hunters) to close the chain of a battue and round up the wild game', see TMEN, no. 39; Oz¹, II, 360-361, n. 5; and Rassadin 1995, 113.

'We shall drive ... until their bellies (thighs) press together', lit. 'We shall press ... until their bellies (thighs) become like one', i.e. in such great numbers that they are thoroughly squeezed one against the other. This poetic passage up to this point is repeated with a slight variation in § 179.

For *qala* 'order, command', see Poppe 1967, 514-515, no. 8.

'Deprive (lit. "separate") us from *all* our goods and belongings (*qari širi*).' The expression *qari širi* is a '*mot-couple*' the origin of which is obscure and the meaning much debated. The rendering in the Chinese interlinear version ('family property, livelihood' 家活) is supported by that of the free version ('house/family possessions or goods' 家財) and cannot, therefore, be rejected. The reading *širi* in *qari širi* (v. *šili* and other readings) is supported by AT¹, 33a: *qara siri*. For other interpretations, see Gaadamba 1970, 29-31 (Gaadamba's interpretation, on which see below, was adopted in Ra, III, 163 [see also *ibid.*, p. 174, n. 123; and Aubin 1974, 13]); Mu, I, 250, 253-254, n. 7; TH, 190 (= JYT, 329-330); Oz¹, II, 362, n. 8; On, 46 and n. 135. Cf. also Khomonov 1970, 36. A few lines below we encounter the parallel expression *eres qara* in which *qara*, also glossed *chia-huo* 家活 ('family property, livelihood'), poses some questions: 1) is *qara* the same as *qari*?; 2) if so, is *qari* a mistake for *qara* (cf. AT *qara siri*), or does *qari* stand for *qariyatu* 'dependant, subject' (as some suggest)?; 3) if *qara* is the correct reading, does it stand for *qaraču* 'commoner' (as some suggest) or, with its original meaning of 'black, common, vulgar', does it qualify *eres* 'men, domestics', thus *eres qara* = 'domestics, retainers'?; 4) should we read *harad-ača* instead of *qara-dača*, i.e. 'from the people', as has been done by Haenisch

in H, 25, and Ligeti in L², 80 (but not in the latter's translation, cf. Li, 40: 'black-haired relatives')? Ligeti's reading in L² has been adopted also by Gaadamba (Γa, 59). Opinions on the interpretation of this expression vary a good deal. I again think that the Chinese gloss cannot be lightly dismissed and that the expression *qari širi* must be closely related in meaning to *eres qara*, also in view of the parallelism of *qatun eme* and *eme kö'üt* 'women (= wives).' Clearly, *eres* means 'men' in the sense of 'domestics, retainers', and *qara* (~ *qari*) 'family livelihood', i.e. 'goods, possessions'. Therefore, I translate *eres qara* as 'retainers and possessions.' I should add that this expression is confirmed by the AT¹, 33a (where however *eres* is written *ires*). *Qara* ~ *qari* presents no real problem, for the alternation *a* ~ *i* in the second syllable is attested elsewhere in the SH. Cf. § 57 *qura*- 'to assemble', and § 164 *quri*- id. (see HW, 72; cf. 'Quelques problèmes', 268). Finally, I think that *qari* ~ *qara* (< *qari*) is used here in the derivative meaning of 'belonging, dependant' (< 'foreign, subject', see above); and *širi* is probably the same word that occurs in the compound *ōri širi*, 'debt, obligation, duty', which must have had a wider semantic range at the time – the general idea being of 'things' that pertain, are due to, or belong (by right) to one's family. Although this agrees with Gaadamba's *literal* interpretation of the two terms, the actual meaning of the expression *qari širi* as understood by him (= 'external clans', i.e. those clans that, by agreement or tradition, regularly gave their young women in marriage to men of certain other clans) is quite different. I believe that in the text adduced by Gaadamba to support his interpretation, the expression *qari seri* (read *qari širi*) has exactly the same meaning as in the SH. See the passage in question in ČQČ, 155. Cf. ÈLI, 17.

For *qara teri'ü* 'black head', see above, n. 21, where the connotations of the word *qara* 'black' are discussed. Here Altan, Qučar and Sača Beki want to emphasize their inferior position as retainers of Temüjin in a graphic, physical way. For the expression *eme kö'üt*, another 'mot-couple', see above, n. 104; Mo, 42.

'Cut us off', lit. 'causing to part' (*hiriče'üljü*). *Hiriče'ül-* is the factitive of *hiriče-* 'to part, separate (from)', a rare word in Mongolian, but occurring three times in the SH in the forms *hiriče-* (§ 123), *hirije-* (§ 178) and *iriče-* (§ 203), which shows the instability of the initial *h-* in the 14th century. See 'Quelques problèmes', 260. This verb has disappeared from the later literary language as well as from most living languages and dialects. On it, see TH, 193 (= JYT, 335).

'Into the wilderness', lit. 'into a land without a lord' (*eje* [AT¹, 33a: *ejen*] *ügei qajar-a*), i.e. 'into a no-man's land.' For this expression, see Kow., 1000b; Les., 336b. Cf. below, n. 149. Note that this sentence, which concludes the three men's formal pledge to their leader, ends abruptly without being followed by the usual quotation verb *ke'e-* (*ke'en*, *ke'esü*). The same occurs in AT¹, 33a. See Cleaves 1982, 81, n. 30. Cf. below, nn. 124, 125 ad fin.

For the expression *üge baraldu-* 'to take counsel, deliberate; to pledge one's word', cf. *Lettres*, 78-79.

'(They) made Temüjin *qan*, naming him Činggis Qa'an.' As is known, Činggis Qan was elected supreme tribal leader at the great assembly in the Year of the Tiger (1206; see § 202), and it was apparently on that occasion that he was also given the name of 'Činggis' (see below). The title he held was, of course, *qan*, not *qa'an*, the latter being a retrospective conferment. See above, n. 1. However, it seems likely that it was at the earlier election described in the present section that Temüjin was made *qan*, almost certainly in opposition to his rival Jamuqa and his confederate tribes which elected the latter as their leader, and which in the year 1201 (?) conferred on him the title of *gür qa* (= *qan*). See the SH, § 141 and com. This raises a chronological problem. When did the first election of Temüjin as *qan* take place? In view of what has been said in n. 119, this election must have taken place about 1184, i.e. some twenty-two years before the great *qurilta* of 1206. Cf. Chia & Hung 1981, 166, who also suggest 1183 or 1184. Pelliot, who discusses this problem in NMP, I, 295-296, has unfortunately confused the

first proclamation of Temüjin 'as king of the Mongols' with Ĵamuqa's proclamation in the Year of the Hen (1201) as described in SH (§ 141), and his argument is therefore invalid. However, it is true that the Year of the Rooster can be either 1189 or 1201, and *if* Temüjin's first election was held in or about 1184, it would seem more likely that Ĵamuqa was elected *gür qan* in 1189. This, however, runs counter to Rašid al-Dīn's chronology, according to which the events surrounding the election of Ĵamuqa happened in 1200 (see below, n. 141). If we assume with Pelliot, Ligeti (Li, 152, n. 123) and Cleaves (Cl, 68) that the Year of the Rooster corresponds to 1201, we are left with a gap of about seventeen years between 1184 and 1201 during which the events described in §§ 120-141 took place. The dating of the first election remains doubtful and no exact year can be assigned to it; but it certainly occurred quite some time before that of Ĵamuqa. The statement in On, 46, n. 136, that the first election 'ceremony took place in 1189 AD, when Chinggis Qahan was 28 years old' is in line with the date adopted by official Mongol historiography, as well as by Mongol historians in China. See OMT, 861; BNMAUT¹, 206; Bira 1991, 34; Rasinodzer in *MKUJ*, 1990.2, 30. Cf. Kradin 1995, 136-137. The date (1189) as well as Temüjin's age at the time (28) are, in fact, those given by Saġang Seġen and the later Mongol chronicles (see ET³, 29r01-03; GOM, 71; Źamc.², 33), which also give 'Ködöge (= SH Ködö'e) Aral of the Kerülen River' (see below, n. 136) as the locality where the election was held. This is at variance with the SH account, according to which Temüjin was elected *qan* at Kökö Na'ur of Qara Ĵirügen. Clearly, we are dealing with different traditions. Temüjin's age of twenty-eight (twenty-seven by our reckoning) rests of course on the date of 1162 for his birth. See above, n. 104. As is well known, the SH is weak on chronology, the 'Year of the Rooster' (*takiya ĵil*) of § 141 being the first firm date given in the work. It is indeed remarkable, as L. Clark points out (Clark 1978, 44), that whereas Ĵamuqa's election date is mentioned, no date is assigned in the SH to *both* Temüjin's election as *qan* and his

assuming the designation 'Činggis Qan.' From § 124 on, Temüjin actually ceases to be called Temüjin and is only referred to as Činggis Qa'an. In subsequent passages of the SH (§§ 125, 126, 127, and probably also § 124, where the word *qan* at the beginning of this section may have dropped out [see Pe, 32, n. 6, and below, n. 124]), reference is made to Činggis Qa'an 'having become *qan*', thus reinforcing the impression that the title of *qan* and the new name or designation were conferred at the same time. Rašid al-Dīn (SL², I/2, 252) claims that the name 'Činggis' was given to Temüjin by the Mongols after the defeat of the Kereyit in 1203, and (*ibid.*, 150) that the designation 'Činggis Qan' was 'confirmed' in 1206. On the other hand, in another passage of this work (*ibid.*, 253; cf. also SL², I/1, 167), he relates that Činggis Qan was so named in 1206 by Kököġü Teb Tenggeri (see below, § 244), no doubt following Ĵuvainī (HWC, 39). The SWCCL¹, 57a, and the YS² 1, 13, both state that Činggis Qan received this 'honourable appellation' in 1206 and there is no reference in these works to an earlier enthronement. Some scholars, e.g. Vladimircov and Grousset, are of the opinion that the title 'Činggis Qan' was conferred on Temüjin at the time of the first enthronement as *qan* and later re-conferred or confirmed at the *qurilta* of 1206. See GKV, 33-34, 54; CW, 80, 166. Other scholars, among them Hambis and Ratchnevsky, believe that Temüjin was elected *qan* at the first enthronement and that he assumed the title 'Činggis Qan' in 1206. See GK, 59-60; ČK¹, 40 (= ČK², 43). This is also the official position of most contemporary Mongol and Russian historians. See HMPR, 107-108. Cf. BNMAUT¹, 206, 214; BNMAUT², 148, 149. See, however, Bira 1991, 34, for whom Temüjin was given the title 'Činggis' by the shaman Kököġü at the (first) enthronement in the year 1189. Ligeti (Li, 152, n. 123; 169-170, n. 202) says that, at the first enthronement, Temüjin was given the name 'Činggis' and was invested as *qan* by his clan, and that this election 'within the family' provided him with a legal basis but little real power; in 1206 the proper election took place, with all the aristocracy of the steppe

participating in it. Pelliot (NMP, I, 296) is uncommittal as to the date (end of the 12th century, 1203, 1206) when the Mongol leader assumed the title 'Činggis Qan.' I am inclined to think that at the earlier enthronement, the date of which (as stated earlier) remains uncertain, Temüjin was only elected *qan*, and that the more grandiose and sophisticated designation 'Činggis Qan', now truly appropriate to his new dignity and power, may have been 'created' specially for the occasion by the 'shaman' Kōkōcū Teb Tenggeri and conferred upon him at the 1206 *qurilta*. It is therefore anachronistic for the SH to designate him as such before 1206, but anachronisms of this kind, particularly with regard to titles, are common in the SH. For further comments on the 1206 *qurilta*, see below, n. 202.

The 'title' 'Činggis Qan' and its meaning have attracted much scholarly attention. For a comprehensive review and discussion, see de Rachewiltz 1989. This appellation is composed of two elements, viz. the epithet *činggis* and the title *qan*. Until quite recently it was generally accepted that 'Činggis (< tu. *teŋiz*) Qan' meant 'Universal Ruler' – an interpretation proposed by Ramstedt and Pelliot. Cf., e.g., BNMAUT¹, 206, and Shu CP 1979. However, as indicated in de Rachewiltz 1989, 282-288, a more likely interpretation of the word *činggis* is 'fierce, hard, tough'; 'Činggis Qan' would then mean 'The Fierce Ruler.' This interpretation has now been adopted also by Mongolian scholars. See Bira, loc. cit. In D. Sinor's opinion (p.c.), which I now share, Činggis 'is not a title but rather a personal name such as Hungarian Szilárd "firm, solid" or, for that matter, Constantinus.' Cf., however, F.W. Cleaves *apud* Fletcher 1986, 22, n. 7; B. Dorž in *Mongolica* 1 (22):1990, 47-50, and *MH* 1:1993, 144-150; and Ž. Ganbold in *MNT*, I, 104-107. For a recent (posthumous) contribution to the problem, see also B.I. Pankratov in *SNV* 26:1989, 180-189. For the various forms of the name in the Chinese, Tibetan, Persian and other transcriptions, see NMP, I, 281; Cleaves 1949b, 418-419. For tu. Čingiz, cf. also Geng & Hamilton 1981, 49a.

With regard to Temüjin's election as *qan* by Altan, Qučar and Sača Beki, it is important to note the following. In § 123 there is no mention of these three personages claiming the leadership, i.e. the *qan*-ship, for themselves, something they were entitled to in view of their seniority. However, when Temüjin sent his famous messages to Ong Qan and Ĵamuqa reproaching them for their objectionable behaviour towards him, he also sent a message to Altan and Qučar (who had by then turned against him), the wording of which is preserved in § 179. From Temüjin's *tirade* it appears that he had originally offered the *qan*-ship to both Altan and Qučar, as well as to Sača Beki and his brother Taiču (see n. 122), because they were the sons of Nekün Taiši, Qutula Qan and Bartan Ba'atur 'from the senior line' (see n. 179 for the error in genealogy in the case of Sača and Taiču). But, according to Temüjin, they had all refused in spite of his urging, and it was in fact *they* who insisted that he should become *qan*. Had one of them taken up the leadership, Temüjin would have served him, and would indeed have performed all those tasks to which Altan, Qučar and Sača Beki refer in the poetic passage in § 123. This retrospective justification on the part of Temüjin to legitimize his earlier assumption of power must be taken with all due reservation, since his protestations were not so much directed to the personages in question, but rather to all the other tribal chiefs whom he was trying to win to his cause. Cf. Bira, op. cit., 33-34. We must also take into account the fact already mentioned (see above, n. 118) that, according to § 127, it was the same Altan and Qučar that were responsible for the rupture between Temüjin and Ĵamuqa by causing ill feeling between the two *andas*. In § 127, Ĵamuqa asks these two personages why they had not elected Temüjin *qan* when he and Temüjin were still friends, and what they 'have in mind now' after electing him *qan*. Thus, the role of Altan and Qučar is extremely ambiguous at a time of shifting alliances and broken loyalties, when it was not yet at all clear which of the two former sworn friends, now rivals for leadership and power, would emerge as victor.

For some interesting remarks concerning the formal oath of loyalty as preserved in the SH, see Li, 152, n. 123; Ratchnevsky 1987, 66-67; and Barkman 1991.

Ligeti, loc. cit., is no doubt correct in regarding Temüjin's election to *qan*-ship as an election 'within the family', i.e. by his own clan. Therefore, one cannot regard this as a proper *qurilta* or assembly. In those cases where a proper *qurilta* was held, the word 'to assemble' (*či'ul-*, *quri-*) is regularly present in the SH. See §§ 141, 202, 269, 282. Cf. Endicott-West 1986, 528ff.

§ 124. Upon his election as tribal chief (read *qan* for *qa'an*), Temüjin – now already called Činggis in the SH (see above, n. 123) – appoints his first office-bearers, as was the custom. See Li, 152, n. 124. As a mark of their office dignity, he gives his newly appointed *čerbin*, or chamberlains, a quiver each to suspend from their belt. On the office of *čerbi* and the personages in question, see above, n. 120. For the ceremony of the 'remise du carquois', and the expression *qor aqsa-* 'to attach or suspend a quiver to the belt', cf. Roux 1975, 58; idem 1977, 23; D. Dašbadrax in MNT, I, 81-86; Göckenjan 1998, 145.

Several of the names in this section are of personages mentioned in §§ 120 and 122. Ögölei Čerbi is the Ögölen Čerbi of § 120 and the Ögele Čerbi of § 191. Qači'un Toqura'un is the eldest of the three brothers, all chiefs of the Ĵalayir, mentioned in § 120. Ĵetei and Doqolqu Čerbi (his title has dropped out in Cl, 55), as well as Önggür, Söyiketü Čerbi and Qada'an Daldurqan were also all mentioned in § 120. For the others, see below.

'Your morning drinks;/...your drinks/In the evening!', lit. 'The morning drink/... the evening drink!' For *megüde'ül-* (= pmo. *megüdegül-*) 'to cause to lack', cf. 'Trois documents', 443; for *osolda-* 'neglect', cf. Cleaves 1992, 149, n. 47. After proclaiming their diligence, the three are appointed 'cooks' or rather stewards (*ba'určün*, mo. *bayurčün*). For this important office, see TMEN, no. 82; Ratchnevsky 1970, 420, n. 21; HCWLYTT, 57-60, no. 14; MKSLT, I, 707-723; Miller 2000,

205-212; and CCME, 127-128. As pointed out by Ratchnevsky 1965, 99, n. 46, the office of *ba'urči* was more than that of a simple cook: the holder was in charge of the administration of victuals and was also the chief cup-bearer.

For Degei of the Besüt see above, § 120, and below, §§ 210 and 222. For the first four lines of the poetic passage concerning Degei's duties (which earned him the epithet of *qoniči* or 'shepherd'; see § 222), see Cleaves 1949a, 520-522; and Bese 1970a, 341ff. The following are some additional references to individual words and expressions in the passage in question: *šilegü irge* 'a two-year-old wether', cf. Gantogtokh 1989, 118-119; Gantogtox 1990, 124; *šülen* 'broth, soup', cf. TMEN, no. 246; Khomonov 1970, 38; RH, 293, no. 44; and SFQ, 43-44, n. 68; *qonoq* 'night' (more precisely 'a day and a night'), see above, nn. 67, 68; for *alaqči'ut* (= mo. *alaχči'ud*) 'pied, motley', cf. Poppe 1975, 166; for the form *qonint* (= *qonit*) 'sheep', see above, n. 118. *Alam* 'bottom of the cart' is a problem word. Haenish (HW, 4) and Ko, 539 (following HW), read *alan*; Pe, 32, and L², 81 (followed by most others) read *alam* – all of them rendering the term according to the Chinese gloss 'bottom of the cart' (車底). Al, 49, and Bö, 81, read *aral* 'shaft or body of the cart.' TH, 93 (= JYT, 165) reads *alam*, but understands 'enclosure (pen) for domestic animals', following VWTD, I, 251 (s.v. 'aran'). On, 47 and n. 137, agrees with the latter and translates 'sheep-pen.' Oz¹, II, 370-371, n. 5, adopts the etymology proposed by TH, but reads *aram*, which is more in line with the Turkic form. The form *alam* is confirmed by AT¹, 33b, and the Chinese gloss is too specific to be dismissed. The etymology proposed by Poppe (< tu. *alin* 'the bottom part') must be the correct one. See Poppe 1955, 38; Mu, I, 264, n. 6. *Qongqoči'ut qonint* (= *qonit*) 'brown sheep.' For *qongqoči* < *qongqor* 'chestnut horse' (cf. above, n. 90), see Vietze 1990, 386; *qoton* ~ *qotan* '(sheep-)fold, enclosure (> town)', cf. MA, 302a; Mu, I, 264-265, n. 8; Khomonov 1970, 36; and below, n. 247; *qonjiasun* (in the text *yonjiasun*) 'tripe' or, more strictly, 'rectum (anus)', cf. Vietze, loc. cit., and Gantogtokh 1989, 119;

Gantogtox 1990, 125; *qo'olančar* = mo. *qoγolančar* 'gluttonous'; cf. Poppe 1975, 162.

It is interesting to note that the quotation verb *ke'e-*, in the usual form *ke'en* (= mo. *kemen*) 'saying', is omitted at the end of this poetic passage, here presumably dropped in the transmission of the text since AT¹, 33b, has retained it. Cf. above, n. 123.

Degei's brother Güčügür is mentioned in § 120, where his name is transcribed as Kūčügür. See above, n. 120.

For *či'ü* (= pmo. *čigü*) 'linchpin', cf. Khomonov 1970, 35. AT¹, 33b, has '*činu*', an obvious scribal error for '*čigü*.' Cf. ATL, 83. *Čo'orqatai tergen* 'lock-cart', lit. 'cart having a lock'; see above, n. 115. Cf., however, On, 47, n. 138: 'suspension-strutted cart', following AT⁴, 164, n. 12.

For *tenggisgetei*, lit. 'having an axle(tree)', cf. Cl, 56, n. 57; Oz¹, II, 372-373, n. 9. As noted by Ozawa, *tenggisgetei* appears to be an error for *tenggiligetei* (in the Chinese transcription 患 *pro* 里), *tenggeli(g)* meaning 'axletree.' See above, n. 101. On the other hand, *tenggisge* may be a word in its own right with the same, or a related, meaning. Cf. Do², 69, n. 8.

Dödei Čerbi – *čerbi* is the title he acquired because of his functions (see above, n. 120) – will appear again in the SH (§§ 191, 193, etc.). His name can be also read Dodai. Cf. Cl, 56 et passim; Cleaves 1949a, 528. The Chinese transcription permits both readings; my reason for adopting the form Dödei (as in Pe, 33, and L², 81, where 'Dögei' is an error for 'Dödei'; cf. *ibid.*, 149) in preference to Dodai is that the former is the reading found in AT¹, 33b.

Gergen tutqar (= pmo. *tudqar*) 'domestics and servants.' For this compound, see the important remarks in Cleaves 1949a, 522-525. Cl, 56, renders it as 'maidservants and manservants.' Cf. Oz¹, II, 373, n. 12.

For Qubilai of the Barulas, Čilgütei of the Suldus and Qarqai (~ Qaraqai) Toqura'un of the Ĵalayir, see § 120. Qasar is Joči Qasar, Činggis Qan's younger brother. The function of these officers (as intimated by the fearsome but rather vague

command) is to chastise those whose excessive pride and arrogance oppose them to their leader. To carry a sword (*ıldü* = mo. *ıldü[n]*; pl. *ıldüs*), i.e. to be an *ıldüči* (= mo. *ıldüči*), was a special prerogative; indeed, this very designation became a title, like *qorči*, lit. 'quiverbearer', etc. Cf. TMEN, no. 69; ETI, 91a, s.v. '*ıldüči*.'

For the verb *onglaži-* 'to cleave, cut in two', cf. § 208: *onglalda-* 'to be cut off.' On this word see Oz¹, II, 375, n. 16.

Belgütei was Činggis Qan's half-brother; Qaraldai Toqura'un of the Ĵalayir was the younger brother of Qarqai (~ Qaraqai) Toqura'un (see above, and § 120).

Aqtači 'equerry', from *aqta* (= mo. *ayta*) 'gelding' + the vocational suffix *-či*. For this word, see TMEN, no. 9; CLC, 115.

'Tayiči'udai, Qutu Moriči and Mulqalqu.' Most translators have taken 'Tayiči'udai' as the ethnicon of Qutu, Moriči and Mulqalqu. However, Bese 1987, 45-47, has conclusively shown that Tayiči'udai is a person's name (probably the same personage of the Suldus tribe mentioned in § 120), and that, consequently, Moriči 'The Horse-herder' must be the appellation of either Qutu or Mulqalqu. In my opinion the appellation can only refer to Qutu (~ Qudu/Qodu), possibly to distinguish him from other personages by the same name. For the various forms of this name, cf. HCG, 284ff. Mulqalqu is almost certainly the same personage of the Ĵadaran tribe mentioned in §§ 122 and 223.

For Arqai Qasar of the Ĵalayir, see § 120; he will reappear in § 127 et passim. Taqai of the Suldus is the Taki of § 120, and the Daqai (< Taqai) of § 126. He is repeatedly mentioned in the SH. On him see above, n. 120. The full name of Sükegei (*read* Sügegei) is Sügegei Ĵe'un; cf. §§ 120, 177, 181. On him see above, n. 120. Ča'urqan and Sübe'etei Ba'adur of the Uriangqai were the two younger brothers of Ĵelme; cf. § 120.

The couplet 'Be *my far-flying* shafts,/Be *my near-flying* arrows!' has been the subject of much discussion and speculation. See Yü YA 1949; Khomonov 1970, 39, s.v. '*odola*';

Vietze 1990, 385; Cérénsodnom 1986, 70; Tserensodnom 1993, 196-197; Fa, 317, n. 437; On, 48, n. 140. *Qo'očaḡ* and *odora* are the names of two types of arrows (see the Chinese interlinear version and HW, 66, 121); they are used here as a simile for reliable men that could be entrusted with long and short range missions, i.e. special envoys and couriers (*elč'in*), as evident from §§ 126, 127, 151, 177, 181 and 183. Cf. Serruys 1958, and below, n. 177. Unfortunately, it is impossible to establish with certainty which types of arrows are meant, and even the correct reading of *odora* (? *odola*) is in question. Cf. Oz², I, 132-133, n. 10. The reading *odora* is supported by AT¹, 33b, where, however, this word is incorrectly glossed as *uduridqal* 'leadership, guidance.'

For the last passage in poetry, cf. Khomonov 1981, 56; idem 1970, 33, 35. See also Cleaves 1953, 87, n. 29; Ligeti 1971, 147.

For *keri'e* ~ *keriye* 'crow', cf. TMEN, no. 329.

'I shall hoard up', lit. 'I shall collect.'

'Felt covering' (*nembe'e isgei*), lit. 'covering felt.' For *isgei* ~ *sisgei* 'felt', a term employed in the present section with reference to both a felt blanket or coverlet (used for horses as well as for humans; cf. the Chinese sectional summary, Y² 3, 48a) and a windscreen for the tent, see Gervers & Schlepp 1995. The form with *s-* occurs in § 202; *isgei* occurs again in § 203. For the latter, cf. mo. *isegei*, *esegei* id. *Sisgei* is a form found in other early texts. See, e.g., *Matériel I*, 94: *sisgei* 'feutre'; MA, 323b: *sisegei* 'felt'; RH, 251, no. 12: *siskei* 'felt'; and 278, no. 6: *siske* id. Cf. Khomonov 1970, 33; Oz¹, V, 100, n. 1.

'On your tent!', lit. 'in the direction of the tent!'

§ 125. 'When Činggis Qa'an became *qan*.' Cf. AT¹, 34a: Činggis *Qayan*: *qayan bolju* 'when Činggis Qayan became *qayan*.' In § 124 we had Činggis *qa'an bolu'at* 'Činggis having become *qa'an*.' Cf. AT¹, 33a: Činggis *qayan boluḡad* id. Thus, in §§ 124 and 125 Činggis is said to have become *qa'an* and *qan*. This inconsistency, coming immediately after the last sentence of §

123 (to the effect that Temüjin was made *qan* – but *qayan* in AT¹, 33a!), indicates that *all* the terms *qa'an* (*qayan*) in these sections are the result of later editorial changes, the original recension having *qan* throughout. Cf. also § 126 where it is clearly stated that Temüjin had been made *qan*, not *qa'an* as in § 124 (in the AT¹, 34a, all the titles *qan* of § 126 have been changed to *qayan*). In the SH, §§ 57 and 58, we have a parallel case with regard to Qutula, who in § 57 was 'made *qa'an*' and 'raised as *qan*', and in § 58 'became *qa'an*' – again a confusion of titles due to the later editors of the text. Cf. above, n. 1.

Ĵelme of the Uriangqai had last been mentioned in § 120 in connection with his two brothers Ča'urqan and Sübe'etei. On him see above, n. 97. While Ĵelme was one of the 'four hounds', Bo'orču was one of the 'four steeds' (see above, n. 90); being among the oldest and chosen companions (*nököt*) of Činggis Qan, they are put in charge of all the other officers – cumulatively referred to as *ötögüs* 'the senior ones' (for this term see above, n. 78) – that Činggis has just appointed.

For the first occurrence of the sayings quoted in the alliterative passages, see §§ 76, 77 and 78. For the use of the corroborative particle *je* in these passages, cf. 'Trois documents', 461. 'You shall dwell!' (*aduqai*) is, literally, 'Let it be!', but as already noted by Pagba, what is meant is 'You shall be!' See VG, 62.

'When Heaven and Earth increased my strength and took me into their protection', lit. 'When I was protected by Heaven and Earth, *my* strength being increased.' For this passive construction, see Poppe 1964, 369, 370 (where, however, the pronouns 'you' and 'your' should be replaced by 'I' and 'my'). For the concept of Heaven's and Earth's bestowal of protection and strength on Temüjin/Činggis Qan and his lineage, see nn. 1, 113; de Rachewiltz 1973. The theme is a recurrent one in the SH and other 13th century documents.

'For my sake', lit. 'thinking (fondly, i.e. out of affection or love) of me.' Cf. Mo, 178, n. 159: 'par affection pour moi.'

This passage is understood differently in On, 49. However, the Chinese sectional summary (Y² 3, 49b) leaves no doubt as to the correct meaning. See Pa, 63. Cf. Do¹, 90.

'My lucky companions' – lucky (*öljeiten*, pl.) because they were going to share in his good fortune. Cf. the frequent compound expression *öljei qutuqtu* 'lucky (or fortunate) and happy' (§§ 200, 204, 211), which is also used to emphasize the fact that the individuals in question had the good fortune of being associated with Činggis Qan, or of being Mongols.

'I have appointed each of you to your respective office', lit. 'I have appointed you (*tan-i*) to office in all (i.e. separate, different) directions (*jük jük*).' This last, closing sentence is understood differently by Ozawa ('[Thus] he appointed them each one separately', i.e. each of them to his office). See Oz¹, II, 378 and 380, n. 5. Cf. also El-Ar, 341. It is true that the sentence ends abruptly, without the closing quotation verb *ke'ebe* 'he said' which we would normally expect. This fact had alerted Naka to the possibility of a lacuna. See Na¹, 120; Na², 102 (cf. also Mu, I, 260). However, in order to accept Ozawa's interpretation it is necessary to substitute the pronoun *tan-i* 'you' (acc.) with *teden-i* 'them'; nevertheless, the sentence still remains an awkward one. In my view, the substitution is not warranted, since there are several such cases in the SH, and at least one other case in the HIIY (IIb, 21r, 2), where the verb *ke'e-* at the end of a quotation is omitted. See SH, §§ 105 (ad fin.), 123 (after the last quotation), 124 (after Degei's words), 135 (after Mother Hö'elün's words), and 260 (after the last quotation). Moreover, the absence of the final quotation verb in the present section is confirmed by the AT¹, 34a. Therefore, we must regard this phenomenon as a peculiarity of the language of these documents. See above, n. 123. For *tüši-* 'to appoint to an office', cf. TMEN, no. 139.

§ 126. Daqai (< Taqai) is the same personage called Taki in § 120, but Taqai in all other instances. On him see above, nn. 120, 124. Cf. Cl, 58, n. 64. For Sügegei, i.e. Sügegei Je'un, see

also nn. 120, 124. For the role of Daqai (Taqai) and Sügegei (Sükegei) as envoys, see Yü YA 1949, 3. Cf. § 151 and com.

'With the message that Činggis Qa'an had been made *qan*', lit. 'saying that one had caused Činggis Qa'an to become *qan*.' For the question of Činggis' name and title, see above, n. 125.

To'oril Qan, i.e. Ong Qan of the Kereyit, was last mentioned in § 115, when he returned to his encampment in the Black Forest on the Tūla after the successful joint campaign against the Merkit. In the present section, To'oril calls Činggis Qan 'my son' because Činggis regards him as his adopted father owing to To'oril's earlier bond of *anda*-ship with Yisügei Ba'atur. See § 96 and above, n. 104.

'To'oril Qan sent them *back* with the following message' renders the final two words *ke'ejü ilejü* (read *ilejü* < *ilejü'ü*), which are translated by Cleaves as 'sent saying' (Cl, 58), the subject being To'oril Qan. Waley 1960, 525, understands them simply as 'thus he (i.e. To'oril Qan) spoke.' Cf. Cleaves 1979, 73. Oz¹, II, 382, regards *ilejü* as a converbum imperfecti instead of a contracted form of the praeteritum imperfecti of *ile-* 'to send', and leaves the sentence unfinished ('he sent saying ...'). The correct form, already given in Bö, 83: *ilegejügüi* (= mmo. *ilejü'üi*, pmo. *ilejügüi*), is also found in Γa, 62: *ilejügüi*, and is confirmed by AT¹, 34b: *ilegejügüi* (where pmo. *ile-* > mo. *ilege-*). For *-jü'ü* (*-jügü*) ~ *-jü'üi* (*-jügüi*), cf. JŠ, 131-132, § 221; UGPM, 158-159, § 34; KCI, 914-915. However, in view of the Chinese transcription, I think that the original text used by the Ming editors actually had *ilejügü*.

'How can the Mongols be without a *qan*?', lit. 'How can the Mongols be (or live) without a *qa*?' Here we meet for the second time the *n*-less form *qa* (= *qan*) about which see above, n. 57. For the rhetorical question posed by To'oril Qan, cf. Ligeti 1971, 145.

'Do not dissolve your bond', lit. 'Do not dissolve (= undo) your agreement and bond (= binding decision) (*eye janggi*).' For *janggi*, see TMEN, no. 151.

'Do not tear off your collar!', in other words: 'Do not remove (*or* reject) your leader now that you have one!' For this simile, see § 33 and com.

§ 127. For Arqai Qasar and Ča'urqan, see §§ 120, 124; for their role as envoys, see Yü YA 1949, 7-8.

For Altan and Qučar who, with Sača Beki, had played a major role in the election of Činggis Qan, see § 123 and com.

'Give *this* message to ...', lit. 'when he sent saying, "Say to ..."' For *ügülejü ile-*, see Aalto 1973, 36.

'Did you ... cause a split ... without causing ... to fall apart?', lit. 'Did you cause to separate ourselves ... without causing to separate ourselves?'

'Poking in the flanks,/Pricking the ribs/of the sworn friend?' Here 'flanks' (*sübe'e*) and 'ribs' (*qabırqa*) indicate the region of Temüjin's heart and liver which Altan and Qučar had 'needled', thus provoking his animosity against Ĵamuqa. The needling implied in this saying is that caused by stinging, i.e. malicious, words. The verb *qatqu-* (= mo. *qadqu-*, *qadqa-*) 'to prick, sting' is used also metaphorically in the sense of 'to excite, induce trouble.' Cf. Kow., 784a; Les., 904a. For this imagery, see Mo, 98, n. 93; cf. below, §§ 177 and 201. See also Cérén-sodnom 1986, 70.

'Just what did you have in mind now', lit. 'Now, thinking just (*ele*) what thoughts.' For the particle *ele* in this context, see Street 1986, 10-11, 4.2.

'Keep to the words you have spoken.' For the expression *ügüleksen üges-tür-iyen gür-*, cf. *Lettres*, 31; and above, n. 104.

'Be the good companions', lit. 'be companions in a good (= fitting) manner.'

§ 128. In this and the following section (§ 129), Taičar is called the *de'ü*, i.e. younger brother, of Ĵamuqa. In view of Ĵamuqa's explicit statement in § 201 that he had no younger brothers, the word *de'ü* must be taken here in its other meaning of 'younger kinsman' (such as a younger cousin, cf. §§ 120, 124, 128). On Taičar see HCG, 29-31, and below.

For the name Ĵalama (occurring in § 174 as a noun meaning 'magic strip', see below, n. 174), cf. *ibid.*, 142-143. This mountain has not been identified, but since the mountain itself and its Ölegei Spring (*bulaq* = mo. *bulaγ*; on this term see SMT, 17, and Serruys 1990/91, 226, no. 18; cf. TMEN, no. 809, and RH, 245, no. 1.) were near the Sa'ari Steppe, they must also be situated between the Tūla and Kerulen rivers. *Ölegei* means 'baby's cradle.' See HCG, 31; Khomonov 1970, 32. The Sa'ari Steppe (Sa'ari Ke'er, i.e. the Rump[-like] Steppe or Plain, see above, n. 56; for *sa'ari* [= mo. *saγari(n)*], cf. TMEN, no. 1212, and Ligeti 1959, 238) is one of the important localities of the SH, and Pelliot has discussed it at length in NMP, I, 319-325. According to the French scholar, it was a valley in the basin of the upper Kerulen, between this river and the Tūla, in the area of the two lakes Qala'utu (kh. Galuutai) Nör and Gün Nör west of the great bend of the Kerulen. See HCG, 26-27. Furthermore, the name 'Sa'ari Ke'er' was apparently applied, *sensu lato*, also 'à toute la région occidentale du Kerulen depuis sa source jusqu'au moment où il fait un grand coude pour prendre la direction de l'Est' (*ibid.*, 389). Given its situation west of the southwestern corner of the great bend of the Kerulen and its proximity to the 'Black Forest' east of the great bend of the Tūla (see above, n. 96), the Sa'ari Steppe has occasionally been identified with the latter. See HCG, 260. Cf. also Hambis 1974, 36, for further references to the Sa'ari Steppe in Chinese geographical works. It must be noted that the exact situation of the Sa'ari Steppe is marked on the map of north China and Mongolia at the beginning of the YSLP. However, according to Perlée², 9 (cf. Perlée⁴, 94), Sa'ari Ke'er corresponds to the present-day Xongoržil or Xongoržil Tal (Khongorjil Tala) at 49° N 101° E, in the region between the Selenga and Khanui rivers, hence much further to the west. This does not seem to be the case in the light of the evidence produced by Pelliot. Cf. also RBC, 102, confirming Pelliot's identification.

Joči Darmala, alias Čoĵi (? Čöĵi) Darmala (cf. § 201), was a Jalayir subject of Činggis Qan. On him and the story of the horse theft, see HCG, 25-26. Cf. also Li, 152, n. 128.

'The same Joči Darmala ... arrived at the fringe of his herd', lit. 'As for Joči Darmala, robbed of his herd of horses and his companions having failed, the same Joči Darmala went in pursuit and at night arrived at the side of his herd.' For this passage, cf. Mostaert 1956, 7; Cleaves 1953, 87, n. 29; Poppe 1964, 373, 376.

'Crouching over the mane of his horse', lit. 'lying with his liver (= belly) over the mane of his horse.'

'That split his spine apart (*ququru*).' For the word *ququru* and its connotations, cf. above, n. 101.

In the SH, Taičar's theft is presented as a *casus belli* between Činggis Qan and Ĵamuqa, or at any rate as the formal beginning of the hostilities between the two former sworn friends. Stealing a herd of horses was certainly a serious crime and Joči Darmala's action in killing the culprit was justified (see Ratchnevsky 1987, 77); however, as pointed out by Ligeti (loc. cit.), there is a serious anomaly in the account as given in § 128. From § 201 we learn that the two protagonists, Joči Darmala and Taičar, had been stealing horses *from each other*, a statement which throws a different light on the events in question. It is, therefore, impossible to determine who actually started the feud. The SWCCL¹, 3a-4a, SL², I/2, 85-86, and YS² 1, 3-4, relating this event along similar lines, blame Taičar, who is variously referred to as 'a tribesman' and 'a relative' of Ĵamuqa's, for the horse theft and, consequently, for the hostilities that followed. As we would expect, in all these sources Ĵamuqa appears directly or indirectly as the villain, but occasionally (as in § 201) the cat is let out of the bag, as it were, and we catch a glimpse of what may have been the true state of affairs. For the theme of revenge colouring this episode leading directly to the battle of Dalan Balĵut and the gruesome death of the Činōs leaders, and (ultimately) to Ĵamuqa's demise, cf. Clark 1978, 35-56, n. 47.

§ 129. 'Ĵamuqa, at the head of the Ĵadaran, and his allies making thirteen tribes and forming *altogether* three units of ten thousand', lit. 'the Ĵadaran having at their head Ĵamuqa, with thirteen tribes (*qarin*) as companions (= allies), becoming three units of ten thousand (*qurban tümet*).' For *qari* (pl. *qarin*) 'tribe' (< '[other, foreign] group of people' > 'nation, etc.'). see HCG, 53; de Rachewiltz 1982, 59, n. 50; above, n. 123, and below, n. 255.

The Ala'ut Turqa'ut ('Mottled Sentinels') mountains apparently were two contiguous mountains or hills separated by a narrow pass. See HCG, 41-42, 52. Their location is not certain. According to Pèrlée², 4 (cf. Pèrlée⁴, 85), they correspond to the present Ērxëg Tarxag (Erkheg Tarkhag) in the Tuvin Republic, but this identification, based mainly on phonetic grounds, would place them too far to the west. As suggested by Pelliot (op. cit., 42), they must be in the Gürelgü region, i.e. in the area of the Gürelgü Mountains south of Khentei Khan, on which see above, n. 89. Činggis Qan was, in fact, in that region himself at the time as specifically stated in the next sentence.

For Mülke Totaq and Boroldai of the Ikires, see HCG, 51. Boroldai is wrongly identified by Haensch (HW, 173b) with the Boroldai Suyalbi of § 3. For the name Boroldai, see *ibid.* For the Ikires, a subtribe of the Qonggirat, see HCG, 31-32.

The thirteen army corps drawn from Činggis' thirteen 'circular camps' (*güre'et*, pl. of *güre'en* ~ *gür'en*, see above, n. 90) are listed in the SWCCL¹, 6a-9b, and in SL², I/2, 87-88. See HCG, 35-37, and Pelliot's commentary; Ligeti's discussion in Li, 153, n. 129; and Ligeti 1972, 7-8. Cf. also CLC, 1-17; Honda 1952; YCS, I, 69-71; Mu, I, 275-277, n. 10; and CIH, 67-83. In these contributions, the composition of the camps, i.e. the respective clans or subclans forming them, and (especially in Honda's study) the role they played in establishing the backbone of Činggis Qan's military power, are examined in the light of the Chinese and Persian sources, and of the SH. The thirteen camps' composition was the following: First Camp: Mother

Hö'elün and Činggis Qan's younger brothers with their dependants; Second Camp: Činggis Qan and his sons with their dependants; Third Camp: Bültečü (*read* Bultaču) Ba'atur (the son of Sem Sečüle, i.e. Sam [Sem?] Qačulai [see above, n. 48], younger brother of Qabul) with a branch of the Kereyit; also Muqur Qa'uran with the Adargin or Adarkin (cf. § 46), and Ča'urqa with the Qorolas (for these groups and their leaders, cf. Ligeti 1972); Fourth Camp: Dereng (the son of Sorqadu Noyan alias Tarqutai) and his brother Qoridai, with the Nirun (Kiyat) and the Buda'at; Fifth Camp: Sača Beki (cf. §§ 122, 123) with the Jürkin; Sixth Camp: Taiču (Sača Beki's brother), and clans of the Jalayir, which may in fact have been divided between the two brothers; Seventh Camp: Qulan Ba'atur and his brother Tödö'en Otčigin (cf. §§ 48, 51); *or* Utuju Qudu and ? (another chief whose name is not given in SL), with the Kiyat; Eighth Camp: Möngetü Kiyat (cf. § 120) with the Čangši'ut, and his son Önggür with the Baya'ut; Ninth Camp: Dāritai Otčigin (Činggis Qan's uncle, see § 122), Qučar (son of Nekün Taiši, see *ibid.*), and Dalu, with the Doqolat, a clan of the Negüs, the Saqayit and the Nünjin or Ünjin; Tenth Camp: Joci (a son of Qutula); Eleventh Camp: Altan Otčigin (another son of Qutula); Twelfth Camp: Daki (Dagi, or Taki?) Ba'atur with the Qonggiyat, and the Sükeken (*read* Sügegen, see above, n. 120); Thirteenth Camp: Gendü Čina and Ölükčin Čina (the sons of Čaraqai Lingqu; see § 47), with the Negüs or Činōs. This list is by no means definitive, and the identification of some of the chiefs is doubtful. Cf. HCG, 53-135. One would assume that for the impending military clash with Jamuqa all the allied clans listed in § 120 were incorporated in the thirteen corps drawn from the thirteen *güre'et* listed above. The clans represented by the rallied leaders listed in § 120 were twenty-one, but only one of them (which is not listed among the thirteen camps), the Menen Ba'arin, actually formed a circular camp. However, ten of the twenty-one allies came from clans of the Jalayir tribe, members of which were apparently divided between the fifth and sixth camps, and there are tribal and clan names listed or

represented in § 120, such as the Sükeken, Negüs and Qorolas, which are also listed among the thirteen camps. Clearly, the lists of these camps as given in the Persian and Chinese sources are not comprehensive insofar as the clan composition is concerned. As shown by Honda and others, the creation of the three *tümen* was an important step towards the reorganization of the Mongol army in the following decades. See below, nn. 191 and 202.

The location of Dalan Baljut ('Seventy Marshes'), one of the famous places in Mongol history, cannot be precisely identified, but it must have been in the basin of the Kerulen, near the sources of the Senggür. Cf. Pèrlée², 9 (= Pèrlée¹, 88), who situates it at 51° N 113° E, i.e. much further to the north-east.

The Jereene Gorge (*or* Defile: *qabčiqai*) has also not been identified, but it appears from the context that it was near the Onon. Incidentally, this is the only section in the SH where we find the form Onon instead of the regular form Onan. See above, n. 1. For *qabčiqai*, cf. below, n. 184.

The battle of Dalan Baljut is not only the first great battle waged by Činggis Qan as sole leader of a tribal confederation, but it is also one in which he was defeated, in spite of the statements to the contrary found in Chinese and Persian sources. Rašid al-Dīn (SL², I/2, 86-89), the SWCCL¹ (10a) and the YS² (1, 4), all make Činggis Qan win the battle and, in their version of the story, it is Jamuqa who withdraws across the Ala'ut Turqa'ut; and, according to Rašid al-Dīn, it was Činggis Qan who boiled the enemy prisoners in seventy cauldrons. Cf. HCG, 37; ČK¹, 42-44 (= ČK², 45-46). However, as already noted by other investigators, this version is not the authentic one and there is no reason to cast doubt on the SH account which does not even attempt to embellish the truth. In view of the importance of this battle and its follow-up, i.e. Jamuqa's harsh revenge taken on the prisoners, chiefly the 'princes' of the Činōs, much has been written on the subject. Besides the above-mentioned commentaries by Ligeti and Pelliot (see, especially,

HCG, 135-137), see also YCS, I, 69-71; GK, 44-45; CHHC, 98-102; and EM, 81-82. It is not clear, however, why Činggis Qan should have withdrawn towards the upper Onon in the north, whence Ĵamuqa's attack came, instead of fleeing towards the Kerulen in the south.

The date of the battle is also problematic, since no year for it is recorded in the SH, nor for that matter in any other source. It occurred in that obscure period of Činggis' early career during which he experienced difficulties and reverses – a period which, according to Rašid al-Dīn (SL², I/2, 84), lasted until 1194; for that reason (always according to the Persian historian), the events of those troubled times were not properly recorded. Cf. CHHC, 577-578; ČK¹, 45-47 (= ČK², 49-50). For Hambis (GK, 56) the battle of Dalan Balĵut must have taken place in 1187 at the earliest and in 1190 at the latest. For Ratchnevsky (ČK¹, 45) in 1187 *at the latest*. In view of what has been said earlier (see above, n. 123), I too would not hazard a precise date, but taking all into account, I am of the opinion that it occurred in all probability before 1190.

The gruesome episode of the boiling of the Činōs princes (*kō'ūt*, lit. 'boys') by Ĵamuqa may be fictitious, as suggested by Pelliot (HCG, 136-137; cf. Gaadamba 1968, 64ff.); but the legend – if it was indeed an epico-folkloristic theme devoid of historical truth – had nevertheless far-reaching consequences, being variously and dramatically reported by Chinese, Muslim and Western authors alike. See Pelliot, loc. cit. Ligeti (Li, 153, n. 129), on the other hand, accepts the story as told in the SH at its face value; he only takes the word *kō'ūt* in its more literal meaning of 'lads' – i.e. 'the lads of the Činos (for Činōs – I.R.) tribe' – arguing that in this period the term 'princes' would not apply. However, as with other titles in the SH, the princely appellation was no doubt conferred on them retrospectively. I, therefore, retain the designation of 'princes' which is glossed as such also in the interlinear Chinese version (*ta-wang-mei* 人王每). The episode itself is discussed in Sinor 1982, 243-246. Sinor suggests the possibility of a ritual sacrifice, on the part of

Ĵamuqa, of seventy wolves after his defeat of Činggis Qan's forces, the wolf being the mythical ancestor of the vanquished tribe. (The name Činōs of this Mongol subtribe means of course 'The Wolves'; and seventy is a numinous number.) Sinor (op.cit., 246) writes: 'The ritual consumption of wolves is tantamount to eating the defeated Wolves (i.e. the Činōs tribesmen – I.R.). The victor's triumph is clearly asserted by the ingestion of the enemy totem.' Sinor (ibid., 243) also takes issue with my translation 'he had the princes (not "prince" as in Sinor's quotation – I.R.) of the Chinos boiled **alive** [my italics] (actually the word "alive" is in italics in my text, indicating that it is not in the original – I.R.) in seventy cauldrons' Sinor writes (ibid., 243-244): 'De Rachewiltz's insertion of the word **alive** is unnecessary; it tilts the balance of the narrative in favour of one of the two possible interpretations. The **Secret History** leaves open the question of whether the Chinos were boiled dead or alive, and so should we. As we have seen, Chino = Čino = wolf. The Mongol text puts the name in the plural. Instead of "the princes of the Chinos" one could translate "the sons of the wolves." The word *kō'ūt* has the primary meaning of "sons." It would also be surprising if the small tribe of the "wolves" had seventy "princes."

I have the following objections to Sinor's suggestion: 1) *kō'ün* is a term usually employed for humans and I very much doubt whether it would have been used in the sense of 'cub' or 'young, offspring of a wolf', for which other terms exist in Mongolian (*ĵulĵiqan* ~ *ĵulĵaqan*, mo. *ĵulĵaya[n]*, etc.); 2) (and more importantly) the sentence in question in our passage is linked with one immediately following it concerning the beheading of Čaqa'an U'a of the Ne'ūs (= Negūs) and Ĵamuqa's dragging away of the head. Contextually speaking, it seems to me that the narrator of this story describes *two* gruesome acts perpetrated by Ĵamuqa on *human* beings. If the boiling of 'wolves' seems rather incongruous in view of the fact that the wolf was the mythical ancestor of both Temüĵin and Ĵamuqa, hence their common totem, the boiling of 'sons' of 'wolves' is

even more so in my view. Personally, I would discard this interpretation even if *kö'üt* can be applied in a figurative way to wolves' offspring. (I may add that native Mongol scholars, from the early Ming translators to Damdinsürén, S. Jagchid, Doronatib, etc., all understand the sentence in question as meaning either 'the princes of the Činōs', or 'the young ones [i.e. the children, lads, youths – cf. Ligeti's interpretation mentioned above] of the Činōs'); 3) regarding the 'seventy cauldrons' (*dalan toqo'ot*) and Sinor's claim that this is a numinous number, I would say that among the Mongols seventy is not a particularly numinous number (such as nine), but rather a word used to denote an indefinite number, or 'many' in general; indeed, Ozawa suggests that this may actually be the meaning in our passage. See Oz¹, III, 20, n. 8. (In ancient Japanese 'eighty' played an identical role.) This question and the likelihood that there could have been so many Činōs princes must again be looked at contextually. The battle was fought at Dalan Baljut, which literally means 'Seventy Marshes.' I think that the 'seventy cauldrons' are a direct reference – and a symbolic one at the same time – to the place where this momentous event took place: one enemy boiled for each marsh. It is a perfect correspondence numberwise, and I doubt that it is purely coincidental. Since this was essentially a ritual sacrifice rather than sheer revenge, it was only natural that the victims be chosen from among the members of the 'leading' families, hence the term 'princes', even if, strictly speaking, this term is anachronistic in our context. As already pointed out by Ligeti (loc. cit.), in the battle of Dalan Baljut it was the thirteenth camp, formed of Negüs clansmen, also called Činōs (see below), that suffered the greatest losses; 4) the unfortunate sacrificial victims were in all likelihood boiled alive. Just as in the other cruel traditional practice of tearing out the heart of a live captive enemy, one would not expect to see, in a ritual of this kind, dead enemies being boiled. The practice of boiling enemies alive in cauldrons is well attested among the Turkish peoples of northern Asia since ancient times. See Uray-Köhalmi 1970, 255-257; cf.

Ratchnevsky 1987, 82; ČK¹, 43 (= ČK², 46-47); Tömörcérén 1995.

J.-P. Roux in *Turcica* 12:1980, 61 and n. 108, seeks a correlation between Ĵamuqa's dragging of Čaqa'an U'a's severed head behind his horse and the numinous quality attached to the human skull, but Ĵamuqa's act can be explained in terms of sheer spitefulness.

The Činōs ('Wolves') were also known as Negüs (> Ne'üs), a name that has not yet been explained satisfactorily. See HCG, 70, 131-135. The ethnicon found in the SH is Ne'üdei (Negüdei in AT¹, 35a), and their chief beheaded by Ĵamuqa is Čaqa'an U'a, i.e. the same personage listed in § 120, whose name appears in the form Čaqan (= Čaqān) Qo'a in § 218. (In the same paragraph, the form Negüs appears three times.) For a recent contribution to the problem of the Činōs, see Ž. Učralt in *BIAMS*, 2000.1 (25), 2(26), 63-68.

As for the name Činōs v. Činos, it should be pointed out that in 13th and 14th century Eastern Middle Mongolian the word for 'wolf' was *čino*, whereas in Western Middle Mongolian it was *čina*. In Written Mongolian we have *činua*. All these forms derive from **činwa* (**činfα*) or **tinwa* (**tinβα*); those forms with the short final vowel in the literary languages (e.g. Oirat) and in the dialects (up to the present day) are simply due to regular vowel reduction (*ā, ō > a, o*). Cf. AT¹, 4b: *činua*, and AT¹, 35a: Činos. On this well-investigated word and its evolution, see SG, 182, 301-302; Poppe 1964b, 164-165; IMCS, 43, 71 (where, however, there is some inconsistency in derivation); HCG, 37, 131ff.; Ligeti 1955, 131; Bese 1988, 23; TMEN, no. 191; RH, 220, no. 8; and, especially, Ligeti 1970, 305-306. The reading Činos (Chinos) of L¹, 68; L², 85; KCI, 673; R, 210a; Ra, IV, 56, and VIII, 30; Oz¹, III, 13, and V, 140, and of most other transcriptions and translations should, therefore, be amended to Činōs (Chinōs). This of course applies also to *börte čino*, instead of the correct *börte činō*, in SH, § 1. Cf. Mo, xii; Oz¹, I, 3; etc.

§ 130. Jürčedei of the Uru'ut (> Urūt), later (§ 171) also called Uncle Jürčedei (Jürčedei Ebin), appears frequently in the SH. He was one of the military leaders listed as a commander of a thousand in § 202 (no. 6). The name Jürčedei is apparently an ethnicon derived from Jürčen. Cf. Poppe 1975, 162. (For the origin of the name Jürčen, see below, n. 247.) Quyildar (~ Quyildar) of the Mangqut is likewise a known figure, indeed a heroic one, and we shall have more to say about him in connection with his last campaign and death. On him and his name, see HCG, 165, 167-168; Poppe 1975, 164. Cf. below, n. 171. The Uru'ut and Mangqut tribes, first mentioned in § 46, are usually named together and their leaders acted in concert during a campaign, indicating strong ties deriving from their close kinship. According to § 46, their clans descended from Način Ba'atur's sons Uru'udai and Mangqutai. Način Ba'atur was the brother of Qači Külük, lineal ancestor of Činggis Qan. Thus Menen Tudun, father of Način Ba'atur and Qači Külük, was the common ancestor of Činggis Qan, Jürčedei and Quyildar (this form of the name is the usual one). It is no doubt on account of Jürčedei's age and seniority that Činggis calls him 'uncle' (*ebin*). Part of the Mangqut tribesmen had separated from Jamuqa already before Dalan Baljut. See § 120. For the Uru'ut and Mangqut tribes and their chiefs, see HCG, 7, 32-33, 165, 167-169, 236, 243; Pelliot 1935, 919; idem 1944a, 81, n. 2; and below nn. 171, 175. There are also biographies of Jürčedei and Quyildar in the YS² 120, 2962-2963, and 121, 2987-2988 respectively.

Father Mönqlik, son of Old Čaraqa of the Qongqotat, was last mentioned in § 69. It transpires from this passage that at the time when Temüjin left Jamuqa, Mönqlik and his family had followed the latter. Cf. Hambis 1975, 23ff., where the special relationship between Činggis Qan and Mönqlik is discussed in detail, also in the light of other sources. See above, nn. 67, 68. According to Hambis, it was this family relationship that accounted for Mönqlik's rejoining Činggis Qan after Dalan Baljut, although Jamuqa's excessive cruelty as displayed after

the battle may also have played a part (cf. GK, 45-46). Indeed, except in terms of family ties, how can one explain the defection from Jamuqa's camp of Jürčedei, Quyildar and Mönqlik so soon after Jamuqa's victory, i.e. if we are to believe the chronology of the SH? Although the sequence of events for the period in question does pose a problem (see above, n. 129, and below towards the end of the present note), there is no reason to doubt that the return of these personages and of their followers at that particular time heartened Činggis Qan, who obviously felt that the tide was now turning in his favour. Hence the occasion for rejoicing at a feast (*qurim*). To understand properly what follows, it must be realized that on such formal gatherings a strict adherence to customary rules concerning rank and seniority was observed, breaches of which were considered as very serious offences; this especially applied to the serving of food and drink, and to toasting in particular. We have already had an inkling of this custom in § 70, on the occasion of a sacrificial meal from which Hö'elün was excluded on account of being late. Chinese, Persian and Latin sources contain much information concerning the rules on precedence, etc., followed at the Mongol court in the 13th century. See below, n. 154.

Qasar is, of course, Joči Qasar, the younger brother of Činggis Qan; Sača Beki and Taiču have been mentioned repeatedly in the previous sections.

For the words *bolun* 'together with' and *ki'et* 'and others', see Oz¹, III, 25-29, n. 6, 29-32, n. 7; and below, n. 150.

Ebegei was the (favourite?) secondary wife or concubine of Sača Beki's father Sorqatu Jürki (on whom see above, n. 49) and in our text she is called Sača Beki's 'little mother' (*üčü'ügen* [= pmo., mo. *üčügüken*] *eke*), a term misunderstood by earlier investigators and explained in Mo, 60-61 (where this passage is discussed and translated); cf. also Mostaert 1950, 4-5. We may add that the usual terms for 'concubine' in Written Mongolian are *baya(qan) eme* and *baya ekener*, meaning 'little mother' and 'little wife' respectively, 'little' here = 'secondary.' Cf. ch. *hsiao-chieh* 小妾 id. (The somewhat puzzling gloss *pi-che* 嬖只

**biji* for ‘concubine’ 妾 in LLSL, 125a, is merely a transcription of ch. *fei-tzu* 妃子 ‘imperial concubine’; cf. mo. *pei*, *peyizi* id. It should not be confused with mo. *biji* < *beiji* < ch. *pei-tzu* 貝子, the title of daughters of noblemen, etc., on which see ET¹, 207.) Qorijin Qatun and Qu’určın Qatun were the two principal wives of Sorqatu Jürki, the former being Sača Beki’s own mother. On Ebegei and Qu’určın Qatun, see HCG, 182-183, where Pelliot suggests that Ebegei may have been the real mother of Sača Beki, which would explain both the fact that she was served first and Qu’určın Qatun’s jealousy. However, this is not what is stated in the accounts of this event in the SWCCL¹, 14a-b (cf. HCG, 170-171), and YS² 1, 4-5, both sources claiming that Qu’určın was Sača Beki’s mother. The version of the story as related in the SWCCL and the YS is somewhat different from that of the SH; indeed, the order of events for this period in Rašīd al-Dīn’s work, the SWCCL and the YS is at odds with the SH, and other events may well have intervened between the defeat of Činggis Qan at Dalan Baljut and the rallying of the Uru’ut and the other tribes. See ČK¹, 41-44 (= ČK², 44-47). On Ebegei’s, Qu’určın’s and Qorijin’s names, see Rybatzki [2003], s.v.; on Qorijin Qatun’s name, cf. Bese 1974, 92; Poppe 1975, 167.

‘One pitcher of kumis’ (*niken tūsürge*). On *tūsürge* see Mo, 61 and n. 55; Cleaves 1954a, 448, n. 22; CLC, 140; Serruys 1981, 115; idem, *MS* 24:1965, 478; and Gantogtox 1994, 146-147. See also below, n. 213. It appears that the steward, or cook (*ba’urči*, see above, n. 124), Šiki’ür (= pmo. Sikigür) was responsible for breaching the etiquette and unwittingly causing the trouble that followed.

Nekün Taiši was a brother of Yisügei (here called Yisügei Ba’adur *pro* Yisügei Ba’atur), hence an uncle of Činggis Qan. See above, n. 122. Šiki’ür implies that, had they been alive, the two Jürkin *qatuns* would not have dared treating him in such a manner (cf. Hö’elün’s words to the same effect in § 70). This indicates that he was probably an old family retainer, but this is the first time that he appears in the SH (he will reappear in §

136). For his name (possibly meaning ‘broom’), see HCG, 183-184.

§ 131. ‘Had arranged the feast’, lit. ‘had set in order that feast.’ The two men in charge of the joint celebration were Belgütei, Činggis’ half-brother, and the great athlete Būri Bökö (‘the Strong’), already mentioned in § 50 (on him see also § 140). Belgütei was ‘keeping’, i.e. was in charge of, the geldings in his capacity of *aqtači* or equerry, a function that he shared with Qaraldai Toqura’un. See § 124 for their appointment.

For the Qadagin (~ Qatagin, cf. § 42) tribe, whose leading clan according to the SH originated with the eponymous ancestor Buqu Qatagi, see above, n. 42. For the ethnicon Qadagidai, cf. Poppe 1975, 162-163.

‘Horse station’ renders Mongolian *kirü’ese*, a term glossed in the SH as ‘(place where) one lights off a horse’; and in YS² 1, 5, as ‘the place where one tethers horses outside the forbidden area (= the *qan*’s tent).’ This term deserves comment. The transcription *kirü’ese* is actually incorrect, the correct form being *kirü’e* (pl. *kirü’es*), see §§ 229, 245. The preclassical form was *kirüge* (see the corresponding passage in AT¹, 74a and 96a); however, as such it is not attested in the later literary language, which only has *kürügetei* (= *kirügetei*) ‘tied, with the feet bound crosswise’ < *kirü-lkerü-* ‘to bind (the feet) crosswise.’ Cf. kalm. *kerē* ‘binding; caravan’; kirg. *kirä* ‘caravan’; etc. [N.P.]. The *kirü’e*, where the thief in the present episode was caught, was the place outside the area of the chiefs’ tent where the horses were stationed and where the saddles and other valuable equipment and articles were kept under guard (see §§ 229, 245). This place is mentioned by John of Pian di Carpine in his report; see SF, 117; MM, 61-62; SDM, 390. Later, hereditary officers were placed in charge of it. See TMEN, no. 330; HCG, 187-188; Li, 154, n. 131; HCWLYTT, 301-304, no. 105; MKSLT, I, 695. (Oz¹, III, 37, 41, n. 4, transcribes *kirü’ēs-eeče* [abl.], but more correctly *kirü’ēse-eče* in GHMBK, 462.)

As suggested by Grousset (CW, 86), the Qadagin thief (*qulaqai*; for this word cf. HCWLYTT, 15-18, no. 3) must have come from the Jürkin party, hence Būri Bökö's intervention. The present passage dealing with the fight between Belgütei and Būri Bökö does not lend itself to a smooth literal translation because the actions are described in quick succession. For a closer literal rendering of the Mongolian, cf. Cl, 61.

'Būri Bökö took that man under his protection (*hoyimasču*).' Both the interlinear gloss and the sectional summary render *hoyimas-* as 'to protect, to take the part of' (*hu* 護). See Y² 4, 8b, 10a. This verb is a *hapax legomenon* in the SH. On, 51, following TH, 196 (= JYT, 339-340), takes *hoyimas-* = *mo. ayimas-* 'to be angry' (see Les., 21b). Oz¹, III, 43-44, n. 6, relates *hoyimas-* to *qoyimar* 'the back; northern part (of a yurt)', and, reading *qoyimasču* instead of *hoyimasču*, renders it as 'to protect' (< 'to be behind'). The Chinese gloss is probably right, also because the passage *oyi-* > *ayi-* postulated by TH is unlikely. However, although the SH gloss is supported by Rašīd al-Dīn (see SL², I/2, 92: 'defended'), the TH interpretation is supported by the SWCCL¹, 15a (cf. HCG, 171) and the YS² 1, 5, both sources stating that Būri Bökö 'became angry.' The ambiguity, therefore, remains.

'Thinking nothing of it' (*ya'un-a ba ülü bolqan*). For this expression, lit. 'not making it (i.e. the fact that Belgütei had cut his shoulder) to be even anything (= nothing)', see Mo, 71; Cleaves 1955, 40, n. 31; Street 1981, 163. Cf. also VG, 91.

'How can we be treated like this?', i.e. 'How can we let them treat us in this way?', in Mongolian *ker eyin kikden büle'ei bida*, lit. 'how did we undergo such doing?' Cf. Poppe 1964, 374; Cl, 61.

'I fear we may fall out with our kinsmen.' 'To fall out (with)' renders Mongolian *ma'uqalin bol-*, lit. 'to become unfriendly' (cf. HIIY, I, 14a: *sayiqalin* 'friend[s]' [朋友]; *Matériel I*, 94). For this expression, see Oz¹, III, 49-50, n. 16. For a different interpretation, see Poppe 1975b, 155 and n. 94. This last section has been translated and discussed in Ligeti

1958, 232-234, n. 51. Ligeti's interpretation is somewhat different from the one proposed here.

The chief of the Jürkin, Sača Beki, was the grandson of Ökin Barqaq, eldest brother of Bartan Ba'atur (Činggis Qan's grandfather) and was, therefore, a cousin of Činggis Qan. This is why in our text Belgütei calls the Jürkin 'brothers' (*aqa de'ü*), here rendered as 'kinsmen'; cf. §§ 120, 124 and 128; and above, n. 74.

'There is nothing wrong with me', lit. 'I am not hindered (= disabled).' Cf. Cleaves 1949a, 525-526; idem 1959, 88-89, n. 318.

'Do not act, wait a little while!', lit. 'let be, stay *some* moments!' (*bütügei qorumut bayi*). For these words, cf. VG, 88. Belgütei is concerned lest Činggis Qan should act hastily to seek vengeance, thereby ending the already fragile relations with the Jürkin and starting a new feud. Belgütei's counsel, however, did not prevail. For the ensuing feud with the Jürkin, cf. Clark 1978, 40-41; Ratchnevsky 1987, 75. It should be pointed out that the story as related in AT¹, 36a, is somewhat different in detail from that of the SH. See LDAT, 105, for a translation of the relevant passage; cf. also MNTLAT, 79-80.

§ 132. The AT¹, 36b-37b, contains a lengthy epic account of the fight with the Jürkin involving Qasar and Belgütei, but this is almost certainly a later interpolation. See LDAT, 105-106. Cf. Da⁵, 75.

'The churners of the *kumis* leather bags' (*itüges-ün büle'üt*). For the churning of *kumis* (*esük*) in large leather bags or skins (*itüges*) with long wooden beaters or churners (*büle'üt*, sing. *büle'ür*), see above n. 85. For these bags (*itüge*, pl. *itüges*), see Serruys 1981, 115; Khomonov 1970, 30; Oz¹, III, 54, n. 2.

The two ladies Qorijin Qatun and Qu'určin Qatun, principal wives of Sorqatu Jürki (Qorijin Qatun was also Sača Beki's mother), were mentioned earlier (§ 130) in connection with the episode involving the steward Šiki'ür and the breach in etiquette – the incident, in fact, that started the present quarrel. In our

passage, the word *qatun* is transcribed as *qadun*. For the alternation *qatu(n) ~ qadun*, see above, n. 54.

For the 'Altan Qan of the Kitat people', i.e. the Jurchen/Chin ruler of north China, see above, n. 53. The ruler in question at the time (1195) was emperor Chang-tsung 章宗 (r. 1189-1208). See RC, 101 (F). His Right Chancellor (*yu ch'eng-hsiang* 右丞相) was Wan-yen Hsiang 完顏襄 (1140-1202). On him see the lengthy biography in CS 94, 2085-2092. In our passage he is referred to as Ongging Čingsang, i.e. Wan-yen 完顏 (> **ong-ging*) *ch'eng-hsiang* 丞相 (> **cing-sang*). The reading Ongging is guaranteed by AT¹, 38a and 110b, 111a (see below, n. 248). For ch. *wan* 完 **on* > **ong*, see HCG, 194-195. As for the chancellor's designation, I have used the form *čingsang* because this is the one found in the Persian and Armenian sources (*čingsāng*; *činksan*), as well as in Marco Polo's book (*cingsan*). It is mainly for this reason that it was originally adopted by Pelliot (see NMP, I, 365, s.v. 'Cingsan'; HCG, 193-194) and by all investigators after him, with the notable exception of Ligeti, who writes *csingsziang* (= *čingsiang*) in his translation (Li, 45 et passim), but *čingseng* in his text edition (L², 87 et passim) and in ATL, 90 et passim. Cf. also his transcriptions *čingsang* in *MLMC*, II, 212 (3), and *čing-seng* in *MLMC*, III, 144 and 147; idem in *IVLMMT*, II, 271, and III, 143. See *Matériel II*, 55 (20v, 3). Pelliot, who in his transcription of the SH had adopted the reading *čingsiang* (Pe, 36), had already questioned this reading. See *ibid.*, n. 1: 'čingsāng?' (For later transcriptions, cf., for example, *cingsang* in ATI, 154b; *cing-sang* and *čingsang* in BANT, 124.)

The problem of whether the character *hsiang* 相 should be read *siang* or *seng* clearly impinges on its pronunciation in the 13th and 14th centuries, and this is a complex question. In transcribing the vocalic element of 相, the contemporary documents in 'Phags-pa script use a symbol (no. 34, in Figure 9 in MMHS, 24) the value of which is still a moot point, being transliterated by modern investigators of the 'Phags-pa alphabet

as *e* (*ä*, *é*, *ε*) and *i(a)/y(a)*. As a result, 相 is variously transcribed as *seng* (*sän*, etc.) and *siang* (*sjañ*, etc.). In the 'Phags-pa transcription there is, indeed, an alternation between the letters *e* (*ibid.*) and *y(a)* (no. 29 in Figure 8 in MMHS, 19) in the same word within the same document (e.g. in the PCH, *chia* 家 is transcribed as *ge* as well as *gya* = *giä*), and this alternation has not been explained satisfactorily. See Dragunov 1930, 781, no. 9; 790, no. 399; PCH, 12, n. 2; 23, n. 197; 32, n. 386; 44, no. 208; MKTYCP, 151, A, 16a; PSPS, 109, no. 134; MKYL, 28; hPC, 66-73, 137a; cf. also Clauson 1959, 308ff.; Denlinger, 425; Pulleyblank 1970/71, 198. These transcriptions reflect the Old Mandarin pronunciation, which is also preserved in the CYYY. In this work, however, the value of 相 is unquestionably *siang*. See JIY, 393, no. 5547; 408, no. 5810; KGJ, 368, no. 96; Tödö 1964, 33. The Middle Mandarin pronunciation is provided by Chinese words in Uighur-Mongol script and vice versa, i.e. Mongolian words in Chinese transcription, as in the SH and the YS. The evidence from these transcriptions is likewise not conclusive, showing as it does a similar ambivalence (*seng/sang*) for 相 and its homophone 想. For example, in the SH 想 = *seng* (as in the proper name/title Senggüm [*<* Senggün]); in the YS 相 = *sang*; and in the documents in Uighur-Mongol script 相 = *sang* or *seng*. See Y² 1, 29a, 32b (§§ 47, 52); GGS, II, 1428a-1430a: *Sangyabal, *Sang'udar, *Sangyaširi, etc.; Cleaves 1949, 131-132, n. 263 (where, however, it is incorrectly stated that 相 *deest apud* Dragunov; see above): *saisang* (= ch. *tsai-hsiang* 宰相 'Chief Minister'); but cf. Ligeti in *IVLMMT*, II, 55: *saisang*, and *ibid.*, I, 142: *gung-seng-vuu* (= ch. *kung-hsiang fu* 宮相府 'Administration of the Heir Apparent's Palace Assistants'). For the SH transcriptions of 相 and 想, see also Hattori 1973, 43. The Old Turkic and Uighur transcriptions show the same ambivalence (e.g. in the term *saṇunsäṇün* [*>* mo. *senggün* *>* *senggüm*]). Cf. OuECD, 155, no. 39; AG, 362a; DTS, 485a, 496a; Geng & Hamilton 1981, 49b, s.v. 'Čing-sang.' This ambivalence must, therefore,

have existed in the Mongol period also with regard to the Turco-Mongolian pronunciation of *ch'eng-hsiang*. In this connection, it must be emphasized that for the contemporary reader of such transcriptions in Uighur-Mongol script it would normally have been impossible to decide, without previous knowledge of the original term and on the basis of the script alone, whether the word in question – or part of it in the case of a composite term – was to be read with front or back vocalism. In view of all this it is not surprising to find the above-mentioned inconsistencies in transcription in Ligeti's works. For the title *čingsang*, see also TMEN, no. 184; DOTIC, 126b-127a, no. 483; for *senggüm* see TMEN, no. 1221; HCG, 334; DOTIC, 232a, no. 2331. Our Ongging Čingsang must not be confused with the homonymous official mentioned in § 248, about whom see below, n. 248. We know from the Chinese sources that the Chin court had put Wan-yen Hsiang in charge of the expedition against the rebellious Tatars at the end of 1195, and that the Tatars were defeated soon after by the Jurchen army. See CS 10, 237; 94, 2085, 2088-2089. All the Chinese sources concerning these events have conveniently been brought together by Wang Kuo-wei. See KTCL, II, 676ff.; cf. Pelliot 1929a, 126-128; Hambis 1970, 131. The Tatars' retreat on the Ulja – the present Ulzyn (Uldz, Uldza, etc.) Gol between the Onon and Kerulen rivers at 49° 56' N and 115° 31' E (on the Ulja River see Hambis 1974, 34) – took place probably in May-June 1196. On the chronology of these events and the role of the Tatar chief Megüjin Se'ültü, see HCG, 192-200; CW, 90-91; GK, 49-50; Chia Ching-yen 賈敬顏 in *YSPFCK* 9:1985, 18ff.; and Kung Fang-chen 龔方震 in *CHWSLT*, 1980.1, 111-112. See also below.

'Without delay' (*bu sa'ara*), lit. 'do not hesitate.'

'Livestock' (*adu'u ide'en*). For this expression, see above, n. 23.

§ 133. The paragraph division in the text occurs, most arbitrarily, after the words 'Having learned this (lit. "that") news', and not before them as we would expect.

'Mortal enemies' renders *östen irgen*, lit. 'a people who have hate.' *Östen* = *öš* 'hate' + the possessive suffix *-ten* (pl.). When applied to an individual, the expression is *östü gü'ün*. See the discussion below, n. 149. Although the Chinese transcription has *ösiten*, the *i* is superfluous and the word should be read *östen*.

'Who have destroyed our fathers and forefathers', lit., 'who have annihilated (or exterminated) ancestors and fathers' – the specific reference being to Ambaqai Qan and Yisügei Ba'atur; and, possibly, also to Ökin Barqaq (see above, n. 48). However, this expression is a set phrase used with reference to a traditional or family enemy, i.e. an enemy one has a long-standing feud with. Cf. § 266 (ad fin.). Waley's rendering 'who destroyed my ancestors and father' (Wa, 247), while strictly speaking accurate, overlooks this fact. See also the remarks above, n. 113, and below, nn. 154, 266. For *ebüge* 'forefather, ancestor', see above, n. 40. In my translation I have transposed 'forefathers' and 'fathers' for purely stylistic reasons.

'Now, taking this opportunity, let us jointly attack them!' 'Taking this opportunity' is, literally, 'at this opportunity' (*ene qanalqa-tur*), a rendering based solely on the Chinese interlinear translation and the free version (Y² 4, 12a, 13a, 14b) because the word *qanalqa* is a *hapax legomenon*. N. Poppe (p.c.) was strongly in favour of rendering *qanalqa-tur* 'in the blood-letting', i.e. in the fight, by reading *qanalqa* as *qanalqa* 'the letting of blood, bleeding' (< *qana-* 'to bleed a horse or somebody' + dev. noun suff. *-lqa* [/-lge], on which see GWM, 47, § 161). Oz¹, III, 61 and 62-63, n. 3 (following TH, 164), has adopted bur. *xanalga* 'satisfaction' (< *xana-* 'to be satisfied' = mo. *qana-*), in the sense of 'satisfactory, happy event; good opportunity.' This interpretation may well be the correct one. Cf. Če, 358, n. 208; On, 52 and n. 148, and the 2001 ed., 108 and n. 281, (where, however, the extrapolation 'opportunity' → 'excuse' = 'reason' is not warranted). The word in question is not dealt with in Vietze 1990. The form *qasalqa* of AT¹, 37b, is evidently a copyist's error for *qanalqa*. As for *qamsa-* 'to make

a joint attack', the exact meaning of this verb is 'to join with an ally attacking the enemy from another side.' See *Lettres*, 28. Cf. tu. *qavsa-* (~ *qavša-*, *qavza-*) 'to surround.' See DTS, 437b, 438b; ED, 589a.

'It is reported', lit. 'they say' (*ke'emüi*).

'Set out with his army', lit. 'caused the army to arise.'

'Quickly went to his assistance' renders *öterlen iktünejü*. *Öterlen*, converbum modale of *öterle-* (= mo. *ödterle-*, *ödtörle-*) 'to do something immediately, to hasten', means 'speeding, hastening.' *Iktünejü* is not glossed in the Chinese interlinear version, but in the free summary the whole expression is rendered 'he came in person' (Y² 4, 14b; cf. Cl, 62 and n. 10), I do not know on what grounds. AT¹, 38a, is of no help because it has *irejü* 'coming' in place of *iktünejü*. Oz¹, III, 61 and 64, n. 6, reads *yigtünejü* = *jigtünejü* from **jigtüne-* 'to exert oneself, to endeavour', whereas On, 52, and Će, 100 (cf. also pp. 358-359, n. 209) take *iktiine-* to mean 'to set forth' and 'to lead, to set forth' respectively. According to TH, 110 (= JYT, 196), in the modern Bargu dialect *igtüne-* has the meaning of 'to be panic-stricken, or in a great rush, as a result of being reproached.' This meaning cannot be ignored; however, I am rather inclined to see in *iktiine-* a borrowing from tu. *iktüle-* 'to support, feed, attend to.' See DTS, 207a; AG, 337b: *igdüle-*, *iktüle-* 'pflegen.' I take it, therefore, to mean here 'to go to someone's assistance.' For *l ~ n* in Turkic and Mongolian, see SIGTYF, 350; MXTXÜ, 169. I think the latter interpretation, albeit tentative, is preferable on two grounds, viz. that the idea of hurrying is already expressed by *öterlen*; and, secondly, a borrowing from Turkic would explain why the word was not understood (and so left untranslated) by the Ming editors.

The two place-names Qusutu Šitü'en ('Birch Rampart') and Naratu Šitü'en ('Pine Rampart') clearly indicate a wooded area near the Ulja, one that would offer the Tatars the opportunity to build a stockade (*qorqa[n]*). On these names and their connotations, see HCG, 202. The term *qorqa(n)* = mo. *qorya(n)*, rendered as 'fortress' in Cl, 63, and as 'barricade' in On, 53,

actually means a fortified enclosure, more solidly built with timber than the 'palisade' (*šibe'e*) of § 79, the latter being more of a fence than a proper stockade, as we would expect in the respective circumstances. For *qorqa(n)*, see TMEN, no. 1555; RH, 249, no. 23.

The Tatar chief's silver cradle (*mönggün ölegei*; not 'golden' as in Ha, 39) and his precious blanket decorated with big pearls (*tanatu könjile*, lit. 'blanket having big pearls') are mentioned as they formed that part of the booty that Činggis Qan took either for himself or to be shared with To'oril Qan (see § 134). For the corresponding versions in the SWCCL and Rašid al-Dīn, see HCG, 192, 202-203. For *mönggün* (= mo. *mönggön*) 'silver', cf. TMEN, no. 377; Rybatzki 2002, 93-99. For *ölegei* 'cradle', cf. ord. *ölögī* id. (DO, 531a); and Khomonov 1970, 32. For *tana* 'big pearl' (as opposed to *subut* '[small or smaller] pearl'), see *Matériel I*, 99; Poppe 1955, 41; Pelliot 1929a, 130; HCWLYTT, 130-139, no. 33; Huang SC 1984, 210, 213; and below, n. 238. In the later literary language and in the modern languages and dialects, *tana* came to designate only mother-of-pearl. See Les., 776a; Ćev., 519b; MKeT, 2217a; Khomonov 1970, 40. For *tanatu*, cf. Cleaves 1951, 96-97, n. 124. For the 'pearled bed covering' (*tanatu könjile*), cf. CEME, 3 and n. 11.

As pointed out by Pelliot (HCG, 199-200), Megüjin Se'ültü was apparently *not* the leading man among the Tatars that had rebelled against Chin, but only one of the chiefs; the role of Činggis Qan (witness also the mention of the rich booty he gained) has, therefore, been purposely magnified in the SH. As Ligeti says (Li, 154, n. 132), the victory in itself may not have been so important, but 'it is significant because this is the first time that the attention of the new *qan* is attracted towards the South, the land of inexhaustible riches. The silver cradle and the blanket decorated with genuine pearls, which is the booty from Megüjin-seültü, are gifts, evidently from the South (i.e. from the Chin court – I.R.). Chinese titles, too, are opening up a new perspective for their bearers.' Historically, the joint campaign

against the Tatars is a turning point in the career of Činggis Qan precisely because of the new vistas that it opened. Unfortunately, as stated earlier (n. 129), the years between Dalan Baljut and the victory over the Tatars are very poorly documented insofar as Činggis Qan's activity is concerned.

§ 134. 'Činggis Qa'an and To'oril Qan [went to meet Ongging Čingsang]. The words in square brackets, missing in Y, have been supplied following AT¹, 38a. Cf. Pe, 36, 162; Cl, 63, n. 11; Oz¹, III, 68, n. 1. Without these words the two subjects of the sentence are left without the essential predicate.

The title *ja'ut quri* (§ 179: *ča'ut quri*) conferred by Wan-yen Hsiang on Činggis Qan for his role in the joint campaign is still unexplained despite several attempts to interpret it. Among the more recent ones see, in particular, those by Chia Ching-yen and Hung Chün (Chia & Hung 1981, 166-167), Ts'ai Mei-piao (Ts'ai MP 1983, 16-17), and TH, 288 (= JYT, 499-300). Cf. CKSYCTT, 1982.1, 2; 1985.1, 7. Some of these interpretations have been adopted by Ozawa and Onon (see below). For earlier discussions, cf. ČK¹, 49, n. 49; TMEN, no. 152. The form *ja'ut* v. *ča'ut* is supported by Rašid al-Dīn, but this in itself is not a determining factor. See HCG, 203-205. The attempt to relate it to the term *chiu* (*chün*) 纛(軍) designating the Jüyin (troops) (see above, n. 53) is unsound on phonetic grounds and also because the troops in question are already called 'Jüyin' in the SH. Cf. On, 53 and n. 151. It is more likely that the word *ja'ut* is a plural in *-t* of *ja'un* 'hundred' (= mo. *jayun*, *jayud*), but why would the Jurchens use a Mongolian word? One would have to assume that, as some scholars claim in the case of the second element *quri*, *ja'ut* is here a Kitan word, identical with the Middle Mongolian form (the Kitans spoke a Mongolian language). However, the meaning of *quri* is also not clear. It definitely was an old title, as it is found in the combination *digit quri*, the title born by Alaquš, the ruler of the Önggüt. See § 182 and com. Pelliot was of the opinion that it may have been a former Kitan title still used by the Jurchens. See NMP, I, 291-

295; HCG, 205. Doerfer (TMEN, no. 152) raises the question of why the Jurchens would use a title of their predecessors and former enemies, and not a Jurchen title; however, as pointed out by Pelliot (NMP, I, 294), the Jurchens continued to use Kitan titles up to 1149, and may have continued to use them after that date in certain circumstances. The Jurchens had a title or, rather, rank of **quru* meaning 'leader of several tribes', and an alternance *quru* ~ *quri* is certainly possible (see HCG, 205-206); moreover, the reading with final *u* is supported by the AT¹, 38a (ad fin.). In the SH, § 177 (the '147' in TMEN, no. 152 is a misprint), there is a personage called Qulbari Quri who in § 152 is simply called Qulbari. Quri is evidently his title. In view of the fact that this personage was a Kereyit, and that Alaquš was an Önggüt, one may suppose that *quri* was probably a Turkic title, but this word is not attested in the Turkic languages. Also, in the Chinese sources (YS, YTC, etc.) and in Rašid al-Dīn's work there are several instances of Mongolian personages, including a noblewoman, having *quri* as a title (or as part of their names). See MIC, 104, n. 131 (for the YTC, see the Qutu[q]tu Quri in ch. 58, 6b); NMP, I, 294. Indeed, in SL², I/2, 23, we find a 'Möngke *ja'ut quri*', who was a Tatar chief at the time of Ambaqai Qan. He had also, presumably, received his title from the Jurchens. Thus, this title, whatever its origin and meaning, was a Jurchen title given to leaders of foreign tribes, but apparently – in view of what follows – not a very high one. The suggestion that *quri* is the transcription of the Chinese official title *hu-li* 護理 (see TH, 288 [= JYT, 499-500]; cf. Oz¹, III, 68, n. 3) must be discarded, since this title does not seem to have been used before the Ch'ing dynasty. See DKJ, X, 36048.75. I have rendered it, tentatively, as Commander of Hundreds, as Pelliot and others have done, rather than Commander of the Tribes (諸部落統領), as rendered in CKTS, 20.

The higher title conferred on To'oril is the Turco-Mongolian form of ch. *wang* 王 'king, prince' (*ong* < *wang*), likewise a purely honorary title often conferred by Chinese and non-

Chinese dynasties on chiefs of foreign tribes. See HCG, 211-213, and above, n. 96. Whereas the title *ja'ut quri* may have been conferred on Činggis Qan by Wan-yen Hsiang *sur le champ*, as it were, it is most unlikely that the latter would have conferred that of *wang* on To'oril without a special rescript from the Chin emperor (Chang-tsung). Furthermore, it is doubtful whether the scoring of such a victory over a rather small rebellious Tatar group would have been rewarded with a princely title from the Chin court. This must have occurred some time after the event, or on a different occasion altogether, but there is no doubt that it was given to him, since in our sources To'oril is regularly called Ong Qan, i.e. 'the *qan* who has received the title of *wang*.' See HCG, 211-212; ČK¹, 48-59 (= ČK², 52-54). Indeed, this hybrid honorific appellation is already used for To'oril in SH, § 96, in an anticipatory fashion long before these events. It should be pointed out that, princely though the title was, it did not carry the same force and importance when conferred on a tribal chieftain. On these questions, besides the relevant discussions by Pelliot and Ratchnevsky cited above, see also Ligeti's remarks (Li, 154, n. 134).

'To'oril of the Kereyit', lit. 'To'oril of the Gereyit.' 'Gereyit' is an error in transcription for 'Kereyit.' The same error is found in § 242.

'Should be further conferred on Činggis Qa'an', lit. 'should be added to Činggis Qa'an.'

Ĵautau is the Mongolian reading of ch. *chao-t'ao* 招討, which is short for *chao-t'ao shih* 招討使, lit. '(Imperial) Commissioner in Charge of Submitting and Punishing (Rebels)', i.e. Pacification Commissioner. For this office in the Chin and other dynasties, see DOTIC, 117b, no. 303; and NMP, I, 293 (where, however, the transcription 'ĵao-tao' is untenable). Cl, 63, and Oz¹, III, 67, 69, transcribe *ĵautau* and *Ĵautau* respectively. Li, 46, has *dzsautau* (= *ĵautau*), but *ĵeu-tau* in L², 89 (cf. also [ĵeu]-*tau* in ATL, 92). For the reading *ĵau*, based on

its Middle Mandarin pronunciation, see KGJ, 245-246, no. 56 (s.v. 招). For Kitan *ĵautau*, cf. G. Kara in *MSt* 21:1998, 79.

'Rejoicing in this way, Ongging Čingsang withdrew (*ičuba*) from there.' In L², 89, the word *ičuba* (= mo. *ničuba*) has dropped from the text.

§ 135. For the Tatar fortified camp at Naratu Šitü'en by the Ulĵa River, see above, § 133.

'They happened to find' (*olĵu'ui*). The third past tense in *-ĵu'ui* (praeteritum imperfecti) indicates that the person narrating the event was a personal witness and that the event was a surprise to him (see GWM, 93, § 352). Cf. YMT, 88.

'Who had as nose-ring a golden loop' (*altan e'emek dōrebčitü*). The earlier translators, from Naka, Haenisch and Pelliot to Ligeti and Cleaves, followed the Chinese interlinear gloss and sectional summary, and took the words *e'emek dōrebčĭ* to mean 'a nose-ring' or 'a round ring (for the nose)', even though in Written Mongolian and in the modern Mongolian languages and dialects *egemeg*, *egemüg* means only 'earring', and *dōrebčĭ*, *dōrōbčĭ* 'halter'; cf. mo. *dōrō* 'nose-ring (for cattle)'. See Les., 298b, 269a; TH, 285 (= JYT, 494-495); and below, n. 232. Most of the more recent translators, from Murakami to Onon and Cérénsodnom, take *e'emek* and *dōrebčĭ* as separate words and translate 'golden earring (or earrings) and a (golden) nose-ring.' This is also the interpretation adopted by Ozawa. See Oz¹, III, 75-76, n. 4. In my opinion, the interpretation of the Ming scholars (who worked on two somewhat different mss.) cannot be dismissed as erroneous, and I believe that the words *altan e'emek dōrebčitü* refer to a single object, viz. to a golden loop used as a nose-ring. In the Mongolian text we have *two* suffixes indicating possession (*-tü*) of *two* separate objects, i.e. the golden nose-ring and the gold-stitched silken waistcoat. With regard to the latter, according to H. Serruys (p.c.), the transcription *dasi torqan* (lit. 'gold-stitched silk') in R, 58, line 3705, and L², 89, should be amended to *dajĭ torqan*. The word *dajĭ* is transcribed in Chinese as *ta-tzu* 蒼子. The

transcription *daji* is indeed already found in Pe, 37 ('*dajī*'; cf. H, 29: 'daze'), and is the transcription given by most present-day investigators. Cf. Mu, I, 295, n. 17; Daš, 68; El-Ar, 369; Γa, 68; Će, 102. Ir, 102, writes *dasi*, but see his note 1 on the same page. By the 14th/15th century, ch. *tzu* 子 > mmo. *ji*, as in ch. *t'ai-tzu* 太子 ('imperial son, prince') > *tayiji*. See HCG, 150-151. Cf. Serruys 1977, 354. In Hattori's system of transcription, 子 = *dz*. See Hattori 1973, 41; cf. Oz¹, III, 71: 'dadz.' In the 13th and 14th century documents in Uighur-Mongol script, the regular transcription of ch. *tzu* 子 is *si* (see, e.g., K'ung-fu *tzu* 孔夫子 > *Kungvusi* in the Mongolian *Hsiao-ching*; cf. de Rachewiltz 1982, 28 et passim). Hence the above-mentioned transcription *dasi* in R, L² and Ir. See also St, 46, line 4172: *dasi*. SH *daji* = mo. *taji* 'a kind of two-coloured damask or silk'; cf. mo. *taji torqa* id. (Les., 789a; cf. Kow., 1654b), and ord. *t'adži t'orqo* 'espèce de tissu de soie' (DO, 639b). *Taji* is also the form found in AT¹, 38b. The expression *daji torqan* is a compound meaning 'golden thick silk' or 'golden satin' (金紵絲), i.e. gold-stitched satin or damask. Neither element of the compound is of Mongolian origin. *Torqan* is a clear borrowing from tu. *torqu* 'silk fabric.' See TMEN, no. 884; ED, 539; Cleaves 1950a, 443-444, n. 10. As for *daji*, it seems that the Chinese 'transcription' of this word in the SH, i.e. *ta-tzu* 荅子, is actually the original term borrowed into Mongolian. Written as *ta-tzu* 荅子 (荅 being interchangeable with 荅), it occurs in YS² 78, 1938, in the section on 'Ceremonial Caps and Robes' (冕服) of the 'Monograph on Carriages and Robes' (輿服志), in combination with 'gold' (黃金荅子) and 'silver' (白金荅子), as types of 'warm caps' (暖帽) worn by the emperor on certain official occasions. Since the term is not glossed like other terms (in non-Chinese languages) in the same section, it is clear that it is a Chinese expression which, however, is not found in our dictionaries. (But cf. by analogy the well-known expression *ta-tzu* 荅子 'sack, bag' from *ta* 搭 'a wrapper or tippet.') From the use of *ta* (荅 and 荅) in the sense of 'thick, coarse', it would

appear that *ta-tzu* originally designated a kind of thick fabric, possibly cotton. Cf. the expressions *pai-ta* 白荅 'thick, white cotton cloth', and *ta-pu* 荅布 'a kind of coarse cloth.' The Yüan imperial caps were almost certainly made of gold- and silver-stitched thick fabric. In view of this, we may assume with a fair degree of certainty that the Chinese loan-word in the *Urtext* of the SH (see Section Four of the Introduction) was actually *dasi*, eventually replaced by *daji*. Cf. the Uighur Turkic transcriptions *si* and *tsi* of ch. *tzu* 子 (Csongor 1952, 111; Ecsedy 1965, 89, 90), which may also justify either reading (*tsi* = *ſ*).

The story of the foundling Šigi Qutuqu (for his name see below) in the Tatar camp and his adoption by Hö'elün is one in a recurrent theme of such events, beginning with Kücü (Gücü), and involving either Hö'elün or Činggis Qan's wife Börte. See the remarks on the subject in n. 114 above, and Aubin 1975, 471-472. In the case of Šigi Qutuqu, the SH account makes him the adopted son of Hö'elün, hence Činggis' foster-brother. However, this report is at odds with the account given by Rašid al-Dīn (SL², I/1, 107), according to which Činggis Qan found the little boy 'on the roadside' at the time of the conquest of the Tatar people, and gave him to Börte who had not yet borne a son and wanted one. She brought him up as her own child, and when grown up Šigi Qutuqu regarded Činggis Qan and Börte as his true parents. As shown by Ratchnevsky 1965, 89ff. (cf. ISK, 75-76), the SH account is not reliable for various reasons, and Rašid's report (as is often the case) comes closer to the historical truth. Indeed, it is most unlikely that – the event having occurred in 1196 – Šigi Qutuqu 1) would have become the adoptive 'brother' of Činggis who was more than thirty years older; and 2) that he (Šigi Qutuqu) would have become a commander of a thousand *and* a grand judge (*jaručī*) only ten years later. On the other hand, Rašid's account is certainly incorrect regarding the statement that Börte still had no child, since in 1196 she had already borne Joči (1184), Ča'adai (1185) and Tolui (between 1186 and 1190). Šigi Qutuqu had a brilliant career and apparently enjoyed a long life, dying at the age of

eighty-one. For an account of his life and character, and the theory that he may have been the author or compiler of the SH (or, at least, one of them), see Ratchnevsky 1965, and ISK, 75-94 (where, however, the date of ca. 1180 for his birth may be too early in my view); Li, 170, n. 203, 206-207. Cf. Chioldo 1194, 205-206; Lyu Žinso in MNT, I, 111-113; Boyle 1963, 241; and below, n. 203. See also Section Three of the Introduction.

In the present section, Šigi Qutuqu is called Šikiken Quduqu, an alternative reading being Šigiken Qutuqu (cf. § 138). For these alternative forms, see Cl, 64, n. 14; Cleaves 1956, 241, n. 438. Šigiken is the diminutive/endearment form of Šigi, a word meaning 'the flesh between the teeth.' See HW, 139. According to Rašīd al-Dīn (SL², I/2, 174) this was his nickname or sobriquet – possibly because of a physical characteristic of the child. Qutuqu has been explained as 'the Turkic form of Mongolian *qutuq* "happiness, bliss"' (ISK, 76). This interpretation, which supersedes Ratchnevsky 1965, 87, n. 1 (where various theories are discussed), needs qualifying. The word *qutuqu* as such does not exist in Mongolian and cannot be explained grammatically. It is, however, found in the name KWDWKW P'DWR (= Quduγu Badur or Qutuγu Batur [= Bayatur]) in an Uighur document published by Malov (USD, 28, no. 22, line 8). It appears to be a *hapax legomenon*. If read Qutuγu, it can be either a noun formed on tu. *qut* 'good fortune, happiness, etc.' with the denominal noun suffix *-γu* (designating qualities; cf. AG, 62, § 60) and the connective vowel *-u-*, or the nomen actoris in *-γu* of *qud-* 'to cast, found' (see ED, 596a). In either case, tu. *quduγulqutuγu* borrowed into Mongolian would have become *mmo. qudu'u/qutu'u*, or *qudū'qutū*, but not *quduqu/qutuqu*. What is certain is that the Mongols assimilated this unusual word which, incidentally, was fairly common as a proper name in the Yüan dynasty, to *qutuγ*, so that, e.g., in the AT and the ET Šigi Qutuqu becomes Sigi Qutuγ. See ATI, 247b; ETI, 187a. For the name Qutuqu ~ Quduqu in the Yüan period, cf. Cleaves 1956, 241, n. 438. Whereas the SH, Rašīd

al-Dīn (following Juvainī) and Jūzjānī employ almost invariably the form Qutuqu, the Yüan transcriptions are overwhelmingly in favour of the reading Quduqu. Šigi Qutuqu will be mentioned again in the SH on several occasions. See, in particular, § 203.

It is noteworthy that, as in §§ 105, 123, 125 and 260, the word *ke'en*, lit. 'saying', marking the end of a quotation, is missing after Hö'elün's utterance both in the SH and in the corresponding passage of the AT¹ (38b). Cf. above, n. 123.

§ 136. 'Base camp' is the somewhat inadequate translation of the term *a'uruq*, which designated the encampment where old people, women-folk, children, servants with the baggage and supplies (i.e. the 'train') were left when the men went to fight, and where they returned after the fight. Pelliot 1930, 259, no. 24, calls it the 'camp à l'arrière'; and Li, 46 and 154, n. 136, renders it as *törzstábor* 'tribecamp.' The written form of *a'uruq* was **aγuruγ*, but the corresponding passage in AT¹, 38b, has *aγuray*. In the Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1362, line 23, we find *aγruγ* (see Cleaves 1949, 64), which Cleaves renders as 'camp' (ibid., 87). Cleaves says that 'the orthography *aγruγ* for *aγuruγ* with the omission of the vowel *u* in the second syllable may be compared with that of *γrlγ* for *γarliγ*' (ibid., 112, n. 102). Actually, *aγruγ* is the original Turkic form of the word borrowed into Mongolian. For tu. *aγruγ* 'heavy baggage, train', cf. TMEN, no. 496; ED, 90b; RH, 278, n. 8: *aγruq* 'house gear' (the reading *aγruq* is preferable to *aγriq*). Pelliot, loc. cit., gives *aγruγ* and *oγruγ* as the original forms of the word, but *oγruγ* is a (later) Chaghatai form. See Poppe 1967, 510, no. 3, as well as the follow-up in Poppe 1975b, 157, n. 99. This term has disappeared from the literary language but has apparently survived in some modern dialects with a different meaning from the original one. See Oz¹, III, 82-85, n. 1; TH, 86 (= JYT, 151-152). Cf. Damdinsürén 1974, 107-109 (his interpretation is, however, to be taken with caution, especially in relation to oir. *uurxai* 'store-place'). On the *a'uruq* during the Yüan dynasty, see MCMH,

242 (Index); MEYD, 297c (Index); MRC, 41-42; MTSK, 2a (Index); YShi, 4; and, especially, Hasumi 1985/86.

Lake Hariltu (Hariltu Na'ur) has not been identified, but according to Naka and Pelliot it was probably in the area south of the great bend of the Kerulen River. See HCG, 215. However, according to Pèrlèè it was probably near the Gürelgü, i.e. in the mountainous area south of Khentei Khan. See Pèrlèè², 10 (= Pèrlèè⁴, 99). There is no agreement between scholars even regarding the name of this lake (cf. HCG, 215), the differences of opinion continuing to the present day. Cf. Pèrlèè, loc. cit.: Kariltu; L², 90: Hariltu; Oz¹, III, 79: Qariltu; Cl, 64: Hariltu; Ir, 102: Ariltu; El-Ar, 372: Qariltu; On, 54: Hariltu; Će, 102: Qariltu. The correct form, as surmised by Pelliot, is Hariltu > Ariltu. Cf. the corrupt reading Arġalitu (= Ariltu) of AT¹, 38b, which leaves no doubt as to the initial *a*.

'Stripped ... of their clothing' (*qu[b]ĉan tonofju'ui*). AT¹, 38b, has *qubĉin* (= *qubĉan*) *tonofju'ui* and the gloss *degermeĉin* (= *degeremĉin*) 'robbers' against the word *qubĉin*, obviously a scribal error. For *qubĉan* (= mo. *qubĉasu[n]*) 'clothes', cf. Khomonov 1970, 32. *Tono-* means 'to rob, despoil, take away (property, goods), plunder'; and, in the period in question, this verb had the specific connotation of stealing clothes. On this old practice, resulting from a dearth of textiles in Mongolia, see Serruys 1982, 126. Cf. below, nn. 187 and 195. For *tono-*, see also TMEN, no. 990; Šagdarsürén 1970, 315ff.

'How could we be treated in such a manner by the Ĵürkin?', lit. 'How have we undergone thus the doing (= that action) by the Ĵürkin?' Cf. Poppe 1964, 374, for this passive construction.

The incident involving Šiki'ür and Belgütei to which Ćinggis refers is related in §§ 130 and 131. The expression *müt gü* occurs twice in the sentence. Cl, 64, renders it 'the same also'; On, 54, has 'they also'; Oz¹, III, 82, has simply 'they' (彼等). Cf. Pe, 163: 'ces mêmes gens'; Ha, 39: 'dieselben Leute'; Ko, 114: 'oni že' ('they too' [emph.]). Street 1982, 629, renders *müt gü* as 'the same (people)' like Haenisch. The Chinese gloss has 'they also' (他每也) and this is indeed the correct rendering;

however, in the second instance I have slightly rephrased the sentence to convey the implied emphasis. For the expression *öšten kišten*, which I render here 'full of hatred and resentment', see above, n. 133, and below, n. 149.

'They failed us by not coming', lit. 'we underwent (their) not coming.' Cf. Poppe 1964, 375. Cl, 64, translates 'neither was it come [by them]', which is not very clear. For the event in question, see § 133.

'And now, by siding *in this way* with the enemy, they themselves have also become our enemies!' 'By siding with (lit. "leaning on") the enemy', i.e. by 'taking advantage of the fact that we are involved in a campaign against the Tatar' (Cl, 64, n. 15).

Dolo'an Bolda'ut ('Seven Solitary Hills') was the name of several distinct sites in Mongolia, hence our text is careful to specify that the one in question was that 'of Ködö'e Aral of (= on, by) the Kelüren (= Kerülen).' *Bolda'ut* (= pmo. *boldayud*) is the plural of *boldaq* (= pmo. *bolday*, mo. *boldoġ*), glossed as 'single (or isolated) hill' (孤山). For this word, cf. Mo, 258. See also Poppe 1975, 166. Ködö'e, also written Köde'ü (§ 269) and Köde'e (§ 282), is mo. *ködege*, *ködöge* 'open country, steppe', hence Ködö'e Aral is, literally, 'Steppe (or Barren) Island.' However, *aral* 'island' means here 'peninsula', i.e. *sensu lato* the area at, or near, the confluence of two rivers (cf. above, n. 24). These two rivers are the Kerulen and Senggür (kh. Cénxér Gol). See NMP, I, 322. In this acceptation, Ködö'e Aral must be taken as referring to the *whole* region comprised between the two rivers and the Bayan Mountains (Bayan Uul). *Sensu stricto* Ködö'e Aral has been identified with a plain some 60 km west, as the crow flies, from the confluence of the two rivers and within sight of the Kerulen, directly south south-west of present-day Dêlgërxaan (Sum). It is now called Bayan (Ulaan)-ny Tal. The seven hills which have given the name to the place have also been identified and their generic name is still Dolood, i.e. 'The Seven.' Their individual names are Dörvelž ('The Cube'), Süül ('The Tail'), Ix Ulaan Tolgoi ('Big Red Hill'), Baga Ulaan

Tolgoi ('Small Red Hill'), Olon Ovoo ('Many Cairns'), Taxilgat ('Place of the Sacrificial Offering') and Gacaa ('Mountain from which Several Rivers Spring'). See RBC, 110; Da⁵, 14-15; and Damdinsürén 1974, 106 and 107 for the relevant maps. The former religious establishment called 'Dolood Jisa', marked on the 1:1,000,000 Map of the World (U.S. Army Map Service) at 47° 05 N and 108° 52 E, must have been situated very close to these hills. Ködö'e Aral later became the site of the chief *ordo*, or camp, of Činggis Qan and thereby one of the 'sacral' places of the Mongol imperial family, where *quriltas* were held, including those which elected Ögödei in 1229, Möngke in 1252 and Yisün Temür in 1323. It was here, in fact, that the SH was recorded for the first time in writing. See § 282 (where we find the name Dolo'an Boldaq in the singular) and com. Cf. Schubert 1966, 53-58; Pêrlée², 7 (= Pêrlée⁴, 92); CKA, 24 (E 8), 54a; Jिंगgin in ÖMBYS, 1990.2, 93-98; and Section Two of the Introduction. In 1992, the joint Mongolian-Japanese Gurvan Gol Project team made significant findings in the area which have still to be properly evaluated. See GG, II, 10 et passim; ČXÉBN, 31; de Rachewiltz 1998, 251-254. Cf. *The Far Eastern Economic Review* of 2 September 1993, 30-31. There is no doubt that prior to the establishment of Qara Qorum as the Mongol imperial residence in the 1230s, Ködö'e Aral was, as the main *qan*'s encampment and headquarters, a sort of capital. Unfortunately, this fact combined with Damdinsürén's speculative association of the term *a'uruq* of the SH (see above) with the name Avarga (Avargyn Gol) of the small river due south of Dêlgérxaan, has led a number of investigators to believe that the site at Ködö'e Aral was Činggis Qan's 'ancient capital "Aurag"', and that the archaeological remains *in situ* were the ruins of the 'Aurag Palace', which is totally unwarranted. See de Rachewiltz, loc. cit.

'Being few in number and dispossessed of all but their bodies' – an idiom for which see above, n. 109.

On the Telētü (< Telegetü) Pass (*amasar*) to the west, or north-west, of the Tūla River but not yet identified, see HCG,

262-263. *Amasar* is, literally, an 'opening' or 'passage' (< *ama[n]* 'mouth'), and can equally be applied to an embouchure, i.e. to the mouth of a river or the opening of a valley, hence Cleaves' rendering 'outlet' (Cl, 64). Cf. Dogsürén 1977, 180. The name Telētü appears again, in the uncontracted form Telegetü, in §§ 162 and 167; and, as a proper name, in § 137. *Telegetü* (> *telētü*) means 'having a cart'; cf. Pelliot's 'carrossable' in HCG, 263. Pêrlée², 11 (= Pêrlée⁴, 101) thinks that the Telētü Pass of § 136 is a different locality from the other two, but this does not seem to be the case.

'Word(s)' (*üge[s]*), i.e. the solemn words or oath which Altan, Qučar and Sača Beki had sworn at the time of Temüjin's election to *qan*. See above, § 123. As emphasized by Ligeti, theirs was no ordinary oath and the punishment for breaking it had to be commensurate with both the solemnity of the pledge and the dignity of those who had sworn their loyalty to the *qan*. The execution of Sača Beki and his brother Taiču – the senior cousins of Činggis Qan – meant also the removal, at the same time, of the two possible and indeed rightful pretenders to the leadership of the Mongol tribal confederation – no doubt an important factor in the decision to do away with them. See Li, 154-155, n. 136. Cf. also Hambis 1975, 19 and n. 33. Interestingly enough, considering the princely status of the culprits, this execution was carried out by the sword, i.e. with loss of blood, whereas customarily it should have been a death without letting of blood. See below, n. 137. This was undoubtedly an intentional mark of disrespect and part of the punishment. According to Pelliot (HCG, 223), the liquidation of Sača Beki and Taiču took place in the winter of 1196-1197, following the campaign against the Tatars of the summer of 1196.

For *medere-* 'to be(come) aware, acknowledge, admit', see Oz¹, III, 89, n. 8; TMEN, no. 379.

'He executed them' (*büte'eji*). The Chinese gloss has simply *wan-pei* 完備 'finished' or 'accomplished.' Scholars are greatly divided about the interpretation of the verb *büte'e-* (>

bütē-) ~ *bütü'e-* (= pmo. *bütege-* ~ *bütüge-*). See Га, 323, n. 457, for a review of their interpretations. They variously take it to mean 'to finish = to execute, kill'; 'to finish = to accomplish (the matter)'; and 'to suffocate', i.e. 'to execute by suffocation' (mo. *bütege-*; see On, 54 and n. 154; Ev-Pop, 98, 274, n. 37; cf. Meserve 2000, 37). AT¹, 39a, has the reading *bütügefjü* v. the *bütegefjü* of the SH. In the SH, the verb *büte'e-* is used elsewhere with the meaning of 'to kill' (cf., for example, § 267 and the beginning of § 268, where it is rendered in the Chinese sectional summary with *sha* 殺 'killed'). Therefore I think, also in view of the context, that *büte'e-* can only mean here 'to make an end of, finish with' = 'to kill.'

'Cast off *their bodies*', or 'left them behind' (*gžbei*), i.e. abandoned them without burial in the steppe – as a further mark of indignity and disrespect. See Tomka 1965, 166. Cf. below, nn. 137 and 140.

§ 137. 'As he was about to move the Jürkin people away', i.e. forcibly decamp them and distribute them as slaves among his own people (as was the custom) after slaying the leading members of the clan. See § 139 ad fin. The expression 'reorganizing the Jürkin people' in On, 54, is therefore an inappropriate euphemism for the destruction of the Jürkin clan as such.

For the Jalayir (Jalair) tribe, see above, n. 120. For Telegetü Bayan and his descendants, in particular his famous grandson Muqali (1170-1223), see HCG, 360-371; de Rachewiltz in ISK, 3-12. Cf. also Chiodo 1994, 199-203. Telegetü Bayan belonged to the 'White' clan of the Jalayir (Čaqāt Jalayir; cf. HCG, 66, 365), whose territory in the 12th century was situated to the east of the Onon River in northeastern Mongolia. He had three sons: Gü'ün U'a, Čila'un Qayıči and Jēbke. The eldest, Gü'ün U'a, married Kōküi who gave him five sons. The names of two of them are not known; the other three were Muqali, Buqa and Daisun (this last one not mentioned in the SH, but known from other sources). Muqali became famous as one of the already

mentioned 'four steeds (= stalwarts)' (*dörben külü'üt*) of Činggis Qan, the other three being Bo'orču, Boroqul and Čila'un. Muqali is usually listed as the second 'steed', after Bo'orču who had precedence over him as Činggis' earliest companion. See above, n. 90. Muqali had a brilliant career, and died somewhat prematurely in China in April-March 1223. He is frequently mentioned in the SH. On Muqali and his family, see HCG, 453b (Index); Vlad.², 276b (Index); ISK, 3-12, (on p. 3, line 2, '1220' is an error for '1228'), 786b (Index); and below, nn. 202, 206. On his brother Buqa, see *ibid.*, 84, 365, 370; and the SH, §§ 226-227, 234 and 239. Buqa – a common Turkic and Mongolian name – means 'Bull.' As pointed out by Ligeti (Li, 155, n. 137), after the defeat of the Jürkin, the Jalayir entered, as it were, the environment of Činggis Qan, thus continuing to play an important role as a leading Mongol tribe.

'Came to pay homage.' For the verb *a'ulja-* 'to present oneself before someone to greet him', see Mo, 223; TMEN, no. 137.

For the words 'Let *these sons of mine* be the slaves ... Cast them away!', cf. Mo, 182, where this passage is translated. The following are some remarks on individual terms and expressions.

'Slaves of your threshold ... of your door', i.e. attached to the tent of Činggis Qan as his personal slaves (cf. lat. *famuli*). The term *emčü* qualifying *bo'ol* carries the meaning of 'private, personal (property)' (see below), whereas *bo'ol* (pl. *bo'ot*, mo. *boγol*, *boγod*) is the general designation for 'slave.' On *bo'ol* and slavery in early Mongolian society (12th-13th c.) there is a vast literature, but the best discussion of this topic in a western language is still the one by Vladimircov. See Vlad.², 281a, s.v. '*boγol* ~ *bōl*' (cf. p. 113 for our passage). Cf. also below, n. 180. For the treatment of the subject in post-war Soviet Union, see HMPR, 102ff.; cf. also Munkuev 1977, 387-389. The argument in the former MPR is developed in numerous publications and is summarized in BNMAUT¹, 195-198; cf. also HMPR, 102ff. Numerous are also the studies devoted to this

subject in the PRC. See, in particular, Kao Wen-te 高文德 in *MTYC*, 1979.2, 22-36; K'uang Yü-ch'e 匡裕徹 in *MKSYCLWC*, 71-87; I-ling-chen 亦邻真 (Irinchen) in *YSLT* 3:1986, 23-30; and YTS, 79-84. For references to Japanese studies, see Sugita 1979, 43-45, 56 (XIIIb, XIIIc) and, for more recent contributions, the items listed in the 'Bibliography of Recent Japanese Scholarship on Sung and Related Periods' in *BSYS/JSYS*. Concerning the terms *bo'ol* and *emčü*, see TMEN, nos. 90 and 670 (where, however, the term *emčü* of the SH is incorrectly read *enčü* and related to *inje* [on which see above, n. 43]). Cf. Shiraiwa 1988, 375-376; idem 1996. See also Shiraiwa 1983 and 1986. Although the word *emčü* appears as such in the corresponding passage in AT¹, 39b, the Written Mongolian forms are *ömči*, *ömčü* (meaning 'inheritance, property', see Les., 635a), corresponding to kh. *ömč*, ord. *ömts'i*. Cf. Mo, 246, n. 232. The 'threshold' (*bosoqa*) has the epithets 'golden' (*altan bosoqa*) in the next alliterated passage; it is clearly a synecdoche for the *qan*'s tent. For the connotations of *altan*, see above, n. 21. *Bosoqa* (= mo. *bosoqa*) < *bosaqa*; cf. RH, 70, no. 23: *bosaqa*. For this word see TMEN, no. 105. 'Door' (*e'üten*) and 'wide door' (*örgen e'üten*) further on have the same meaning. Cf. the expressions 'great tent' and 'broad road' in § 121. Therefore, it is better to render *bosoqa-yin bo'ol* and *e'üten-nü bo'ol* as 'slaves of the threshold' and 'slaves of the door' respectively, rather than as 'slaves at the threshold' and 'slaves at the door' (loc.) as some translators do (Ha, 40; On, 55; Ta, 65). Cf. the correct renderings of Pelliot (Pe, 163: 'les esclaves de ton seuil ... les esclaves personnels de ta porte'), Mostaert (Mostaert 1962, 211: 'esclaves héréditaires [m. à m.: "personnels"] de la porte'), and Cleaves (Cl, 65: 'the slaves/Of thy threshold ... the private slaves/Of thy door'). Since these were domestic slaves, they were also hereditary in the sense that their offspring remained attached to the tent and were not allowed to leave. Hence the urging 'Cut off their heel tendons!' if they dared move away – cutting their Achilles tendons, or

hamstringing them, would indeed impair their movement. But even this punishment is not enough: unlawfully to quit the *qan*'s tent should carry the death penalty, an injunction reiterated in the two poetic passages of the present section. The expression 'to cast away, leave behind, abandon' (*gē-* = pmo., mo. *gege-*) is often used in conjunction with verbs denoting killing, and it obviously refers to the bodies of the executed men. It is virtually synonymous with *o'orki-* (= pmo. *o'orki-*), since it occurs in the same context. Cf. above, n. 136 (ad fin.), and below, n. 140. See Tomka 1965, 166. For *heyil-* (= mo. *eyil-*) 'to go away (from), desert', cf. Poppe 1969, 274. As noted by F. Aubin, the versified discourse of Gü'ün U'a may overemphasize the subservient role of the children he was handing over to Činggis Qan, the transfer of the children being merely a transfer of paternal authority, hence, on Činggis' part, a sort of adoption (Aubin 1975, 483, n. 55). Cf., however, Ratchnevsky 1976, 511, and idem 1987, 65. See also §§ 180 and 211 for identical references to loyalty and subservience with regard to other personages. As for the use of the pronoun *inu* 'his' for *anu* 'their' in the passage in question, cf. also SH, §§ 145, 176, 179, 249, 254, 278; and *Matériel II*, 6 (1r, 5).

Telegetü Bayan's second son Čila'un Qayıči had two sons, Tüngge and Qaši, who were also given to Činggis Qan. Čila'un Qayıči does not reappear in the SH; as for Tüngge, his name is probably to be read Tüge, for it is with this name that he is mentioned again in §§ 202 and 225. The name Qaši (? < ch. Ho-hsi, i.e. Hsi Hsia) is also doubtful, and the AT¹, 39b, has actually Qasar instead (not 'Qasi' as in ATL, 95). See HCG, 365, 367-368, where Pelliot transcribes the form Tüngge as Töngge. According to Ligeti, Töngge (Tüngge) is a corruption of Tüge. See Li, 175, n. 225.

'Let them lift for you/The wide felt door.' The door of a Mongol tent is often just a heavy felt curtain, hence the expression 'to lift the door.'

'Kick them in the pit of the stomach', lit. 'Kicking their hearts' (*öre inu miderijü*). This is a well attested way of

executing people without shedding blood. As we learn from John of Pian di Carpine's account, Michael, Duke of Chernigov, suffered this fate in 1246 for refusing to pay homage to the image of Činggis Qan. See SF, 38; MM, 10; SDM, 343.

With regard to Jebke, other sources confirm that he was assigned to Joči Qasar. See HCG, 369; Hambis 1975, 10, n. 15. According to the SH, he presented Mother Hö'elün with a boy he had found in the Jürkin camp after the raid – an epic theme which, as Pelliot points out (HCG, 375), is 'fortement sujet à caution.' Cf. above, n. 135. The new foundling is Boro'ul (~ Boroqul, pmo. Boroγul, from *boro* 'grey'), of the Hūšin tribe, who later became also one – the third – of Činggis Qan's 'four steeds' and a leading commander (d. 1217). On him see Pelliot's long note in HCG, 372-378; YTSHT, 148 et passim; Martin, 346a (Index); Chiodo 1994, 203-205. In the SH his name occurs in the forms Boro'ul and Boroqul (= Boroγul > Boro'ul), also followed by Noyan (§ 240) because of his rank as a commander of a thousand (no. 15 in the list of § 202); however, the most frequent form of the name is Boroqul. See R, 199b-200a.

§ 138. This section is entirely devoted to the four foundlings adopted by Mother Hö'elün, viz. Gücū (= Kūcū, see § 114), Kökōcū (see § 119), Šigiken Qutuqu, i.e. Šigi Qutuqu (see § 135, where his name is written Šikiken Quduqu), and finally Boro'ul, i.e. Boroqul (see § 137). They will all become leading and, indeed, legendary figures in the epic rise of Činggis Qan and the creation of his empire. In the alliterative couplet they are referred to as the (future) 'eyes and ears' of Hö'elün's sons, Činggis' in particular of course, as we can also see from the same refrain uttered by him in § 203 when addressing Šigi Qutuqu: 'Be Eyes for me to see with, Ears for me to hear with.' This is obviously a set phrase or idiom (very much like the couplet in § 124: 'Be my far-flying shafts, Be my near-flying arrows!') describing a person who can be entrusted with important services and delicate missions; one, therefore, who is

most reliable. Cf. also § 252 ad fin.). On this idiomatic phrase, see Cérésodnom 1986, 77. For its use in later Yüan official terminology, see Ratchnevsky 1967, 96, n. 34. For *čiki(n)* 'ear', cf. TMEN, no. 1106.

§ 139. This section dwells on the background of the Jürkin tribe, explaining its origin through the well-known device of using a popular etymology.

'As for the manner in which those Jürkin people came to be Jürkin', i.e. 'came to be named Jürkin.'

For Qabul Qan and his seven offspring, see above, n. 48; for his son Ökin Barqaq (= pmo. Barqaγ) – here erroneously called Ökin Baraqaq – cf. §§ 48, 49 and 140, and above, n. 48. The correct reading Barqaγ is found in AT¹, 40a.

For Sorqatu Jürki (~ Sorqatu Yürki and, erroneously, Qutuqtu Yürki) – Ökin Barqaq's son and Yisügei's cousin – see above, n. 49; for the Jürki (or Yürki(n)) clan which supposedly originated from him, see the references in n. 122 above. Cf. also Yao Chia-chi 姚家積 in YSLT 2:1983, 97.

The words within angled brackets are almost certainly a duplication, due to a copyist's error, of the same words (*Jürkin bolurun*) appearing earlier in the passage. They are, in fact, not found in the corresponding passage in AT¹, 40a.

The short poetic passage has been discussed by Gaadamba as well as by Bese. See MNTSZA, 123, and Bese 1973.

'Who had gall in their livers', i.e. who were daring. Cf. above, n. 74. '(Who had) thumbs good at shooting', lit. 'Who had skill in shooting (arrows) in the thumb.' For the words *helige* 'liver', *heregei* 'thumb', and *hončitan* 'having skill (pl.) in shooting', cf. Pelliot 1925, 211-212, no. 14; and 209-211, no. 13 (*hončitan* is not discussed; Oz¹, III, 102-103, n. 2).

'Filled with courage', lit. 'filled with heart' – again metaphorically for 'courage pluck'. See Les., 1062b (b).

'Full of fury', lit. 'full of air (or steam)' – *a'ur* (= mo. *ayur*) 'air' → 'anger', 'rage' or 'fury' (cf. § 78). I have adopted 'Cleaves' rendering of 'fury' which, I think, fits the context

better. See Cl, 67. For *a'ur* 'air', cf. gr. *αὔρα* 'breeze, fresh air.'

As for the word translated here as 'inflexible', the text in Y² 4, 26a, has *jörkimes*, a word unknown in Mongolian and left untranslated in Chinese. Haenisch (Ha, 41), Pelliot (HCG, 200-201), Ligeti (Li, 48) and others have rendered it as 'irresistible' on the basis of the paraphrase of this passage in the free sectional summary (Y², *ibid.*), and, in the case of Pelliot, of a hypothetical Turkic form **yürkimäs* (< *yür-* [*yürü-*] 'to go') which has been adopted in Mu, I, 302, 310-311, n. 13, with the meaning of 'invincible.' According to Poppe (p.c.), *jörkimes* is the negative verbal noun in *-mas/-mäs* (= *-maz/-máz*) of tu. *yörge-* 'to wrap up *or* around' (see ED, 965b). Cf. yak. *sörō-* (with yak. *s-* < **j-*) 'to entangle, to wrap around, to involve a person.' Cf. SY Y, II, 2307. In the corresponding passage of AT¹, 40a, we find a form that can be read *yorkimay/yorgimay* or *jorkimay/jorgimay*. Šastina (LDAT, 334, n. 36), following Kozin (Ko, 357), reads this word as *jorkimay*, but whereas Kozin, relating it to kalm. *jörmög*, renders it as 'invincible' (Ko, 541, § 139), Šastina (op. cit., 111), makes it derive from the verb *jorkilay-* (read *jorgilay-*) 'to raise one's voice.' Ligeti (ATL, 97; cf., however, also Ligeti 1966, 132-133) has *jorkimay*, and Vietze and Lubsang (ATI, 29, line 1270) *jorgimay*, but Šagdar², 48, reads *zorimog*, i.e. *žorimoy* (~ *jorgimay*) 'wilful, intentional, having a purpose, courageous.' The latter interpretation has been adopted for the SH reading by Cérénsodnom (Če, 105). However, both the SH and the AT postulate an original form in *-rki-* (*-rgi-*), rather than *-ri-*. A reading *yorgimay* could be a noun formed on *yorgi-*, kh. id., 'to be wilful, to boast.' Cf. Šayja¹, 551b; MMED, 205a. (For the dev. noun suff. *-may/-meg*, see GWM, 48, § 166.) This meaning would also fit the context, but consonance with the name *Žürki*, with which it is related in folk etymology, would require a word beginning with *ž* rather than *y*. However, the alternation *ž* ~ *y* (*žo* ~ *yo*, etc.) is quite common; indeed, according to Pelliot (HCG, 200-201) *Yürki(n)*

> *Žürgi(n)*, the two forms alternating already in the 13th century. Nevertheless, we have at the same time also the consonance with *žürüge(n)* (~ *žirüge[n]*, mo. *žirüke[n]*) 'heart, courage', which further indicates that the primitive form must have been *jorgimay*, if the AT form reflects the SH original. Assuming that *žorgi-* = *yorgi-* and taking into account the free sectional summary, I have translated the word in question as 'inflexible' (< 'wilful'), but not without reservations in view of the fact that *jorgimay/yorgimay* as a noun seems to be unattested in Mongol lexicography, possibly being replaced in current usage by *žorimay*, *žorimoy*. On, 56, translates our word as 'peerless' (probably following Murakami); while Oz¹, III, 102 and 104-105, n. 6, takes it to mean 'brave' (reading *žor* + *kimes*). The *žirükemsüg* 'full of courage (*or* daring)' of Γa, 71, is merely an interpretation of the word (cf. the *žirükemes* of Bö, 95). Strangely enough, this word is not discussed in TH. As mentioned earlier, and noted already by Ligeti (Li, 155, n. 139) and Cleaves (Cl, 67, n. 25), the explanation given in the SH for the clan name *Žürki(n)* is due to popular etymology, being traditionally associated with words meaning 'courage', 'determination', and the like.

'That is the reason why they were called *Žürkin*', lit. 'such is the reason'

'Personal subjects', lit. 'personal people' (*emčü irgen*). For *emčü*, see above, n. 137.

§ 140. The story of the great wrestler *Büri*'s defeat and miserable death provides an excellent illustration of Činggis Qan's shrewdness, and of his ability to dispose of men he disliked or perceived as a threat. What the text clearly implies in the final section of this paragraph is that *Büri Bökö*, because of his physical superiority, was too proud to consort with the descendants of *Bartan Ba'atur*, i.e. the line of *Yisügei* and Činggis Qan, giving his allegiance instead to the descendants of *Ökin Barqaq*, i.e. to *Sorqatu Yürki* (or *Žürki*) and his sons *Sača Beki* and *Taiču* (*Büri Bökö*, himself a *Boržigin*, belonged to the

junior line of Qabul Qan, being the son of Qutuqtu Mönggür/Möngler). Thus, by joining the rival camp of the Jürkin and, furthermore, by attacking and humiliating Belgütei, Būri Bökö had, in fact, sealed his fate and it would only have been a matter of time before Činggis Qan disposed of him. Cf. the case of Kōkōčū Teb Tengeri in §§ 244-246.

Būri Bökö is first mentioned in § 50 as the son of Qutuqtu Mönggür, whose name in the present section is given as Qutuqtu Möngler. (For Mönggür/Möngler cf. HCG, 76-77.) The earlier incident involving Belgütei at the feast in the forest by the Onon during which Belgütei was wounded at the shoulder is graphically related in § 131. From § 140 we learn of another occasion on which Belgütei suffered at the hands of Būri Bökö. Būri is portrayed in the SH as a magnificent athlete – indeed the best wrestler at the time – but proud and arrogant. For his name, see above, n. 50. He is called here ‘the strongest man among his people’ (*ulus-un bökö*), lit. ‘the strong(est) (= the champion athlete/wrestler: *bökö*) of the people’, and soon after ‘the invincible’ (*ülü ilaqaqu gü’ün*), lit. ‘a man not to be overcome.’

‘Let himself be toppled’, lit. ‘fell for the sake (*or* in favour) of Belgütei’ (*unaju ökbe*). For the use of the verb *ök-* (= mo. *ög-*) ‘to give’ as an auxiliary indicating action in favour, or for the benefit of someone else, cf. Aalto 1973, 37; Cleaves 1986, 54, n. 42.

‘Straddled him’, lit. ‘got on *his* backside (*sa’ari*).’ For *sa’ari* (= pmo. *sayari*) ‘backside, buttocks’, cf. Mostaert 1962, 211; and On, 56, n. 159.

For *ilügei* ‘lower lip’ (AT¹, 40b: id.), cf. kh. *ulxiï* ‘a running sore on the lip’; bur. *ülxy* ‘jaw.’ For this obsolete word, see Oz¹, III, 112-113, n. 7; Gantogto 1990, 124-125; MKeT, 327b.

‘He pressed his knee on his spine and broke it’ (*niru’u inu ebüdüklejü ququlju ilebe*). Cl, 68, renders *ilebe* as ‘dispatched [him]’, taking the verb *ile-* literally. However, *ile-* is here simply an auxiliary of action, sometimes even of completed

action, as in the expression *üküjü ilebe* ‘he died’ a few lines below. Cf. Waley 1960, 525; Aalto 1973, 36; Oz¹, III, 113, n. 9.

‘I took a fall on purpose (*arqadan*)’, i.e. intentionally, as he well knew that defeating Belgütei would have displeased Činggis Qan; what he was not aware of, apparently, was that Činggis had already planned his demise. *Arqadan* is the converbum modale of *arqada-* (= mo. *aryada-*) ‘to do something with a (disguised) intent’ – *arqa* (= mo. *arya*) meaning ‘a (clever, astute) plan, a ruse.’ Cf. Les., 51a-b, 1161a. *Arqadan* is used adverbially, as converba modalia often are. Cf. Oz¹, III, 14, n. 11.

‘I hesitated.’ For *ariya-* ‘to hesitate, waver’, cf. below, n. 169.

‘I lost my life’, lit. ‘I was attained (= touched, affected) as to my life’ – an idiomatic expression.

‘After Belgütei had pulled and broken his spine’, lit. ‘Belgütei, having pulled his spine so as to break it in two (*ququru*).’ Cf. above, n. 101.

‘Cast him off’ (*o’orkiju*). On *o’orki-* (= pmo. *oyorki-*) for *orki-* (= *örki-*) ‘to throw, cast off (*or* away)’, cf. Mo, 63, n. 59. As in previous instances (cf. §§ 136, 137), the body is to be ‘cast off’, i.e. left on the spot and without burial as the ultimate mark of disrespect for the dead person. See above, n. 136 ad fin. Cf. the similar fate of Kōkōčū’s body (§ 245).

For the importance of the wrestling match to settle disputes, etc., and as a means of performing a killing without loss of blood (with all its symbolic and religious connotations), see Uray-Köhalmi 1970, 257-258. Cf. also Ratchnevsky 1987, 75-76.

This section ends with a brief genealogical ‘reminder’ to explain Būri Bökö’s position in the lineage of Qabul Qan (cf. the scheme in Wa, 251), and how by ‘overstepping the line’ because of his arrogance – born of his physical superiority – he met his end.

‘Whose son was ... whose son was’, lit. ‘his son was ... his son was.’

For Qutuqtu Mönöler/Mönöör, see above.

The last paragraph has been understood by the various translators of the SH in two different ways, viz.:

- (1) Buri Bökö became a companion of the 'sons' (*sensu lato*) of Ökin Barqaq (i.e. he joined the Jürkin camp whose leaders were the son and grandsons of Ökin Barqaq), because he 'excelled in wrestling' (*barildu'a ...alus*) over the 'sons' of Bartan Ba'atur (i.e. Yisügei and his children). In other words, owing to his arrogance as a champion he gave his allegiance to the members of the senior line, who themselves were, as we have seen, a proud and arrogant lot.
- (2) Buri Bökö became their companion by 'overstepping the line' (*alus*) of the sons of Bartan Ba'atur 'which was the closest to him in order of seniority' (*barildu'a*). In other words, he, a member of the junior line, went over to the Jürkin leaders belonging to the senior line of Ökin Barqaq, thus bypassing the middle line of Yisügei Ba'atur which was the one next to him in seniority. The order of seniority being of paramount importance in Mongolian society, this action of Buri's was, of course, a serious infringement of clan rules.

The differing interpretations rest on the correct interpretation of the words *barildu'a* (w.f. *barilduya*), nomen imperfecti of *barildu-* 'to wrestle' or 'to be very close to each other (in age, etc.)', and *alus* '(going) beyond, further, over', hence 'surpassing or overstepping.'

The former interpretation has been adopted by (among others) Haenisch, Kozin, Damdinsüren, Ligeti, Murakami, Ozawa, Onon, and myself (in 1974). The latter interpretation by Pelliot, Mostaert (u.n.), Waley, and Cleaves. On mature reflection, I am now of the opinion that this interpretation is the correct one. The purpose of the entire last section with its genealogical references is, in fact, to show – graphically as it were – in what exactly lay Buri's fault, viz. the overstepping of lineage boundaries. However, instead of 'closest to', I prefer to translate 'nearest above', since I feel that this expresses the meaning of the original better. Cf. Bilgüdeï 1994, 215: 'The

imperial wrestler Buri Boke died suffering his backbone broken by Belgetei because he made companions with furious [sons] of Barqaq, which made [their] relations far from the sons of Bartan ba'atar.'

For further comments on § 140, cf. also Vlad.², 111-112; Clark 1978, 41; ČK¹, 51-52 (= ČK², 55-56).

§ 141. The Year of the Hen (*takiya jil*) is the tenth in the twelve-animal cycle used by the Mongols for chronological calculation, corresponding here to 1201. See ICM, 102-106; ZAS 16:1982, 477. This is the first date given in the SH. The present section lists the tribes, with their respective chiefs, which formed a coalition to oppose the one formed by tribes supporting Činggis Qan after the realignment of tribes and clans following Činggis' first election (§ 123) and his campaigns against the Tatar and the Jürkin. The order of events in the SH is at variance with that of the SWCCL and Rašid al-Dīn, and also with the YS; therefore, the circumstances surrounding the opposing tribal alliance and the resulting election of the anti-*qan* Jamuqa are likewise different. The list of tribes and chieftains in the SH is much fuller (eleven tribes and subtribes are mentioned) and more detailed than those in the Chinese and Persian sources; however, because of a four-year gap in the narrative of the SH (1197-1200), Rašid's chronology appears to be the more reliable, as also that of the YS. See HCG, 393ff.; ČK¹, 52-61 (= ČK², 56-65); GK, 53-70; Clark 1978, 43-44. Cf. also Ligeti 1966, 131.

The meeting of the tribal leaders took place at Alqui Bulaq ('Sarsaparilla Spring'), a locality which has not been identified, but which must have been near, or on, the Ergüne Müren, i.e. the Argun River, upstream from the point where it meets its eastern tributary, the Kan Müren, which is the present Gan River (Gan Gol), cf. HCG, 410-411. For Alqui see below; for *bulaq* (= *mo. bulaγ*) 'spring', see above, n. 128.

On the Qadagin and their chief Buqu Čorogi, see HCG, 393-397, and above, n. 42; on the Salji'ut and Čirgidai Ba'atur, see *ibid.*, 397-400. I have rendered *teri'üten*, lit. 'having at their

head' as 'led by' to lighten the style of this passage. Please note that I have also put the main verb (*či'ulju* 'gathered') before the enumeration of the tribes.

The Dörben tribe is first mentioned in § 11 of the SH; as we learn from § 120, some of its chiefs had joined Činggis Qan. For the name Qači'un (~ Qaĵi'un), see HCG, 395.

A Tatar chief called Ĵali Buqa is mentioned in § 58. The similarity of the names, indeed their identity (*Ĵali* = *Ĵalin*; see below), and the fact that both men were Tatar chiefs, has led Ligeti to regard them as one and the same individual. See Li, 220, s.v. 'Dzsalin-buka.' I am not sure whether this is correct in view of the time gap, since Ĵali Buqa was already a chief in Qutula's time and was, therefore, probably a contemporary of Yisügei, whereas Ĵalin Buqa was active in 1201, i.e. about forty years later. Since this personage is not otherwise known, it is difficult to solve this problem. As for the name Ĵali(n) Buqa, the second element is the word for 'bull' – a common Turco-Mongolian name. Ĵali(n) is read Ĵari(n) by Murakami who takes it to be mo. *ĵayari(n)* (> *ĵa'ari[n]* > *ĵāri[n]*) 'heavenly sign, omen.' See Mu, I, 77, n. 2; 318, n. 5. I think, with the majority of scholars, that *ĵali(n)* = mo. *ĵali* 'flame', cf. tu. *yalin* id. Since the regular Mongolian form is without the paragogic *n*, the name Ĵalin must be regarded as the turcized Mongolian form of the name, which is not surprising in view of the Turkic, or partly Turkic, background of the Tatar tribe. Cf. Klyastornyi 1993. It should be noted, *en passant*, that in the 13th and 14th century texts, the word *ĵali* usually appears in the well-known combination *su(u) ĵali*, lit. 'the fortune and flame (= grandeur)', i.e. the majestic aura or charisma of the sovereign (cf., e.g., Cleaves 1949, 79a; idem 1953, 36a; see also above, n. 74), but in the MA, 200b, it is registered with the meaning of 'rest, peace, tranquillity' (rus. *pokoĭ*). This meaning is not found in our dictionaries of Written Mongolian, the secondary meanings of *ĵali* recorded in them being 'craft, ruse, fraud, trick.' Cf. Kow., 2283a; Gol., III, 330c; Les., 1031b. However, mo. *ĵaliqai* (= *ĵali* + the den. noun suff. *-qai*) means 'crafty' as well as 'lazy,

indifferent.' The latter meaning is no doubt derived from *ĵali* 'rest, etc.' Cf. also mo. *ĵalqay(u)* 'lazy.' Here we have a definite correspondence with tu. (Baraba) *yilak* 'laziness.' See SG, 313; and MÜIT, 2332b, for further examples. This correspondence, which is not discussed by Poppe (VGAS) or Räsänen (VEWT), deserves attention.

For the Alči Tatar, see HCG, 240-242, 245. As for the Ikires (on which cf. *ibid.*, 31-32, 41, 59, 407), some of them had already joined Činggis Qan, see § 120.

Terge Emel is an emendation of the text, which has 'Dergek and Emel', taken by the editors of the SH to be two separate individuals, as evident from the glosses. Cf. also § 176, where we have 'Terge and Amel (= Emel).' See HCG, 407-409; Li, 155, n. 141; Ligeti 1966, 135-136, n. 18. Cf. Mo, 94, n. 89. (For the initial *a* [*a*] = *e* in Uighur-Mongol script, cf. *Lettres*, 13.)

Alqui (as in Alqui Bulaq; see above) = Alyui ('Sarsaparilla'). Cf. Gol., I, 35c (> Les., 31a), and kalm. *alyū* id. (KW, 7a).

For the Qorolas, see § 120, where its chief Seči'ür is mentioned among the tribal leaders who had then joined Činggis Qan. The name of the chief who now joins Ĵamuqa is transcribed in our passage as Čonaq Čaqa'an – again taken by the SH as two separate individuals (Čonaq and Čaqa'an), but Čonaq is a mistake for Čoyok (= Čo'oq), the correct compound name being either Čo'oq Čaqa'an or Čo'os Čaqa'an (> Čaqān); the uncertainty of the readings of the first element is due to the ambiguity of the Uighur-Mongolian script and, possibly, a scribal error. See L², 12; Ligeti 1966, 131-136. The Qorolas, who are correctly (?) called Qorulas in § 182 (twice), were related to the Qonggirat and the Ikires. See HCG, 59-60; however, in spite of Pelliot's learned note, the identity of this tribe and its relation with the later Gorlos is not clear. Cleaves (Cl, 52, 69, 110, 111) and Ozawa (see GHMBKZ, 367b-368a) read the name in question as Gorolas (Gorolas) and Gorulas (Gorulas); Ligeti transcribes the same name, as given in the passages corresponding to the SH, §§ 120 and 141 in the AT

(AT¹, 31b, 41a), as Qorlos and Gorlos respectively (ATL, 78, 99). To read the name with initial Γ instead of Q, and to automatically identify it with the Gorlos (as Gaadamba and Cérésodnom do following Damdinsürén and, ultimately, Kozin and the AT) is, I think, unwarranted at this stage.

The Naiman ('The Eight') tribe is mentioned here for the first time. It was one of the most important tribal complexes at the time. Their centre of gravity was in northwestern Mongolia, in the area between the Khangai and Altai Mts. The titles and names of their *qans*, who belonged to the Gücü'üt clan (see below), are Turkic, but the name of the tribe is Mongol and so, no doubt, were most of its tribesmen. See HCG, 215-221; Murayama 1958/59; Li, 167; n. 196; ČK¹, 1 and n. 1, et passim; Šastina 1975, 235-238; YShi, 73-74. Cf. also Hung 1956, 31. For the Naiman leader Buyiruq (tu. Buyruq) Qan who rallied to Ĵamuqa, see Pelliot 1944b, 44-48; HCG, 297-298 (for a discussion of his name); CLC, 321-322; Pritsak 1988, 768; and further on, §§ 151 and 158. Gücü'üt (= Gücügüt of § 158) is the plural of Gücü'ür which in the form *küčügür* (> *küčü'ür*) appears in the SH, § 89, as the designation of a sort of field-mouse. Cf. Pelliot 1944b, 40-41; HCG, 221, 307. However, according to Poppe (p.c.), a clan or tribe is unlikely to have assumed such a derogatory name. He suggests that the name may be related to kirg. *küčügön* 'buzzard, lammergeyer.' See KiRS, I, 474b (→ 262b, s.v. 'žoru' I, 1) We know that the Naiman were strongly influenced by Turkic culture. Cf. below, nn. 151, 158. *Küčügür* (~ *Gücügür*) appears as a proper name in §§ 120, 124, 202, 223. Cf. Bese 1988, 26-27. For *k ~ g*, see 'Quelques problèmes', 240-241.

For Toqto'a Beki of the Merkit, see above, nn. 102 and 109. The name of his eldest son, 'Qutu', poses a problem, since he is called Qutu in §§ 142, 144, 157, 162 and 236, but Qudu in §§ 177, 197, 198 and 199, and the probably correct (i.e. original) reading should be Qodu (see HCG, 284-287); in any event, we are dealing here with a different personage from the Qutu (Moriči) of § 124.

Quduqa Beki of the Oyirat will reappear in the following sections (§§ 142, 143 and 144). The name Oyirat occurs here for the first time. For this important tribe – the ancestors of the present-day Oirats and of their largest language group, the Kalmucks – see NCHK, I, 4-5 et passim; Mu, I, 320, n. 10; A. Očir in MNT, I, 70-72. There is a vast literature in western languages, Chinese, Mongolian and Japanese on the later Oirats and Kalmucks. See, provisionally, IEEC, 321-325; PCA, 310b (s.v. 'Kalmuks'), 314b (s.v. 'Oyirat Federation'); DHMEM, 262b (s.v. 'Oira[t]'); MBIGK, 589 (s.v. 'Kalmücken'), 602 (s.v. 'Oirad ~ Oyirad'); HMKSYC; OLTMKSLC; OTSB; HEM, 1, 2 et passim; HEMAC, 84a; NHHO, 262a; MCS, 452b (s.v. 'Kalmuck Mongols') and 456a (s.v. 'Oirad Mongols'); MHM, 466a (s.v. 'Kalmucks') and 470a (s.v. 'Oirats'); Okada 1972a; idem 1974; idem 1987; Miyawaki 1984; and below, n. 239. For their habitat, see below, n. 144.

For Tarqutai Kiriltuq of the Tayiči'ut, see § 79; for Qodun Örceng and A'uču Ba'atur, see HCG, 147, 158-162. The reading Örceng instead of Orčang is supported by AT¹, 41a.

In this section the word *qan* occurs again in the form *qa* (three times), as in §§ 57 and 126. See above, n. 57.

The 'confederates' of Alqui Bulaq ('Sarsaparilla Spring') elected as their leader Ĵamuqa 'the Ĵajirat' (Ĵajiradai). Ĵajiradai is the ethnicon of Ĵajiran or Ĵajirat, and in § 40 it is used as a proper name. In the same § 40, Ĵamuqa is said to belong to the Ĵadaran clan, which is the same as the Ĵajiran (pl. Ĵajirat). See above, n. 49, and HCG, 28-29; cf. Bese 1988, 23-24. The election occurs in two stages. In the first stage, the tribal leaders convene, resolve their differences and make an alliance, deciding to elect as their leader (*qan*, but actually *qa* in the text; see above) Ĵamuqa. The alliance is formally consecrated with the ritual hacking of a stallion and a mare. For a discussion of this practice, see HCG, 411; Serruys 1958, 290-291; Li, 156, n. 141; Aubin 1978, 44-45; Sinor 1990, 302-303. Cf. also L.C. Goodrich in *JAOS* 82:1962, 542 and n. 62 for further references. Regarding the sacrifice, the SH account is again at variance with

the YS, Rašid al-Dīn's version and the SWCCL. See Li, loc. cit.; Sinor, loc. cit.; ČK¹, 56-57, and n. 77 (= ČK², 61-62). In the second stage, the confederate tribes move along the Argun River to the point where it meets the Gan River, and there, on the promontory at the confluence of the two rivers, they formally elect Ĵamuqa *gür qan* (*gür qa* in the text). With regard to this locality, the following should be noted. In the SH the Argun River is called Ergüne Müren, just as in the YS and in Rašid al-Dīn's work. The form with back vowels is more recent and reflects the incorrect Russian form (Argun). See Hambis 1974, 30-31; Pêrlée², 4 (= Pêrlée⁴, 89). The Gan River is called Kan Müren; however, the Chinese transcription (K'an 刊) may also render an original 'Ken' and, indeed, the latter form has been adopted by Pelliot (Pe, 39, 166) and Cleaves (Cl, 68), as well as by Murakami (Mu, I, 312, 323, n. 15) and Ozawa (Oz¹, III, 121). The AT¹, 41a, has the faulty form 'Qati Müren' (incorrectly given in ATL, 98, as 'Ken-müren'), indicating nevertheless that the initial syllable was *qa*. The later Chinese transcriptions also present an ambiguity regarding both the vowel and the initial consonant (Kan ~ Gan, Ken ~ Gen), but the modern forms favour the back vocalism. Cf. kh. Gan Gol. See Hambis 1974, 32-33; Pêrlée², 7 (= Pêrlée⁴, 90). As for the 'large promontory of the peninsula' at the confluence of the two rivers, the expression in the SH is *šina'a-yin a'unu'u*, glossed in Chinese as 'the land corner of the island' (洲的地角); cf. Ha, 42: '(auf) der Spitze des Werders'; Cl, 68: 'the corner of the island.' Pe, 166, understands 'large promontoire de la presqu'île', taking the word *a'unu'u* to mean 'large promontory', from *a'u* 'large' and *nu'u* 'tip of land, headland' (cf. above, n. 94), this interpretation being supported by AT¹, 41a (*ayu nu'u*). We are, in fact, dealing with two words, not one. Cf. Oz¹, III, 119. *šina'a* (= mo. *sinaya*) has various connotations in Mongolian: 'bend of a river, ridge of a mountain, etc.', but it does not have the meaning of 'island.' See SMT, 23; Les., 710b (1); TH, 246 (= JYT, 425); MKeT, 2010a. In Chinese *chou* 洲 designates a land surrounded by water, hence an island or continent, but the context of the

gloss ('the land corner of the island') clearly indicates that the translators had in mind a peninsula, not an island, i.e. the peninsula formed by the bend of the river at the confluence, as Pelliot correctly interpreted.

Much has been written about the title *gür qan*, used earlier by the Qara Kitai rulers of the Western Liao (西遼) (see below, n. 151), as well as by the Kereyit tribal leaders. Its meaning is 'Universal Ruler.' See HCG, 248-249; NMP, I, 225-226; TMEN, no. 1672; HCSL, 431; Kałużyński 1978, 129; G. Kara in *ÖMYS*, 1988.1, 56; ČK¹, 57 and n. 83; Zimonyi 1985, 198. Obviously, Ĵamuqa was given this high-sounding title not only to match, but also to overshadow the title of *qan* assumed by Činggis. As noted by Clark 1978, 44, the present events culminating in Ĵamuqa's election are entered in the SH under a specific year, but no date is given for the earlier and, from the SH point of view, more important election of Činggis Qan (§ 123). Clark explains this with 'a different textual background in the two instances, that is, the availability and use of annals in the second (141) but not in the first (123).' It is also possible that the date was introduced in the text because this is the first instance of a *qurilta*, or general assembly of tribal chiefs, whereas, as already pointed out, Činggis' election – or rather pre-election – was essentially a family affair. See above, n. 123 (ad fin.).

Nothing is known about Qoridai of the Qorolas who informed Činggis Qan of the coalition's plan to attack him and Ong Qan. Qoridai (Qori + suff. *-dai*) was rather a common name among the Mongols. Cf. HCG, 62-63; Bese 1974, 92; Poppe 1975, 162. His identity is confirmed by Rašid al-Dīn (SL², I/2, 130), where also more details of his mission are given. However, the story as related in the YS and the SWCCL (as well as by Rašid) is quite different from that of the SH and the differences have been highlighted by Pelliot (HCG, 411 ff.).

The Mongol term here variously translated as 'word' and 'news' is *kele*, lit. 'tongue.' Its usual meaning in contexts such as the present one is that of 'oral and secret information',

intelligence.’ Cf. also the expression *kele ab-* in the next paragraph and in n. 142 below.

‘Passed it on’, lit. ‘sent, bringing this news.’

‘As soon as Ong Qan received the news’, lit. ‘Ong Qan having *Činggis Qa’an* caused him (i.e. Ong Qan) to receive the news.’

According to our text, Činggis’ camp at the time was ‘at Gürelgü’, i.e. in the Gürelgü Mountains south of Khentei Khan (see above, n. 89), last mentioned in § 129 (*deest apud* HW, 175b).

§ 142. For Altan, Qučar and Dāritai (Otčigin), see above, n. 122.

‘Sent as vanguards’ (*manglai yabu’ulba*). *Manglai* is, literally, ‘the forehead.’ As a military term it means ‘the vanguard’, see above, n. 4. In the present section, this term occurs in the two forms *manglai* and *manglan*, the latter being the plural. See Street 1990a, 355, 3.2 (A).

Senggüm (= Senggün), Ong Qan’s son, is the same personage called Nilqa (= Ilqa) Senggüm elsewhere (§§ 165, 166, 167). On him and his name, see HCG, 331-335, and below, n. 162.

Jaqa Gambu, Ong Qan’s younger brother, has already been mentioned in §§ 107 and 108; whereas Bilge Beki, mentioned here for the first time, will reappear in § 181. For Bilge (= tu. *bilgä* ‘wise’) in proper names, cf. HCG, 80, 250, 396; Rybatzki 2000, 228-229.

‘Patrol(man)’ renders Mongolian *qara’ul* (= mo. *qarayul*) from *qara-* ‘to look at’ and the deverbal noun suffix *-’ul* (= mo. *-yul*). In modern usage it means ‘watchman, guard.’ See GWM, 46, § 153. For this term, cf. also TMEN, no. 276; ‘Trois Documents’, 437, n. 22; Róna-Tas 1986, 135; Kałużyński 1978, 131; Nam 1994, 197. For a detailed description of the use of patrolmen or scouts by the Mongol army, see HTSL, 20a-b; CG, 183-184. ‘An observation post’ is, literally, ‘one post of patrolmen’ (*niken sa’urin qara’ul*). For *sa’urin* (= mo. *sayurin*), lit. ‘seat’, see TMEN, no. 211; Oz¹, III, 128, n. 1.

Enegen Güiletü (‘Having a Single Apricot [Tree]’?) is an unknown locality, but judging from the context it must have been a hill or mountain in the general area of the two mountains Čekčer and Čiqurqu in the region of the Khalkha and Urshun rivers in eastern Mongolia, just like the locality called Utqiya. Mount Čekčer and Mount Čiqurqu are first mentioned in § 61. See above, n. 61.

‘To gain information’ is the regular rendering of Mongolian *kele ab-*, lit. ‘to catch a tongue.’ Cf. Les., 447a: ‘To receive or gather information.’ Cf. also Mo, 80. However, as pointed out by Ligeti, this is a technical term meaning ‘to catch an enemy who voluntarily or under coercion gives information about his own camp’ (Li, 156, n. 142). Thus *kele*, as a military term, means both a prisoner who could supply secret information under interrogation, and the information itself. A similar usage is found in Russian, *язык* meaning ‘tongue, language’ as well as ‘military information.’ Cf. also mo. *kele ilege-* ‘to send a tongue (= a spy).’ For the gathering of intelligence during a military campaign in Činggis’ time, cf. Nam 1994, 196-198.

The men forming the vanguard of Jamuqa’s army were mentioned in § 141.

‘Our vanguard shouted at them, and they shouted *back* (*ungšilalduju ungšiju*).’ Cl, 69, translates ‘Our vanguards cried unto those. While they were crying,’ However, I think with Ozawa (Oz¹, III, 130, n. 5) that the expression *ungšilalduju ungši-* means ‘to shout at each other’, lit. ‘to shout, shouting at each other (= exchanging loud calls).’ The literary Mongolian meaning of *ungši-*, mo. *ungsi-*, is ‘to read, to recite’, but its original meaning was ‘to call, to shout.’ However, in Preclassical and Middle Mongolian, this verb is already attested with the meaning of ‘to read, to recite’, with special reference to holy texts and scriptures, such as the Koran and Buddhist sūtras, in the forms *umši-* and *ungši-*. Cf. Cleaves 1954, 68a (s.v. ‘umši-’), and MA, 364b, 505b. For *umsi-* ~ *ungsi-*, cf. IMCS, 32 (where, however, *m* ~ *ng* [ʀ] is not discussed); MXTXÜ, 170.

'It was *already* getting late', lit. 'it had become evening (*or* late)' (*jilda boldaju*). For *jilda* and *jilda bolda-*, cf. Mo, 172-173; TH, 299-300 (= JYT, 520); Oz¹, III, 140, n. 5; Cleaves 1992, 149, n. 46.

'And spent the night together (lit. "joining") with the main body of the army (*qol*).' For the term *qol* (= pmo., mo. *γool*), lit. 'centre', i.e. the central, or main army, see Poppe 1967, 513-514, no. 7; TMEN, no. 307; HCSL, 433; TQUEMC, 29ff.; Róna-Tas 1986, 136. See also below, n. 247.

§ 143. The battle at Köyiten is one of the high points in Činggis Qan's career as a military leader; much has been written about it, also because the SH-account is at odds with other sources and the sequence of events is not clear, as noted earlier in relation to Činggis' election (see above, n. 141). The identification of Köyiten ('Cold') also poses problems. According to Pèrlèè, this locality corresponds to present-day Xüitèn (Šuus) between the Onon and Kerulen rivers at 48° N and 111° E. See Pèrlèè², 8 (in Pèrlèè⁴, 93, L. Moses adds, 'A river today the Khüjten is a small tributary between the Onon and Kerulen that feeds into the Shuus River'). However, this cannot be reconciled with Pelliot's localization of the nearby mountains Čekčer and Čiqurqu in the region of the Urshun and Khalkha rivers further east (see above, n. 142). The site, therefore, remains unidentified. Cf. ČK¹, 58, n. 87. See also CW, 101-102, and GK, 68ff., for the dating of these events (1201-1202). See also below, n. 144.

'As they pressed on each other downhill and uphill', lit. 'Making each other shift position downwards and upwards (i.e. now downhill and now uphill).' The verb *iquriqa-* (= pmo. *iquriya-*) is the factitive of *iquri-* 'to change place', as glossed in the text, where *pang* 榔 is a mistake for *no* 挪 id. See HW, 81. Cf. [A.M.]: 'se déplaçant.' Other translators understand 'causing each other to withdraw' (see Cl, 70; Oz¹, III, 132), the meaning 'to retire, withdraw (men and horses)' being supported by mo. *uquri-* id. and the modern dialects.

For *jibsi'er-* (AT¹, 41b: *jöbsiyere-*) 'to organize one's forces, reform one's ranks', cf. TH, 298-299 (= JYT, 519).

The ancient Inner Asiatic method of conjuring up rain and blizzards required the use of a rainstone which was put into water. This magic stone, usually a bezoar (i.e. a hard-core concretion found in the stomach or intestines of certain animals, mostly ruminants), is called *yat*, *yada* in Turkic and *jada* in Mongolian. Thus, this term acquired the extended meaning of 'rain-magic', and 'magic rain (*or* storm).' See Pelliot in TP 13:1912, 436-438, n. 1; Pelliot 1930c, 299-301; NMP, I, 424-425; NHHO, 8-9, n. 3; SI, 525-528; TMEN, nos. 157, 1822, 1833; Poppe 1955, 39; Li, 156, n. 143; Boyle 1972a, 184ff.; IBŠ, 190-191, 251; ČK¹, 58, n. 88; and Körelša 1989, for other examples of this practice, as well as the full treatment of the subject in WMIA. In our text, *jada* is rendered in the Chinese interlinear version as 'the operation (lit. "affair") that can bring about wind and rain', and 'wind and rain' (Y² 4, 35b) – no reference is made to the magic stone. The expression *jadalaqun bolun* is, literally, 'doing (fr. "se mettant à" [A.M.]) *jadala-*, *jadala-* meaning 'to make a *jada*', i.e. 'to conjure up a rain(storm).' For the entire sentence cf. *Lettres*, 76.

'We are not loved by Heaven!' – in Mongolian the verb is in the past tense (*ta'alaqdaba*, not *ta'alaqadaba* as in L², 96) because this is a general statement of fact made at the time of, or immediately after, a particular event. For the common use of the Mongolian past (in its various forms) for our present tense, cf. for example the copula *bülüge* used for both past and present events ('was' and 'is'); and expressions like *γaruysan bülüge* = 'originates.' See Mo, xiii. Cf. M.N. Orlovskaya in MKM V, II, 99-103 (esp. p. 103 [5]). For the concept of Heaven's love and protection as a prerequisite for success, see de Rachewiltz 1973, 27. Cf. §§ 167, 246.

§ 144. The Uluq Taq (= Uluq Tay, Turkic for 'Great Mountain') on the southern side of the Altai has been identified by Pèrlèè with the Bulag Uul, or Bulak Ula, near the Sinkiang border at

47° N and 90° E. See Pêrlée², 5 (= Pêrlée⁴, 96). Cf. below, n. 158. Always according to this author (op. cit., 10; cf. Pêrlée⁴, 95), the Šisgis is the same as the Šiqšit of § 239 of the SH and corresponds to the present Šišgid (Shishhid) Gol at 51° 21' N 96° 58' E. Cf. Hambis 1956, 286-287, where this identification had also been proposed. Cf. below, n. 239.

'Towards' (*jorin*) is, literally, 'pointing at or towards, heading for.'

'Then he moved homewards', lit. 'Ĵamuqa moved going back (*qarin*)', i.e. returning home. His camp at the time was, as we have seen, at the junction of the Argun and Gan rivers (§ 141), and it was this place he headed for after having apparently plundered some of his own supporters. The SH says that Ĵamuqa moved *downstream* along the Argun, but if Kōyiten was in the region of the Khalkha River further south, Ĵamuqa coming from Kōyiten and returning north to his camp near the Gan River would have had to journey along the Argun *upstream*, not downstream. So, either the localization of Kōyiten is wrong, or Ĵamuqa made a large detour, in the course of which he plundered his allies, before returning to his camp. Rašīd al-Dīn gives a different account of Ĵamuqa's movements after the battle, making him offer his submission to Činggis Qan and Ong Qan at their winter camp. See SL², I/2, 122. According to the SH, Ong Qan pursued Ĵamuqa, following him down the Argun. The outcome of this alleged pursuit is not mentioned in the SH: when we next meet Ĵamuqa (§ 160), the latter has again joined Ong Qan in a sort of uneasy alliance. Such gaps and incongruities in the SH account are frequent and confusing. However, one cannot but agree with L. Clark about the reason why it was left to Ong Qan to pursue Ĵamuqa while Činggis Qan pursued A'uču Ba'atur of the Tayiči'ut. This is, indeed, at first surprising, in view of the fact that Ĵamuqa, as *gür qan* and chief of the coalition, was the main offender and contender for power; Činggis, therefore, should have turned his attention to him instead of leaving the task of tracking him down to Ong Qan. Clark 1978, 39, claims with reason that within the Mongol social

context, the debt of vengeance – in the present case towards the hated Tayiči'ut – had priority over Činggis' personal ambitions.

Ĵamuqa's former allies dispersed in various directions, clearly heading for their home grounds. We do not know who were those among them that Ĵamuqa 'plundered' in his flight. The Naiman returned to their (winter) camp in the Uluq Taq area (see above), the Merkit made for theirs along the Selenga south of the Baikal (see above, n. 54), while the Oyirat headed for their forest grounds along the Šišgid River west of Lake Khubsugul (or Kōbsögöl, kh. Xövsgöl Nuur). The Tayiči'ut, too, made for their camps on the Onon, but with Činggis Qan on his heels, their chief A'uču Ba'atur hastily moved his people and, crossing the river from the south, prepared to fight the pursuer. The place where the encounter took place is called Hüle'üt (incorrect for Ülengüt) Turas, a yet unidentified locality. This place-name has been extrapolated by Pelliot from the SH text with the help of the parallel accounts in Rašīd's work and the SWCCL; in fact, the SH treats this double place-name as two separate meaningful words (*hüle'üt turastan*) glossed as 'the remaining ones having square shields' (多餘方牌有的). The correct reading is *Ülengüt Turas-tur* 'at Ülengüt Turas.' See Pelliot 1930a, 200-202; HCG, 392. This obvious error of the Ming editors of the SH has been retained in some modern translations, although with reservations, in order to adhere to the text as handed down. Cf. Oz¹, III, 137, 139, n. 3; and Oz², I, 155, 173, n. 4; Cl, 70 and n. 34; Ta, 70; On, 59 and n. 163. Li, 50, transcribes the place-name as 'Hüleüt-turas', which presupposes a written form 'Ülegüd Turas' unsupported by the majority of mss. of Rašīd al-Dīn and by the SWCCL. The meaning of the name Ülengüt Turas is not clear. It has been suggested that in this context, *turas* may be a plural of *tura* 'fortress' or 'shield' (cf. TMEN, no. 958); however, according to the SWCCL, this locality was a plain, or grassland (*yeh* 野). See Pelliot, loc. cit. Cf. Ligeti 1972, 9, n. 16. With regard to *hüle'üt*, Poppe 1975, 166, writes: '*hüle'üt* "superior" plur. of SH *hüle'ü* "superior", Mo. *ülegü*, Kh. *ilw*, Bur. *ulw* "id." However,

Poppe's interpretation is not pertinent in view of the reading Üleṅgüt.

'Right next to each other', lit. 'being (*or* standing, holding a position) against (= in close proximity to) each other' (*šitüldüjü*) – so close, in fact, that they were touching each other [H.S.]. Cf. HW, 142.

'When people arrived, fleeing in disarray.' The people in question were, of course, the Tayiči'ut women, children and old people displaced by the Mongol attack and the ensuing battle. As was the custom, they formed for protection a fortified 'circular camp' with their wagons and carts – the *güre'en* (on which see above, n. 90; cf. also § 145) – as close as possible to their own troops. 'Alongside', lit. 'with.'

§ 145. 'The bleeding', lit. 'the blood' (*čisun*).

'Was in a great plight' (*amduriqdarun*), i.e. in a fluster for being frustrated in his attempt to stanch the blood. Cf. mo. *amturi-* 'to be in a hurry, excited.'

Želme's prompt action probably saved Činggis Qan's life, but it is not clear at first sight what was the purpose of it. The same technique is described in § 173 when Ögödei (Činggis' third son), also wounded in the neck, was treated in the same manner by Boroqul: the clotting blood was removed from the wound by sucking. In Činggis' case, the bleeding could not at first be stopped and this had him worried. When it did stop, and the blood coagulated, Želme kept on removing the clot so as to let the blood flow freely. Grousset (CW, 103) says, 'In the manner of the Mongol "doctors", he (Želme – I.R.) sucked the clotted blood from the wound.' However, neither Grousset (cf. also EM, 114), nor Vladimircov (GKV, 38-39), nor most of the biographers of Činggis Qan and commentators of the SH explain the true reason for the removal of the clotted blood. Cf., e.g., ČQT, I, 252. This, as correctly surmised by Ratchnevsky, is found in the fact that among the steppe nomads it was common to use poisoned arrows; hence, the continuous flow of blood from the wound would reduce the danger of dying of poison,

and the prolonged treatment had the effect also of preventing an air embolism. See ČK¹, 59 and n. 93 (= ČK², 63); cf. Ev-Pop, 277, n. 72; Kaszuba 1996, 63 (where, however, the numbering of the notes is incorrect); and Meserve 2000, 41. Želme, then, appears to have been smarter than Činggis, who had previously tried to stanch the blood. There is no mention of this event in the Persian and Chinese sources; it may indeed be an epic piece not resting on actual fact (see also below, n. 146). For this episode in relation to Žebe's shooting at Činggis' horse (§ 147), see below, n. 147.

For *qubčasun* 'clothes, garments' (= *qubčan* [§ 136], cf. GWM, 44, § 137), see TMEN, no. 263. Cf. Gantogtox 1990, 125.

'Everything' (*bügüde-yi* [acc.]). For the position of *bügüde* in the present construction, cf. Cleaves 1959, 82, n. 220.

'But for his pants', lit. 'with only pants' (*qaqča doto'ajitu*). This can only refer to trousers or breeches, not to undergarments, i.e. underpants, which the Mongols of the time did not wear, as aptly pointed out by H. Serruys (p.c.). Hence, renderings like 'inner pants' (On, 59) are not accurate. For *doto'aji* = mo. *dotoyaji*, *dotoyoji* 'trousers, pants', cf. Oz¹, III, 155, n. 10. On the question of why Želme would have stripped himself of most of his clothing (as a preliminary to an execution?), cf. Jackendoff's remarks in Jackendoff 1977, 30.

For the word *čurama* in the expression *čurama ničügün* 'stark naked', cf. DO, 719b.

'Into the midst of the enemy' (*dayin datora'un*). For *datora'un* (= pmo. *dotorayun*), see Ligeti 1971, 147. AT¹, 42a, has *dotayur* (= *dotoyur*) 'inside, within.'

'The people who had set up a circular camp (*gürēleksen* = *güregeleksen*) over there' – referring to the enemy barricade of carts set up nearby as related in § 144.

'A large covered bucket of curds' (*büri'etei taraq*). This expression has been the subject of much discussion and varying interpretations. See Oz¹, III, 155-157, n. 12. The above translation is based on the Chinese gloss (一箇大器皿拿來的酪).

Cf. Cl, 71: 'a great [vessel of] curd having a covering.' However, On, 59, renders the same words as 'a large (bowl) of fermenting curds'¹⁶⁵, explaining in note 165 on the same page that 'Used alone, *büri'etei* (fermenting) means "covered" and is rendered this way by other translators. However, in conjunction with *taraq* (curds, sour milk) it can only mean "fermenting". Onon's interpretation is based on TH, 160 (= JYT, 280), but it is not tenable on grammatical grounds. The verb *büri-* means 'to cover', and 'to ferment.' Cf. Les., 148b. The form *büri'e* (w.f. *bürige*) is a deverbal noun in *-ge* of *büri-*. This suffix (*-yal-ge*) is not listed in GWM as such, being assimilated to *-yanl-gen* (ibid., 45, § 149) with no examples given of its use without the paragogic *n*. Cf., e.g., mo. *aγsaya* 'belt', from *aγsa-* 'to attach to, suspend to.' See GLME, 11 (c3); JS, 43-44, § 57. When followed by the possessive suffix *-tei*, *bürige* can only mean 'a cover, covering'; a form like *büri'etei* (= *büri-* + *-e* + *-tei*) cannot possibly be formed on *büri-* 'to ferment' to mean 'fermenting' or 'fermented.'

'And carried it back', lit. 'lifting it came back.'

'In the time between', lit. 'in the interval' (*ja'ura*). I think that *ja'ura* here is temporal, rather than spacial as in Cl, 71 ('On the way'). Cf. the gloss *ch'i-chien* 其間 'in that interval.' Cf. also the sectional summary, Y² 4, 44a: 其來往間 'during his coming and going.'

'The eyes within me (lit. "my eyes within me") have cleared up', in other words, 'I have come to my senses again.' The reference is, I think, to the 'mind's eye(s)', i.e. one's ability to recognize things, one's consciousness. This is the interpretation proposed by Naka (Na², 132) and adopted by Murakami (Mu, I, 328). However, Oz¹, III, 148, understands: 'My person and (my emphasis - I.R.) my eyes have become bright.' See the long note 14 on pp. 157-159. Cf. On, 59: 'My mind and my eyes are clearing' following Do¹, 112, which in turn rests on the sectional summary paraphrase 我眼已明心已省了 'My eyes have cleared up, my mind is conscious (or alert)' (Y² 4, 44a). Cf. Wa, 252.

'All about *the place where* he was sitting', lit. 'all about that *place where* he was sitting.'

'Couldn't you have spat farther away?', lit. 'How would it have been if you spat afar?'

'I swallowed what I could swallow and spat out what I could spit out', lit. 'I swallowed the swallowing (= what is swallowed) and spat out the spitting out (= what is spat out).' This phrase can also be rendered: 'Some I swallowed, some I spat out.' For *jalgi-* ~ *jalgi-* 'to swallow', cf. Mostaert 1956, 6, n. 8. In view of the circumstances it seems strange that Činggis Qan should have been upset by the bloody mess made by Jelme. As is well known, the Mongols had taboos concerning the spitting of blood on the ground, and on choking (cf. Jackendoff 1977, 30); however, I think that the point of the episode is to enhance further Jelme's devotion to his master by stressing the fact that he was even forced to swallow much of the blood himself.

'Quite a lot went also into my stomach!', lit. 'how much also went into my stomach?' – a rhetorical question.

'And have just come in haste to join you' (*dantur edüi idürejü irebe bi*). For the verb *idüre-* 'to catch up (with someone), to overtake (§ 146 ad fin.); to fast approach (§ 189)', see below, n. 189.

The passage 'Then, I would have jumped on a horse ... I went there.' has been translated and discussed in Mo, 61-63 (where, on p. 63, a more literal rendering than mine is provided). Please note that the phrase 'in that brief moment (lit. "in the time as long as that") I would surely have got back!' is put as a negative rhetorical question in the original ('would I not have come back?'). Also, my rendering 'because I wished to get back in time' is, literally, 'saying, "I would that I arrive in time."' The idiom 'without so much as blinking an eye', i.e. 'boldly, resolutely', is, literally, 'the eye remaining black' (*nidiün qara*). This is the generally accepted interpretation. Cf. Na², 133; Mo, 62-63; Da⁵, 81; Li, 51; Cl, 72; On, 60; Ev-Pop, 104. However, some scholars disagree. Pe, 169, n. 1, suggests 'Aveuglement?'

A l'aveuglé?'; Do¹, 113 (and 115, n. 2) renders it as 'going against the staring eyes' on the (untenable) assumption that *qara* here does not mean 'black' but 'to look at' (看); and Oz¹, III, 149, after having discussed the previous interpretations (ibid., 161-162, n. 21), opts for the rendering 'without even looking opposite (or across)', thus adopting Pelliot's suggestion. Cf. Oz², I, 174, n. 4. The issue is unfortunately not clear-cut, also because AT¹, 43a, has *nidün qara* accompanied with the gloss *üjelte* 'view(point); having a view', which is not pertinent. Šastina (LDAT, 116), following the general interpretation, translates 'without blinking the eyes.'

'In former days, when the Three Merkit came and thrice circled Mount Burqan, you saved my life for the first time.' See §§ 102-103 for the event in question. Although Jelme is mentioned (§ 103) in connection with it, his role as 'saviour' of Činggis Qan is not fully explained, like Bo'orču's role as referred to in § 205. Cl, 72, renders *qači'ulqui-dur* as 'at the moment when ... were making [me] to go round about', instead of 'circled.' However, in view of the obvious meaning of *qači'ul-* 'to circle' in § 102 (cf. Mo, 33; Cl, 35), and the identical acceptance of this verb in the temporal clause of § 111 (see above, n. 111), I think there is no justification for altering the translation. Cf. Oz², I, 157. The use of the factitive form in the SH for non-factitive purposes deserves thorough investigation. Cf. also § 199 and 205. 'You saved my life' is, literally, 'you took out my life', i.e. out of danger.

'You restored me to life', lit. 'you opened up my life', i.e. 'you let it flow (again).'

'Disregarding your life', lit. 'forsaking your life.'

'You quenched my thirst', lit. 'you provided me with sufficient drink.'

'Restored life to me', lit. 'you made life enter *into me* again.'

§ 146. According to the sequence of events as presented in the SH, Činggis resumes his campaign the following morning by

pursuing the Tayiči'ut fugitives. This means that either his neck wound was not as serious as we are led to believe in § 145, or (as is more likely) the whole episode concerning Jelme is an epic theme, as so many others in the SH, regarding which cf. Pelliot's remarks in HCG, 82.

For Sorqan Šira of the Suldus, a retainer of the Tayiči'ut, see above, n. 82. His daughter Qada'an had already been mentioned in § 85. Her husband was a Tayiči'ut.

'The man went ... the man returned', lit. 'That man went ... that man returned.'

'As my husband was being killed' (*ere-yü'en alaqdarun*). For this passive construction, see Poppe 1964, 373-374.

'He dismounted near Qada'an ..., but her husband had already been killed by our soldiers', lit. 'Činggis Qa'an dismounted at (= by, near) Qada'an Our soldiers had beforehand (= already) killed her husband.'

'Great army' (*yeke čerik*). 'Great' here is either an epithet for the *qan*'s army (cf. above, n. 121) or, as suggested by N. Poppe (p.c.), it designates the main body of the army. The latter interpretation has been adopted in On, 61, and Ev-Pop, 105.

'He invited Qada'an to come to him and had her sit by his side', i.e. in a place of honour, meaning probably (but not necessarily), that he took her as a secondary wife. See HCG, 153. Činggis Qan was indebted to Qada'an, as to the rest of her family, for his escape from the Tayiči'ut camp as related in §§ 84-87. His obligation is aptly recalled in the poetic passage of this section.

Qada'an's father Sorqan Šira turned up soon after together with another personage who will become a legend in his own time, viz. Jebe. Jebe, whose original name was Jirqo'adai, was a Besüt, a clan related to the Tayiči'ut through their common ancestor Čaraqai Lingqu (see above, n. 47, and HCG, 132), some members of which had earlier rallied to Činggis Qan (see § 120). However, most of the Besüt had apparently remained with the Tayiči'ut as subordinate tribesmen. Cf. §§ 119 and

138. Both Sorqan Šira and Ĵebe are referred to in this section as *haran*, i.e. people attached to the household or retainers; in the present case, of Tödöge, a Tayiči'ut chief. On the identity of this personage, see Pelliot's important remarks in HCG, 156-157. He is called Tödege at the end of § 219, where Sorqan Šira is again described as his *haran* (Cl, 73, renders this term as 'people', but on p. 160 he translates it as 'bondman'; cf. above, n. 39). The origin of Ĵirqo'adai's nickname Ĵebe (designating a particular type of arrow) is explained in § 147. Ĵebe will become one of Činggis' most distinguished captains and the first of his 'four hounds' (*dörben noqas*, cf. above, n. 97, and below, n. 195). On him see TDMI, 550b (Index); HCG, 154-157 et passim; ISK, 777b (Index); Chiodo 1994, 206-207; and the numerous other references in the SH. On, 61, renders the passage in question as follows: 'The next day, Sorqan-shira and Ĵebe, both of whom had been servants¹⁶⁹ of the Tayyichi'ut also arrived.' In note 169 on the same page he writes: 'The word *tödöge* in the text is derived from the Orqon Turkish word *tökön*, meaning "Prisoners of war." For details see B₂₁, pp204-5, note 11 [= AT^d, 204-205, n. 11 – I.R.]. This word "tödöge" has nothing to do with the word "tödögen" in Section 72.' Cf. also On, 123 and n. 286. The fact that the personage Tödöge ~ Tödege (> Tödē in Rašīd al-Dīn) is known from other sources makes the above interpretation unacceptable.

The poetic passage is translated and discussed in Mo, 63-64. Mostaert, however, does not discuss the word *jarbiyal* (in the expression *jarbiyal mudun*) which is a *hapax legomenon*. The interlinear gloss renders it as 'cangue' (*chia* 枷). In Dagur there is a verb *ĵierbi-* meaning 'to accumulate, pile up' which may well correspond to the verb **ĵarbi-* forming the noun *jarbiyal*. The deverbal noun suffix *-yal* is well attested, but little studied. It occurs in words like *ĉabčiyal* 'steep ravine, gully', from *ĉabčī-* 'to hew' (see MÜIT, 5843b-5844a, no. 501). It forms nouns which are the outcome of the action of the verb. Hence 'to pile up' (**ĵarbi-*) > 'cangue' (*jarbiyal*) is an acceptable derivation. See TH, 293-294 (= JYT, 510); Oz¹, III, 170, n. 4.

'The wooden cangue', lit. 'the cangue wood' (*jarbiyal mudun*), i.e. the wood that constituted the cangue – in apposition to *kiündü mudun* 'the heavy wood' of the preceding verse. The 'buḡa'u wood' of Cl, 73 ad fin., is an error for 'jarbiyal wood.' *Buḡa'u* is the term for 'cangue' used in §§ 81, 83, 84, 85 and 112 (see above, n. 81).

'Why, then, did you delay coming to me?' The question is pertinent in view of the fact that other Besüt tribesmen had rallied to Činggis Qan earlier on (see above). However, as Sorqan Šira explains, it was essential for the family's safety to wait for the right opportunity to desert the Tayiči'ut. Lattimore 1963b, 60, writes: 'It required nerve and good timing to elude the obligations of collective responsibility imposed by the institution of the subordinate tribe.' Cf. also *ibid.*, 64; and Ratchnevsky 1987, 65.

'My wife and children', lit. 'my wife and child (or son: *eme kö'ün*)' in the singular; however, we know that Sorqan Šira had more than one child. See § 85. Thus here, as in other instances, *eme kö'ün* = *eme kö'üt*. Cf. Kałużyński 1992/93, 278-280; see also above, n. 104, and below, nn. 174, 185.

'At heart (lit. "within myself") I felt full confidence in you' (*bi dotora'an bölen itkel setkiĵü büle'ei*). With regard to the words *bölen itkel*, Mostaert writes: 'support (Činggis) actuel' [A.M.]. Cl, 73-74, renders the above sentence as follows: 'I have been thinking within me of [my] present support', thus adopting Mostaert's interpretation. *Bölen* = mo. *belen* 'ready, in order', the word conveying the idea of 'completeness' like its Chinese counterpart *pei* 備. The sectional summary reads: 'In my own heart I was already relying on you' (我心已自倚仗着你). Hence I am inclined to take the expression *bölen itkel* to mean literally 'ready-made (= complete) confidence (or faith, trust)', rather than 'present support.' See Oz¹, III, 170-171, nn. 5, 6.

'We came in haste to join our Qa'an', lit. 'we came overtaking (*idiüreĵü*) to join our Qa'an.' For the verb *idiüre-*, cf. above, n. 145, and below, n. 189.

§ 147. For the battle of Köyiten, see § 143 and com.

The passage 'Who ... the white mouth?' has been translated and discussed in Mo, 65-67.

'To sever the neckbone', lit. 'to break the first vertebra (i.e. the atlas).' The expression *aman niri'u* designates the first cervical vertebra or atlas. See Mo, loc. cit.

The particular characteristics of a *qula* or 'tawny horse' ('yellow horse' 黃馬 according to the Chinese gloss) are a fallow coat, a black mane and tail, and a black stripe along the spine. Cf. also above, n. 87.

'The size of the palm of a hand' (*halaqan-u tedüi*). For *halaqan* = mo. *alaya(n)* 'palm of the hand', cf. Cleaves 1956, 217, n. 135.

'If I be favoured' (*soyurqaqda'asu*). The verb *soyurqa-* 'to show favour, to grant permission, to bestow, etc.' is, together with the deverbial noun *soyurqal* 'favour, grant', an important social and economic term in medieval Mongolian phraseology. On it see Pelliot 1930c, 302-303, n. 1; TMEN, nos. 228, 229; Murakami 1961, 311ff. (cf. MTSK, 173-186 et passim); idem 1983, 102; Sugita 1979, 43-45; TQUEMC, 109, 184; ISK, 155, 178, 469. In the present context, however, *soyurqaqda'asu* simply means 'if the Qa'an deigns to spare my life.'

Regarding the poetic passage and images such as 'to divide (lit. "to cut across [or asunder]") the deep water' and 'to crumble the shining stone', cf. the saying in § 72 and com., and § 209. The verb *qal-* 'to lay hands on' has also the related meaning of 'to provoke, to attack', as in this passage and in §§ 174 and 209. Cf. Mo, 52. The meaning 'to attack' given in Kow., 796b, is not registered in Les., 916a.

'For the Qa'an' (*qa'an-u emüne*), lit. 'before the Qa'an.' For *emüne* = 'in favour of, for', cf. Cleaves 1962, 102, n. 36; Buck, 99-100, n. 31.

'In the place which I am told to reach ... At the time when I am told to attack', lit. 'In the place which (= where) he (i.e. the Qa'an) shall have said, "Reach!" ... At the time when he shall have said, "Attack!"' Cf. Cl, 74. *Jebe* means that he will do his

utmost to carry out the orders of his new leader if he is spared. The different colours and characteristics of the stones (blue, black, shining) have, I believe, no symbolic value in these old sayings, but are there for stylistic reasons, such as contrast and parallelism, as well as for poetic imagery. The linguistic features of the alliterative passage, in particular the use of the so-called preverbs, such as *hoqtoru* '(to cleave) asunder' and *čëürü* '(to break) to pieces', are discussed in Bese 1969, 123-125; LSHM, 38; and Oz¹, III, 176-178, nn. 4, 5. Cf. also Cërënsodnom 1986, 77-78.

'When it comes to his *former* killings and hostile actions', lit. 'the fact that he has killed and that he has acted as an enemy.'

'Conceals his person and hides his tongue' – obviously an idiom for 'to keep out of the way and avoid talking.' Cf. the English colloquialism 'to lie low.' For the Mongolian expression, cf. VG, 57-58.

Žirqo'adai means 'The Six', or, as Pelliot writes, 'Sixième' (HCG, 155). Cf. Poppe 1975, 162. On the other hand, Ligeti is of the opinion that it means 'man of the Žirqo'an clan' (Li, 156, n. 147). However, H. Serruys (p.c.) writes: 'Ligeti seems to have understood Žirqo'ad-ai, but is there such a clan (Žirqo'an/-d)? For *-dai*, *-ldai*, cf. HJAS 14 (1951), 353: *yisüldei* "le Neuf." I understand Žirqo'adai "Mr. Six", "The One Six".' Cf. also 'Trois documents', 473.

Jebe, besides its usual meaning of 'weapons' in general, apparently designated also a particular type of arrow which has not yet been clearly identified and which, as we can infer from the context, was the one Žirqo'adai had used to kill Činggis Qan's horse. See the discussion in HCG, 155-156; TMEN, no. 156; and Oz¹, III, 175, n. 1. However, Cleaves understands differently, and perhaps correctly, as follows: 'The name *Jebe* means "Weapon." He is so named, as we see, from the fact that he shot the *jebelegü qula*, "the war *qula*" or, more literally, "the *qula* which served as a weapon (*jebe*)", and that Činggis Qahan says: "*jebeleye imayi*" "I shall use him as a weapon (*jebe*)", i.e.,

“instead of my *jebelegü qula* which he shot.” (Cl, 75, n. 43.) For the verb *jebele-*, cf. TMEN, no. 153. Mostaert (u.n.) understands: ‘je me servirai de lui à la guerre.’

‘Keep by my side!’, i.e. like the *jebe*-arrows (or the weapons) that one carried in the quiver or at one’s side.

The *Jebe* episode as related in the SH may also be an epic theme like that involving *Jelme* (§ 145). For the treatment of this episode in both its social and historiographic aspects, see Jackendoff 1977, 29-31.

§ 148. ‘The men of *Tayiči’ut* lineage’ (*Tayiči’utai yasutu gü’ün*). For *yasutu*, lit. ‘having the bone (= lineage)’, see above, n. 112.

From the expression *hünesü’er keyisgen* ‘blowing to the winds like hearth-ashes’ (on which cf. above, n. 87), we may infer that Činggis Qan also rooted out the family of A’uču Ba’atur and the other *Tayiči’ut* chief as was to be expected in view of the long and bitter feud. Cf. Ratchnevsky 1987, 77. On A’uču Ba’atur and Qoton (~ Qodun) Örceng (called here Qoton Örceng – Qodun and Qoton being indistinguishable in Uighur-Mongol script), see above, n. 141. For the name Qudu’udar (> Qudūdar), see HCG, 390-391. Cl, 76, and On, 63, render *kidu-* as ‘to slay’ and ‘to kill’ respectively; however, this verb has a stronger meaning, as it combines the ideas of ‘to kill’ with that of ‘to annihilate’, as is evident also from the Chinese glosses (see GHMBK, 461). Cf. QNTT, 365a; TMEN, no. 351. Thus, from this section one gains the impression that the *Tayiči’ut* leaders themselves perished in the onslaught; in fact they no longer appear in the SH narrative, except for Tarqutai Kiriltuq who escaped and whose fate is related in the next section. However, the accounts of the same event in the YS² 1, 4; SL², 1/2, 116; and SWCCL¹, 24b-25a, differ from the SH. The YS states that Qangqu (= A’uču [Ba’atur]) was defeated and put to flight. Rašīd al-Dīn says that A’uču, together with Qoton Örcang (these names are spelled differently; cf. HCG, 147, 158-160) fled to the Barqujin. Another *Tayiči’ut* chief, Quril (Ba’atur), who is not mentioned in the SH, took refuge with the

Naiman, while Tarqutai Kiriltuq and Qudūdar were killed at Ülengüt Turas (cf. above, n. 144). The SWCCL agrees with Rašīd; however, it specifies that Tarqutai Kiriltuq and Qudūdar were only ‘captured’ by Činggis Qan (cf. HCG, 390) in the Ülengüt Turas steppe. A’uču Ba’atur appears again in the SWCCL¹, 31a, s.a. 1202. For the discrepancies between the above accounts and the SH, cf. HCG, 161-162. Remnants of the *Tayiči’ut* tribesmen supporting *Ĵamuqa* were not conquered by Činggis until 1204. See § 196.

Quba Qaya, Turkic for ‘Reddish (or, better, “Orange”, i.e. between red and yellow; but see ED, 581a) Rock’, was the name of a mountain in eastern Mongolia near the Manchurian border which, according to Pèrlée², 8 (= Pèrlée¹, 93), should be identified with present-day Xuva Dobu (mo. Quba Dobu) at 49° N 109° E. Cf. RBC, 80; Boyle 1973, 75. For tu. *qaya* ‘rock’, cf. TMEN, no. 316. As noted by Pelliot (HCG, 418-419) and Li, 156, it is strange to find a Turkic place-name so far to the east; Pelliot suggests that it may come from the Turkic-speaking entourage of Ong Qan; in Rašīd al-Dīn’s chronicle (SL², 1/2, 118) this name appears twice, but it is Ong Qan, not Činggis Qan, who spent the winter there. According to the Persian historian, Činggis wintered on the confines of north China, in a locality called Čekčer – no doubt the Mount Čekčer of § 61, etc., in the region of the Khalkha and Urshun rivers, i.e. in the same general area of Quba Qaya. See above, n. 61. Quba Qaya as a wintering place for Činggis Qan is mentioned again in § 151.

§ 149. This section is an important one for the ideological message that it conveys, viz. the Mongol concept of loyalty to one’s ‘legitimate’ chief or ruler as illustrated in the case of Tarqutai Kiriltuq’s capture by Širgü’etü and his sons.

In the parallel text of the AT, between §§ 148 and 149, the author has inserted an interesting narrative of an encounter of Činggis Qan and six of his companions (*nököd*) with a force of 300 *Tayiči’ut* (AT¹, 45a-50a). The lengthy narrative has been incorporated in Damdinsüren’s version of the SH. See Da¹, 95-

107; Da³, 89-100. Another version of this narrative is found in the ČQČ, 126-138. This well-known epic piece of a later date (? 16th-17th c.) has been translated both partially and in full, and has been dealt with by several scholars, besides being reprinted in Damdinsürën's anthology of early Mongolian literature (MUJ, 30-36). See Žamc.², 70-72; LDAT, 118-128; Da², 103-126 (the Chinese translation of D¹); Šagdar², 54-62; Clark 1978/79.

Old Širgü'etü of the Ničügüt ('Naked') branch of the Ba'arin (Bārin) tribe and his sons were former subjects of the Tayiči'ut. For this tribe, see HCG, 34; Cleaves 1956, 202, n. 2. Širgü'etü, who was later appointed commander of a thousand of the Left by Činggis Qan, is the ancestor of the famous general Bayan (1237-95), on whom see Cleaves 1956; ISK, 584-607. For Širgü'etü and his sons, see the SH, § 220; HCG, 158, 162-164; and Cleaves 1956, 202-203, n. 3. His younger (?) son Naya'a (> Nayā, pmo. Nayaya; see AT¹, 51b) is mentioned again in § 197 in connection with the handing over of Dayir Usun's daughter, the beautiful Qulan, to Činggis Qan during the campaign against the Merkit in 1204. See below, n. 197. For Alaq's name ('Multicoloured'), see Bese 1974, 92; Rybatzki [2003], s.v.

Tarqutai Kiriltuq, the most senior Tayiči'ut chief and long-time enemy of Činggis Qan, was last mentioned in § 141, and according to other sources (see above, n. 148), was killed in battle at Ülengüt Turas. In the present account (which may well be spurious) he fled to the woods after the defeat of his tribe on the Onon following the battle at Köyiten. He was captured by Širgü'etü who put him in a cart. The free Chinese summary says that he could not ride a horse because he was too fat (Y² 5, 8a); the epithet Tarqutai (= pmo. Tarγutai) means, in fact, 'Fat', hence his nickname 'Fat' Kiriltuq. He is referred to as an *östü gü'ün*, lit. 'a man who has hate', which has been taken to mean several things: 1) 'a hating man', 'a man full of hate'; 2) 'an enemy', 'a mortal enemy', 'an old foe'; 3) 'a hated man'; 4) 'a man against whom one has a grievance'; 5) 'a man from whom

one must exact revenge.' Hence the different interpretations that we find in the modern translations. In § 133 we first met the plural form *östēn* (*irgen*), which I rendered 'mortal enemies', since this expression was specifically applied to old foes forever harbouring feelings of hate and seeking revenge, i.e. to implacable enemies. 'Mortal enemy' is, indeed, the rendering adopted by Haenisch (Ha, 48; but only as 'Feindesvolk' in § 133, p. 38) and Ligeti (Li, 45). The word *ös* means, in fact, both 'hate' and 'revenge', the two concepts of *odium* and *ultio* being inseparable in the Mongol traditional outlook, which is still reflected in the modern languages and dialects. Cf., e.g., ord. *ös* 'hate, revenge'; kh. *ös*, id.; kalm. *ös*, id.; etc. This problem has been discussed in detail by F. Hamayon (Hamayon 1986; cf. idem 1978, 89-90) and others (see above, n. 58). The Chinese gloss for *östü* and *östēn* is 'who has hate' (誰有的), but for *ös* in § 267 it is 'revenge' (讐): *ös-iyen abu'ai je* 'we took our revenge.' (In Chinese, the word *ch'ou* 讐 [= 讐, 仇] means also 'hate, hostile, enemy' as well as 'revenge'). The verb *ösö-* ~ *öse-* (§ 58 et passim; cf. HW, 128; GHMBK, 345) is glossed 'to requite, avenge' (報). The same verb in the literary language (*ösi-*) and in the modern spoken languages and dialects means 'to hate, to harbour a grievance; to act as an enemy; to feel vengeful.' See Kow., 515a; Les., 645a; Oz¹, I, 244, n. 2. These meanings are all present in mo. *östü*, *östei* (= *ösiyetü*, *ösiyetei*; see below) 'hostile, enemy, vengeful, full of animosity, etc.', and *östēn* (= *ösiyeten*) 'enemies, foes.' See Les., 645a-646a. Cf. kalm. *öšē* 'feindschaft, hass; rache'; *öšētē kün* 'ein feindseliger, rachsüchtiger mensch' (KW, 301b). Therefore, it is evident that, since the basic concept of 'hate' implies also that of 'desire of revenge', a man 'who has hate' (i.e. a hostile man, an enemy) is a man 'who has the desire of revenge', 'a vengeful man' ('ein rachsüchtiger mensch'), rather than a man 'from whom one must exact revenge' ('méritant vengeance', as in Ev-Pop, 109, § 149; cf. ibid., 95, § 133: 'dout nous devons tirer vengeance'). The interpretation in Ev-Pop is based on the

notion of vengeance as elaborated in Hamayon 1986, 110-112, where (p. 110) we read: ‘Avoir de l’*ös* (*östen*, HS, 133, 149) revient à avoir une dette de vengeance et *ösül ösükü* (HS, 58, 102, 105, 154; Haenisch 1962: 128, “tirer vengeance”), à s’en acquitter.’ In other words, *östen irgen* are people ‘who owe revenge’, i.e. that one must exact revenge from; and *ösül ösükü* (= *ösöl ösö-*) means ‘to take one’s revenge’ on such people. I think Hamayon is perfectly correct with regard to *ösöl ösö-*, but I disagree with her concerning *östen* (= *öšten/östü*), the meaning of which, in my view, can only be, as I explained before, ‘possessing hate/revenge (i.e. desire of revenge)’ = ‘hostile/vengeful.’ Whereas *oš* in the sense of ‘requital, retribution’ was, and remains, inseparable from the concept of ‘hate’, mmo. *hači*, meaning also ‘requital, retribution’, was neutral insofar as it can signify ‘revenge’ as well as ‘benefit, reward’ according to the context. See HW, 74; *Matériel I*, 59. Cf. mmo. *hačitu* ‘having (one’s) revenge’ (SH, § 113); pmo. and mo. *ačitu* ‘meritorious’ (TDB, 47: F37v; 170, n. 271; Kow., 119b). This dichotomy has been noted by other investigators; cf., e.g., C. Humphrey in MNT, I, 203-206. Now (*h*)*ači* is a true Mongolian word which the early translators and commentators of Buddhist texts used to render skr. *phala* (= tib. ‘*bras bu*’) ‘fruition, result(s) (of act[s])’; skr. *kṛta* (= tib. *lan, drin*) ‘deed or service done, benefit’; etc. Cf. Cleaves 1954, 56a; MTVB, 127b, s.v. ‘ači.’ Thus, although originally a neutral word, through Buddhist usage *ači* acquired in time the positive connotations that we find associated with it in literary Mongolian and the modern dialects. Cf. Les., 7b; DO, 35b; MMED, 38a; etc. On the other hand, *oš* (*ös*) – almost certainly a borrowing from Turkic – retained the negative connotations which were already present in tu. *öč* (= mo. *ös*) ‘malice, wrath’ and ‘revenge’; *öče-* (= mo. *ösi-*) ‘to feel hostile, to desire revenge.’ See ED, 18a-b, 21a; DTS, 376a. Cf. VGAS, 63, 109; TMEN, no. 575. In the SH, besides *oš* we find also the deverbial noun in *-l ösöl* (§§ 58, 102) with the same meaning; and, in the later literary language, the deverbial nouns in *-ye*

(*-ya*; *deest apud* Poppe, GWM, but see MÜIT, 2843a, no. 500 [1]) *ösiye(n)*, *ösiyetü*, *ösiyetei*, *ösiyeten*. See Les., 645a-b. Indeed, both *oš/os* and *östü/östü* became somewhat obsolete in that language, being gradually replaced by *ösiye(n)*, *ösiyetü*, etc., witness the fact that the former words are not listed in the QNTT (whereas *ösiye* is), and that the entry *ös* in MKT, 284c, is referred to the entry *ösiye*, and *östü*, *östei* are not entered at all, while *ösiyetei* is (ibid., 285b; idem in the 1999 ed., 285c and 286b; the more comprehensive MKeT has, however, separate entries for *ös*, *ösiye* and *ösiyetei*, see ibid., 603b, 604a, 605a). Likewise, *ös* in Šaṅja¹, 167b, is given as equal to *ösiye*, which is glossed as *qadaṅalyaysan qorosul* ‘kept (= prolonged, implacable) hatred’ (Šaṅja² does not register *ös*). In order to render correctly the meaning of *östü gü’ün* in our passage, one would have to paraphrase it as ‘a man who from old harbours deep feelings of hate and a desire for revenge’; or, more simply and less accurately, ‘a hating and vindictive man.’ However, I think that ‘mortal enemy’ conveys the idea adequately, bearing in mind what has been said about the concept of vengeance in early Mongol society. I have purposely avoided the use of the expression ‘a hateful man’ since it is both ambiguous and inadequate to render the Mongolian.

‘Old Širgü’etü got onto the cart.’ This sentence, which is missing from Onon’s translations (On, 63, and the 2001 ed., 124), has been rendered ‘Old Man Širgü’etü, getting him (i.e. Taryutai Kiriltuy – I.R.) into the cart’ in Cl, 77. I think it is Širgü’etü who got into (*or* onto) the cart, since Tarqutai was already there.

‘Sitting astride’ – as if riding him.

The passage ‘Your sons and younger brothers have come to take you away ... death-companion’, has been translated and discussed in Mo, 67-70. Cf. Street 1986, 47-48.

Throughout this section, I have rendered *qan*, *tus qan* and *tus* (= *tus qan*), as ‘lord’ and ‘rightful lord’ respectively. From the sectional summary it is clear that the Ming translators took *qan* here to mean *chu* 主 ‘lord, master’ by rendering *tus qan* as

cheng-chu 正主 'rightful lord' (Y² 5, 8b). See Mostaert *apud* Cleaves 1951, 103, n. 163 ('seigneur légitime'). Cf. Pa, 75; Wa, 255; Wei, 102. Tarqutai Kiriltuq is nowhere referred to as being a *qan*.

In §§ 55 and 145, the particle *takilteki* occurs with the meaning of 'also', whereas in this section it has the meaning of 'if, even if', in conjunction with a converbum conditionale (*ala'asu*). For this usage, cf. Bayarmendü 1990, 24-25; Oz¹, III, 194-195, n. 3. See also n. 55 above.

'I shall of course be killed all the same' (*mün gü alaqaqu gü bi*). For the emphatic *mün gü ...gü*, cf. Street, loc. cit.

'Taking you as my death-companion', lit 'taking a pillow' (*dere abun*). The expression 'to die taking a pillow' refers to the Mongol and Inner Asian custom for a person about to die to revenge himself in advance by killing an enemy, whose body would then provide, as it were, a pillow to rest on, i.e. on whose body he could be laid when buried. The enemy thus killed would serve as escort and servant in the other world. See Mo, 68-70, 275; Li, 157, n. 149; MNTSZA, 126-132; Barthold & Rogers 1970, 211-212; Tomka 1965, 175; Boyle 1974a; cf. Cleaves 1986, 195, n. 21. See also § 154.

'Draw back at once before he kills me!', lit. 'While he has not yet killed me, go back quickly!'

The passage 'Temüjin will not kill me ... Temüjin will not cause me to die' has been translated and discussed in Mo, 236-238, n. 221.

'He had fire in his eyes,/He had light in his face.' For this recurrent *topos*, cf. above, n. 62.

'In a camp without a master.' A place 'without a master (or lord, chief)' (*ejen ügei*) was by definition a deserted area not belonging to anyone in particular (see above, n. 123); here, however, the reference is to Yisügei's encampment after his death and the defection of his retainers as described in § 72. It should be noted that the main defectors were, in fact, the Tayiči'ut kinsmen led by Tarqutai Kiriltuq; here, his former

abduction of Temüjin is given a totally different interpretation from the one related in § 79ff.

'I kept teaching and instructing him' (*surqan söyin yabula'a*) or, alternatively, 'I kept on admonishingly teaching him.' For *surqan söyi-*, cf. Cleaves 1985, 245-246, n. 35.

'He is becoming thoughtful in his actions', lit. 'His reason (*oyi* = the ability or faculty to behave rationally) enters (i.e. begins).'

'Once Širgü'etü has deprived him of his life', lit. 'When Širgü'etü has finished (*bara'asu*) killing (= has killed) his life.' For the verb *bara-* 'to finish' acting as the auxiliary of completed action, see Mo, 114, n. 106, where the present passage is quoted and translated, and above, n. 75.

'Having waited for them to come back', lit. 'having let them come back.'

'The Qutuqul Bend' (Qutuqul [~ Quduqul] Nu'u). For *nu'u* (> *nū* in § 94) 'dry ground or plain in the winding of a river', see above, n. 94. This is an unidentified locality in the region of Quba Qaya. Cf. HCG, 162; Pêrlèé², 11 (= Pêrlèé⁴, 100). Pêrlèé, loc. cit., says that it was probably near Gua Dob (i.e. Quba Qaya) of the Kerulen, but I think it more likely that the locality in question was near the Khalkha or Urshun rivers (see above, n. 148).

'People who are not worthy of companionship', lit. 'people without companionship' (*nököçel üge'ün haran*). Cf. Ligeti 1971, 145: 'gens sans compagnonnage.'

'Must be cut down' (*mököri'üldekün*). The AT¹, 52b, writes *mököri'üldekün* with the gloss *maγu boljadqun*, lit. 'cause (imp.) to become bad!', i.e. 'execute!' *Mököri'üldekün* (cf. the form *mököri'üldegü* almost immediately after) is the passive of the nomen futuri, expressing the necessity to act (see GWM, 169, § 607), of the factitive of *mököri-* ~ *mököre-* 'to be completely incapable', which in turn is a middle verb in *-ra/-re-* of *mökö-* 'to suffer a set-back or ill luck, to collapse, etc.' See DO, 468a; Les., 545a-b. For *-ri-* = *-ra/-re-*, cf. mo. *čuburi-*, *čubura-* 'to flow, move o. after a.' < *čubu-* id.; SH *čuburi'*ul- id.

(Les., 203b-204a; HW, 29). See MÜIT, 2859b, no. 525 (1). Cf. JŠ, 60-61, §§ 98, 99. *Mököri'ül-* is often rendered as 'to behead' (cf., e.g., Cl, 78; Ev-Pop, 110) mainly on the strength of the Chinese gloss *chan* 斬 'to behead, cut in two', and the fact that executions were usually, but not always, carried out by beheading (cf. § 136). This is certainly the case in the later legal procedure of the Yüan. See CY, II, 56, n. 1. It has also been inferred (erroneously, in my view) that SH *mököri'ül-* = mo. *mökörigül-* 'to make round, spherical' (< *mököriḡ ~ mököliḡ* 'grain; spherical'), hence 'to behead.' See, e.g., Pao, 118; LDAT, 160, n. ač. Cf. Kow., 2066a. However, in view of the origin of the verb *mököri'ül-*, the occurrence of the expression *ekit čabči-* in § 278 meaning 'to behead', the fact that *chan* 斬 has the secondary meaning of 'to put to death' (DKJ, V, 13555.3; cf. CEDMU, 150c), and the above-mentioned gloss of the AT, to which we must add also the gloss *alaḡulqu* 'to cause to kill, to have executed' of *mökörigüldekü* in AT¹, 73b (cf. ATL, 159), I think that it is more accurate to render the verb in question with 'to execute' or 'to cut down', even though this meant, in most cases, being beheaded. Cf. Oz¹, V, 62-63, n. 12. In the ET, *mökörigül-* (~ *mökerigül-*) occurs several times (see ETI, 134b) with the meaning 'to kill' and 'to incapacitate, pin down.' Cf. TH, 228 (= JYT, 393-394). See also Gantogtokh 1989, 120-121; Gantogtox 1990, 125.

'We ... have come to offer our services', lit. 'we ... have come to give strength' (*güčü öḡüre ireba* [= *irebe*]). The expression *güčü ök-* (= mo. *küčü öḡ-*) corresponds to tu. *küč berid.*, i.e. 'to give service, to serve.' Cf. Cleaves 1982, 87, n. 64; G. Doerfer in AB, 69-74. For the elliptical expression *beyes-iyen* 'possessing only our bodies', cf. above, n. 109 ad fin. 'Were on our way here', lit. 'were approaching.'

'Before our very eyes', lit. 'having looked at him.' Cf. *Matériel II*, 95 (12r, 4).

'The father and sons' (*ečiges kö'üt*): in Mongolian both words are in the plural. Cf. Mo, 64.

'Asked why they had come', lit. 'said, "Why did you come?"'

As noted by several other investigators, Činggis Qan valued above all loyalty to one's chief, and this was, indeed, the foundation of his power and the guiding principle of his *jasaq*, or normative law. There are several illustrations of this principle in the SH (cf., e.g., §§ 188, 200, 220); by and large, we can say that the message conveyed by the SH is essentially one of compliance with the will of Heaven to ensure its protection, and of loyal service to one's rightful master to ensure his favour. To break these two rules is tantamount to self-destruction. However, to join a new leader *who has validated his claim through victory* is done not only with impunity, but brings its own reward. See Li, 157, n. 149; Jagchid 1978, 106; ČK¹, 60 (= ČK², 65); Ratchnevsky 1987, 67.

As for Tarqutai Kiriltuq, the fact that he never reappears and that Rašid al-Dīn makes him die at Ülengüt Turas, stating in another passage (SL², I/1, 174) that he was killed by a son of Sorqan Šira, indicates that his hopes for a pardon were dashed and that, as one would expect, he was executed immediately after being handed over to his unforgiving enemy. However, as stated earlier, while Tarqutai Kiriltuq undoubtedly perished, the whole episode related in § 149 may well be anecdotal. Cf. also ČK¹, 61 (= ČK², 65).

§ 150. In our text the place-name Dersüt is written Tersüt. According to Li, 157, n. 150, it means 'the Nestorians', *tersüt* being a plural of *ters* (<< pers. *tarsā*) 'Christian' (cf. TMEN, no. 880), used here to designate those Nestorian Christians of Turkic tongue who lived in the area of Almalīq (near modern Kulja/Kuldja/I-ning 伊寧) west of the Issyk-kul and north-east of the present Sinkiang border; on this town cf. YShi, 2. This may have been prompted by an early note of Pelliot where he writes, 'Peut-être faut-il comprendre "chez les Tärsüt".' (Pe, 173, n. 1.) Later, however, Pelliot suggested that the reading Tersüt of the SH is an error of the Ming transcribers: the original text should

have been read *Dersüt (in Uighur script indistinguishable from Tersüt) = *Deresüt (pl. of *deresün* 'feather-grass, broom grass, *Lasiogrostis splendens*'; see below, n. 249). See HCG, 225-226. Pèrlée has also failed to identify this place; however, he wonders whether the name should be read 'Téelsüüd' and be identified with Gurban Téel (probably corresponding, according to Pèrlée², 8, to the Qurban Telesüt of SH, § 177; see below, n. 177) at 47° N 101° E. Cf. Pèrlée², 11 (= Pèrlée⁴, 89). Regarding Deresü, H. Serruys wrote (p.c.), 'This name as a place-name appears often in the *Ming shih-lu*. Mongol place-names are usually names of natural phenomena; and to find the name of a people, or a tribe, as a place-name is rather unlikely. Especially at that early time: the Nestorians could not yet have had such influence that their name became a place-name. That takes time.' On the other hand, Ligeti's interpretation may apply to the Deresü of Rašīd al-Dīn (see *Successors*, 103 and n. 25, 162, 197, 224), since in Rašīd's account it refers to the place in Central Asia where Qubilai sent his army against the rebellious Qaidu; and this place, as we also know from the YS, was actually Almalīq. See YS² 9, 191; 63, 1569; 127, 3113. Cf. KK, 107ff.; Boyle 1973, 75. However, it is very improbable that in this period (1201-02) Činggis Qan was so far out west. This name, which appears only once in the SH, is written Tarqud *pro* Tersüd (= Dersüd) in AT¹, 53a; it has misled Ko, 363 ('Tarxud'). Cf. HCG, 225; Grabar' 1985, 28-29, n. 10. See also Murakami's remarks in Mu, II, 29-30, n. 1. While adopting the reading Dersüt proposed by Pelliot, I have some reservations in view of the AT reading lacking the vowel *-el-a* after the *s* (incorrectly written as *q/γ*).

Ĵaqa Gambu, Ong Qan's younger brother, was last mentioned in § 142, when Ong Qan had sent him ahead as vanguard before the battle at Köyiten. According to Ratchnevsky, the mention of Tersüt and of Ĵaqa Gambu in connection with a joint campaign with Činggis Qan against the Merkit indicates that the campaign in question – chronologically misplaced in the SH – actually refers to the 1197 expedition of

Činggis Qan, Ong Qan and Ĵaqa Gambu against Toqto'a Beki and the Uduyit Merkit recorded by Rašīd al-Dīn. See ČK¹, 53 and n. 65 (= ČK², 56-57).

'Činggis Qa'an, Ĵaqa Gambu and other chiefs' (Činggis *Qa'an Ĵaqa Gambu ki'et*). For this usage of *ki'et* (= mo. *kiged*) 'and others' = 'and others like them' (i.e. chiefs like Altan, Qučar and Dāritai), which coincides with that of *-tan/-ten*, see Cleaves 1949, 127, n. 223; idem 1950, 110, n. 51; Oz¹, III, 208-209, n. 1. Cf. above, nn. 72, 130.

The Tümen ('Ten Thousand') Tübergen – a branch, or clan, of the Kereyit – reappears later with the same epithet (§§ 170, 171, 187), except in one case (§ 208) where it is simply referred to as Tübergen. Likewise, the Olon ('Many' or 'Numerous') Dongqayit, also a clan of the Kereyit, reappears with (§§ 150, 170, 171, 187) and without (§§ 170, 171, 208) the epithet. This has created a certain inconsistency in the rendering of these names in Cl, 79, 96, 98, 115 and 118 (note 13 on p. 79 is not helpful). The names of those clans were, of course, Tübergen (> Tübe'en; cf. § 187) and Dongqayit (~ Dongqait), but their frequent designation as Tümen Tübergen and Olon Dongqayit indicates that these epithets had virtually become part of their names in common Mongol usage. Such numerical designations were, indeed, used frequently by Turkish and Mongolian tribes from early times, as already noted by Pelliot. See HCG, 228-229, where the two clans in question are discussed, and NCHK, I, 56, n. 38, for the epithet *tümen*. Cf. also Poppe 1975, 167 (where '*duŋqayit*' should read '*doŋqayit*'). In the ET, the Kereyit tribe itself is referred to as Olan Kereyid, i.e. the Many (or Numerous) Kereyid. See ET³, 36r14; GOM, 87.

These two branches of the Kereyit tribe, of which Ĵaqa Gambu was one of the leaders, had obviously separated from the main tribe for reasons unknown to us; and it was Ĵaqa Gambu who, having just rallied to Činggis Qan, brought them back and made them also join the latter. I share the opinion of Haenisch (Ha, 50), Murakami (Mu, II, 23), and Onon (On, 65) that the

subject of the sentence is Jaqa Gambu, as he was a Kereyit chief and the verb is in the factitive (*ire'üle'ei*).

In this section, Ong Qan and Yisügei Qan are called Ong Qa'an and Yisügei Qa'an respectively. This, the *only* occurrence in the whole work where they are referred to with the inappropriate title of *qa'an*, must be a later editorial or scribal error, since the original would have had only *qan* as in all other instances (see R, 279b, 342a). It should be noted, however, that the AT has Ong Qayan throughout, and Yisügei is never called either Qan or Qayan, but only Bayatur. See ATI, 222b, 277b-278a; and above, n. 50.

'Because they were living together very harmoniously', lit. 'In *that* they lived together nicely in peace (*sayibar el*).' *El* (~ *il*) is an important term, like its Chinese counterpart *p'ing* 平 'peace; to pacify.' The word is common to both Turkic and Mongolian. See TMEN, no. 653; ED, 121b-122b; C.F. Carlson in AB, 61; and, especially, Erdal 1993, for its various connotations. In the sense of 'peaceful' when applied to people, it meant the people who had been 'pacified', viz. who lived under the Mongol 'peace', i.e. the subject people, in contrast to the 'rebel' (*bulqa*) people, i.e. those not yet pacified (= brought under submission). See 'Trois documents', 454; *Lettres*, 27. Cf. below the remarks on the term *bulqa*.

'They had declared themselves sworn friends.' The declaration of *anda*-ship or sworn friendship between Ong Qan and Yisügei was mentioned in § 96; the background story is repeated in § 177, with additional details. The various versions of this story (Rašid al-Dīn, the SWCCL and the YS) are at variance and at times inconsistent with each other. For a critical analysis, see HCG, 233-248. Thus, in our text, and in the parallel passage in AT¹, 53a (cf. LDAT, 130), the statement that Ong Qan had killed (Ha, 50, and Li, 55, understand 'wanted to kill') the younger brothers of his father Qurčaqus Buyirūq Qan, viz. his uncles, is incorrect; the 'younger brothers' in question were actually Ong Qan's own brothers, not his father's. They were Tai Temür Taiši and Buqa Temür; another brother, Erke

Qara, had escaped in time to the Naiman. Jaqa Gambu remained on good terms with Ong Qan. See the SH, §§ 151, 152 and 177. Ong Qan's father was called Qurčaqus, syr. Qūrīyaqūs (pers. Qūrčāqūz/Qūrjāqūz; cf. SL², I/1, 130), i.e. Cyriacus; and the latter's father was called Marqus (this name is written Marqus in an Arabic-Mongolian document of 1272), syr. Marqūs (pers. Maryūz; cf. SL², loc. cit.), i.e. Mark – both names indicative of the Christian (Nestorian) faith of Ong Qan's family. See Pelliot 1914, 627; idem 1944b, 52ff.; HCG, 233, 236; Dauvillier 1948, 308-309; ČK¹, 3 (= ČK², 4). Buyirūq appears as a name here and elsewhere (see, e.g., the Buyirūq Qan of the Naiman in §§ 143, 158), but it is actually a title used from antiquity by Central Asian Turks, the Turkic form being *buirūq*. On the origin and possible meaning of this title, see Pelliot 1944b, 44-45; HCG, 297-298. Gür Qan, the name of Qurčaqus' brother, is also a title (see above, n. 141).

'He had become a rebel (*bulqa*).' For the word *bulqa* (= pmo., mo. *bulqa*) 'rebel', the antonym of which is *el* (~ *il*) 'peace(ful)' → 'subject', see Cleaves 1949, 111, n. 89; 'Trois documents', 492-493; TMEN, no. 768; Poppe 1955, 39; Fletcher 1986, 19. *Bulqa* belongs to the category of nomina verba, functioning as both substantive ('rebel, hostile') and verb (*bulqa*- 'to revolt, rebel, be hostile, to oppose resistance; battle, fight'). See Kara 1993, 153. For *el* (~ *il*), see TMEN, nos. 25, 653; Erdal 1993; CCME, 21-22. Cf. RH, 79, no. 2: *il* 'obedient.' On the Mongol concept of 'rebellion', i.e. the refusal to submit voluntarily to the Mongol ruler's authority, see de Rachewiltz 1973; idem 1996b, 6.

According to Pelliot (HCG, 260-261), the Qara'un ('Dark') Gorge (Qara'un Qabčal) must be situated in the mountains just north of Kyakhta. Pêrlêé², 10 (= Pêrlêé⁴, 99), places it more broadly in the area 'along the Selenge', i.e. the Selenga River; in the earlier version of his article he gives as coordinates 49° N 105° E, thus placing it in an area south-west of Kyakhta. See Pêrlêé¹, 70. The interlinear Chinese gloss defines Qara'un as a 'name of mountain(s)'. See Y² 5, 9b, and the sectional

summary, *ibid.*, 10b. For *qara'un* (= pmo. *qaraγun*) 'dark, black', see TMEN, no. 277.

'Prompted (= affected) by his coming to him' (*imayi ö'er-dür-iyen irekdejü*). For this passive construction, see Poppe 1964, 374-375. Cf. Cl, 79: 'receiving him unto himself'; On, 65: 'asked him to come (back with) him.'

Qašin, from ch. Ho-hsi 河西 '(The territory) west of the (Yellow) River', was the designation of the Tangut state of Hsi Hsia 西夏 ('Western Hsia'), founded in AD 1032, which before its destruction by the Mongols in 1227 comprised part of the Ordos and Shensi, as well as Kansu and Ninghsia. Its capital was Chung-hsing 中興, the former Ning-hsia hsien 寧夏縣 (now Yin-ch'uan 銀川 in Ninghsia), known by the Mongols as Eriqaya. See below, nn. 249, 265. Rašīd al-Dīn calls the Hsi Hsia kingdom Xašin as well as Tangqut. See NMP, I, 315. The latter name, in the forms Tangqut (= pmo. Tangγud) and Tang'ut (where -γ- > -'), are also found in the SH. See below, n. 151. For Qašin cf. also OITG, 350b, s.v. 'Khesi'; L. Ligeti in MS, 308; Li, 157, n. 150, and 184-185, n. 265; and Cleaves 1988, 156, n. 4. The literature on the Hsi Hsia kingdom, and Tangut studies in general, has become extensive in recent decades thanks to the contributions of Russian, Japanese, Chinese, and American scholars. The best concise history of Hsi Hsia in a Western language is still OITG. For an excellent survey, see also R. Dunnell in CHCAR, 154-214, and in *JAH* 18:1984, 78-89. Important contributions on the subject are also found in HHYCLC and HHSLWC; and the largest collection of Chinese source material on the Hsi Hsia is THHHTL.

'He took *Ong Qan's* people and returned them to Ong Qan.' The people (*irge orqa*) in question were those belonging to Ong Qan, left behind at the time of his flight through the Qara'un Gorge. Yisügei brought them together and returned them to Ong Qan. See § 164, and the sectional summary of our § 150 in *Y*² 5, 10b (cf. Wei, 102-103). For the expression *irge orqa*

(~ *irgen orqan*, etc.; pmo. *irge orγa*, *irgen orγan*, etc.), see Mo, 230-231; Cleaves 1982, 79, n. 22; *idem* 2001a, 34-35, n. 46.

§ 151. For Ong Qan's brother Erke Qara and the background story, see above, n. 150, and HCG, 435b (Index). For the parallel account of this episode in the SWCCL and in Rašīd al-Dīn's work, see HCG, 231-232; SL², I/2, 110. On Inanča Qan, or Inanča Bilge Qan (§§ 177, 189, 194), whose full Turkic name was Inanč Bilgä Bügü Qan, see HCG, 250-251; cf. also TMEN, no. 669. He was the father of Buyuruq Qan, whom we have met in §§ 141-144 (see also further, § 158) and of Tayang Qan (see § 166). The Naiman princes bore Turkic names and titles, as well as Chinese ones; Nestorian Christianity had also penetrated their clans. See HCG, 214-221; Dauvillier 1948, 308. Ong Qan's second flight is recounted again in § 177, also with additional details.

'In his wanderings had *already* passed', lit. 'he had gone wandering about' (*bitün yorčijü*). The basic idea of *bitü-* is 'to go, or change, from one (place, person, etc.) to the other', hence 'to do something in succession; to roam, wander.' Cf. Les., 108a.

According to Li, 157, n. 151 (following Na¹, 169), the 'three cities' (*qurban balaqat*) designate *sensu lato* the three countries, or people, of the Tanguts, i.e. the Hsi Hsia (Qašin, see above, n. 150), the Uighurs and the Qarluqs, that Ong Qan crossed on his way to the Qara Kitai ('Black Kitai'), or Western Liao (Hsi Liao 西遼), empire in Central Asia. I think that the 'three cities' may well refer to the capitals of these three countries, viz. Eriqaya (Chung-hsing, see *ibid.*), Beš Baliq (north-east of modern Urumchi in Sinkiang, cf. below, n. 238) and Qayaliq (18 km south-west of present-day Taldy-Kurgan in southeastern Kazakhstan, cf. below, n. 235). It will be remembered (see above, n. 107) that Ong Qan's family had old ties with the Tangut kingdom, where Jaqa Gambu had been brought up. At the same time, Ong Qan, no doubt because of his Nestorian persuasion and background, had also cultural ties with the

Nestorian communities among the Uighur and Qarluq Turks, as well as with those in the Qara Kitai empire. The ruler, or *gür qan* (on this title see above, n. 141), of the Qara Kitai was then Yeh-lü Chih-lu-ku 耶律直魯吉, later (in 1211) deposed by the Naiman prince Güčülük (= tu. Küčlög), the son of Tayang Qan. See HCG, 251-252. The Qara Kitai capital was Quz or Guz Ordo, the Turkic name of Balāsāyūn (formerly the capital of the Qarakhanids), on the Chu (Ču) River, 24 km south-west of Toqmaq in Kazakhstan, Balāsāyūn being 'perhaps a Sogdian name.' See NMP, I, 224; cf. de Rachewiltz 1962, 53, n. 75. In our passage the Qara Kitai empire is called Qara Kidat; however, in the SH the same name (with Kidat ~ Kitat) designates also the Kitans of north China who were subjects of the Jurchens. See below, n. 247. On the Qara Kitai, (Qara-Khitai, Qara-Khitay, etc.), see HCSL, 619-674; the references in NMP (see vol. III, 220a-b); HCG, 252; CHEIA, 410-412; FSHCA, 178b (Index). For the early Qarluq Turks, see Uchida Gimpū 内田吟風 in THTR, 57-70, and Ecsedy 1980; for their later history see HCSL, 735a, s.v.; MJK, 664b, s.v.; Li, 176, n. 235; Mu, III, 79-80, n. 1; TIKCA, 22ff.; TMEN, no. 1388; NNRS, Index, 12a. Cf. also below, nn. 198, 235.

Ong Qan's journey to Qašin/Hsi Hsia was no doubt prompted also by the need to reach Central Asia by a route other than the one which went through the hostile Naiman territory; we know that there was in fact a route, which later became well established (with post stations, etc.), from central Mongolia to Eriqaya through the Gobi (Čöl). Cf. Pelliot 1920, 178-182. After having quarrelled with the *gür qan*, Ong Qan on his return journey passed again through the cities (*balaqat*) of the Uyiqr (in the text Uyiqr, pl. of *Uyiqr = pmo. Uyiqr, Uyiqrud) and the Tangqut. In the next paragraph these two names are written Ui'ut (where -γ- > -'-) and Tang'ut, as in § 177. In § 238 we also find the form Ui'ut. In §§ 198 and 279 we find the ethnicon Ui'urtai (< Uyiqrutai). In all other references, Tangqut is written Tang'ut (see Cl, 263b). For the name Uiqur = Uiyur (< tu.

Uiyur), see Cleaves 1949, 100, n. 29; NMP, II, 753; HCG, 253; Poppe 1975, 166; MBT, 230b. For *iqu* (= *iγu*) > *i'u*, see IMCP, 66. The Uighurs of Turfan, Karashar and Kucha and their ruler the *idug qut*, were then vassals of the Qara Kitai *gür qan*, against whom they rebelled in 1209. See § 238 and com. On the Uighurs in the 12th-13th centuries, see TDMI, 567a, s.v.; 573b, s.v.; NUKSK, 1-17; LUKQ, 29-30; Allsen 1983; de Rachewiltz 1983a; MI, 67-68; KOSUG, 56ff.; WWETSL, 102ff.; TIKCA, 56-61; OISUDNK, 66ff.; ISK, 802b, s.v.; CEME, 136b, s.v.; CHCAR, 857b, s.v. Tangqut = Tangγud (> Tang'ut) is a Turco-Mongolian designation of Hsi Hsia: 'the Qašin people' (*Qašin irgen*: § 249) are also called 'the Tang'ut people' (*Tang'ut irgen*: §§ 249, 250, etc.), as well as 'the Tang'udut' (§§ 265, 266), i.e. 'the Tanguts.' For this designation, see Li, 184-185, n. 265; Dunnell 1984. Cf. also below, n. 249. *Balaqat* (= pmo. *balayad*) 'cities' is the plural of *balaqasun* (= pmo. *balayasun*), corresponding to mo. *balayad*, *balayasun* respectively, see TMEN, nos. 95, 712; Oz¹, VI, 534-535, n. 7. Bese's objection to the readings *balaqasun* and *balaqat* (Bese 1978, 359, no. 8) is unwarranted. Cf. VMI, 18: *balaqasun*; RH, 248, no. 21: *balagasun*; 'ph. *balaqad* (MMHS, 120a).

'Muzzling their kids' (*širgü'elejü*). In § 177, where the story is retold with some additional details, the same verb occurs in the form *širgölejü* (= *širgölejü*). In both cases the Chinese gloss is *chü-cho* 拘着. The verb *chü* 拘 means 'to grasp, seize', as well as 'to restrain, detain.' In the AT¹, 53b, *širgülejü* is glossed *aduylan* 'tending'; the section corresponding to § 177 is missing. The Chinese sectional summary does not translate the *širgü'ele-*, *širgöle-* of the text. Starting with Na¹, 170, most translators of the SH have rendered this verb as 'seizing' or 'seized' (the five goats), and recent translations still follow this early interpretation. Besides Cl, 80, cf. Do¹, 120; Ta, 79. Pe, 173, translates '*qu'il faisait attacher*' (id. on p. 174), with a footnote saying: '[Le verbe *širgü'älä-* est glosé (V, 11 b) 拘 *kiu* "saisir"; cf. Haenisch, *Die Geheime Geschichte*, 52.]' However,

in HCG, 254, Pelliot translates the passage in question as follows: 's'étant emparé de cinq chèvres, il les trayait et piquant le sang des chameaux il s'en nourrissait.' Kozin's rendering 'he kept somehow with him five goats' is untenable, this being his own inexplicable extrapolation from the verb 'to seize' of the gloss, from mo. *sirgüge-* 'to rub', and from mong. *surGu-* 'enduire' (DMF, 364). See Ko, 122, 545. The interesting thing is that in § 177 (ibid., 135), Kozin translates *širgölejü sa'aju* as 'he milked to the last drop', without justifying this completely different interpretation (on p. 604 a confusion has occurred s.v. 'širkolku' which clouds the issue even further). Nevertheless, this rendering is found also in Ja, 193, 232 (擠乾 'he milked dry'), no doubt because the translator took the verb *širgü'ele-*, *širgöle-* as corresponding to mo. *sirgege-* 'to dry.' Probably, Kozin had made the same correlation in § 177, translating accordingly. On, 66, translates 'by milking his five goats, tethered together in a line' (2001 ed., 127: 'by milking his five goats, tethered in a line'), I do not know on what ground. The correct interpretation is supplied by TH, 251-252 (= JYT, 434-435): SH *širgü'ele-*, *širgöle-* = mo. *šörgele-* 'to put a muzzle (on a calf) to prevent suckling.' See MKT, 976a. A special device (*šorge*) was applied as muzzle at certain times, the purpose being to make sure that the calf would not suckle the mother dry and thus leave no milk for human consumption. Cf. DO, 630b, s.vv. 'šörgö' and 'šörgölö-'; MKeT, 2006b, 2007a. Oz¹, III, 215-216, n. 1, and Ev-Pop, 112 and 279, n. 23, have adopted this interpretation, which I found confirmed by an independent source. In the passage of the SWCCL¹ (19a) dealing with these events it is related how Ong Qan passed through the towns of the Ui'ur and Hsi Hsia, and 'half-way his provisions came to an end. He was left with (only) five goats which he milked after having tied their mouths, (taking their milk) as a drink.' See HCG, 231. Pelliot was puzzled by the reference to the tying of the mouths and could not explain it, merely stating 'à moins qu'il ne s'agisse d'une pratique alors courante chez les Mongols, mais que je ne connais pas.' (Ibid., 254.) Clearly, the reference

in the original source was to the kids being muzzled, not to the goats themselves; in the SH the kids are also meant but are not mentioned. Therefore, the Chinese gloss *chü-cho* 拘着 must mean 'restraining *the kids*', and not 'seizing.' One wonders whether Pelliot's rendering in Pe, 173 and 174 '*qu'il faisait attacher*' (italicised in the original) indicates a second thought on his part. This is a perfect example of a Chinese source helping the understanding of the text of the SH. For *ima'an* (pl. *ima'at*), mo. *imayan*, 'she-goat', see Hung 1956, 30, n. 5 (where the Ong Qan episode is briefly mentioned); and L. Bazin's interesting study on the names of the goat in Turkic and Mongolian (Bazin 1957). Cf. also Ligeti 1965, 280, no. 20; RH, 218, no. 23.

For *qana-* 'to bleed', cf. TMEN, no. 1357.

Lake Güse'ür (Güse'ür Na'ur) has been tentatively identified by Përlëe², 8 (= Përlëe⁴, 90) with a lake, now apparently dried up, in the area of the Gurvan Xövsgöl Mountains in the Dornogov' Aïmag, at 43° N 109° E. This lake or marsh is an important locality, connected with the seasonal movements of the Mongol court during the reign of Ögödei Qa'an (1229-41), when it was the emperor's usual autumn residence. According to Rašid al-Dīn, before becoming the Mongol *qa'an*'s autumn residence, Lake Güse'ür had been one of Ong Qan's two summer encampments. As indicated by Boyle, this also was the place where Güyük's election was held. See Boyle 1972, 128-129; idem 1973a. According to Pelliot (HCG, 254), the Chinese sources point to a locality north of the Gobi and to the south, or south-west, of the Tūla River. More specifically, for Boyle the lake (or marsh) in question 'is to be looked for somewhere in the *aimak* of Övör Hangai, between Qara-Qorum and the modern town of Arbai Heere' (Boyle 1973a, 109). The localization of Përlëe is unsupported and undoubtedly incorrect, being too far to the south-east. Since Ong Qan was coming from Tangqut/Hsi Hsia, i.e. Ninghsia in the south, and was obviously aiming north, or northeastwards,

towards the Tūla and the Onon-Kerulen region, Lake Güse'ür would have been right on his way.

For Taqai Ba'atur and Sükegei Ĵe'ün – whose names appear in different forms in the SH – see above, n. 120. For their role as Činggis' trusted envoys, see above, § 124 and com.

In § 150 we left Činggis Qan at Dersüt (? Deresüt), an unknown locality. Here he is back to his native grounds on the upper course of the Kerulen south of Khentei Khan. The account in § 177 is more precise and informs us that he was actually at Bürgi Ergi, the 'escarpment' on the Kerulen (see above, n. 96) where Činggis had his *güre'en*. From there, he went to meet (lit. 'went towards': *esergü otču*) Ong Qan at Lake Güse'ür and brought him into (lit. 'let him enter inside') his camp. Ong Qan was starved and exhausted (*turuĵu*). For this verb (= mo. *tura-*), cf. DO, 682b. Činggis 'raised taxes' (*qubčiri qubčiju*) for Ong Qan from his own people, not only to feed him, but also to assist him in restoring his fortunes, for which he obviously needed considerable material help, as clearly stated in the SWCCL (see HCG, 232). For Činggis' 'recollection' of these events, cf. § 177. The term for 'taxes, levies' is *qubčiri*; 'to raise taxes' is *qubči-*. (For the dev. noun suff. *-ri*, see GWM, 49, § 179.) For these important socio-economic terms, see TMEN, no. 266; Mu, II, 43-44, n. 19; Oz¹, III, 216-218, n. 2; and, more recently, Whaley 2001, 15ff. Besides Schurmann 1956 (already cited in TMEN, no. 266, pp. 390-391) and idem 1951, 303-304, cf. also Smith 1970, 70; Dardess 1972/73, 117ff.; and below, n. 279, on early Mongol taxation.

The question is: when did this second flight of Ong Qan take place? According to the usually unreliable chronology of the SH, Činggis Qan helped Ong Qan (after the latter's return from Central Asia and Hsi Hsia) in the autumn-winter of 1201-1202, i.e. before the battle at Dalan Nemürge against the Tatars in the autumn of 1202 (§ 153). Rašid's chronology and sequence of events is completely at odds with the SH, but it is also unconvincing, as already pointed out by Pelliot (HCG, 260-261). Cf. the discussion by Hambis in GK, 56-57: his

conclusion is that Ong Qan's second flight occurred in the period within ten years *before* 1196, but not in 1196. Therefore, Rašid's date of 1196 for Ong Qan's return adopted by Grousset (CW, 87-88; cf. also EM, 85-86) appears to be invalidated; this is also the opinion of Ratchnevsky who, however, owing to conflicting statements in our sources, cannot, like Pelliot, offer an alternative date. See ČK¹, 47-48 (= ČK², 50-51). Perhaps one should re-examine the chronology of the SH in this particular instance. Pelliot (ibid., 265) already indicated that Ong Qan's return to Mongolia is in all likelihood post-1196 (joint campaign against the Tatar Megüjin Se'ültü, SH, §§ 132-133), in fact post-1198 (Ong Qan's campaign against the Merkit); see below. In both the SH and the YS (YS² 1, 7) Činggis' campaign against the Tatars, which is unquestionably of 1202, is recorded immediately after the unpleasant episode of Ong Qan and his brothers related in SH, § 152, which in the latter source follows Ong Qan's return. At the end of the present section of the SH, the text says that after Činggis had given shelter to Ong Qan and raised levies for him, they transmigrated and Činggis Qan 'wintered at Quba Qaya', which, as we know, was in the region of Mount Čekčer in eastern Mongolia (see above, n. 148). It is, therefore, interesting to note that in both Rašid al-Dīn's work (SL², I/2, 118-119) and the SWCCL¹ (27a-b; cf. HCG, 422), it is stated that Ong Qan and Činggis Qan spent the winter before the Tatar campaign, i.e. the winter of 1201-1202, at Quba Qaya and Mount Čekčer respectively. While Ong Qan was definitely with Činggis in the earlier attack on the Tatar in the summer of 1196, also a firmly established date (see above, n. 133, and HCG, 265), and although Ong Qan's campaign of 1198 against the Merkit is placed in the SH, § 157, s.a. 1202, it is clear by all accounts that Ong Qan did not participate in the final campaign against the Tatar. This may well be due to the fact that he had not yet fully re-established his authority over his people owing to internal family and clan discord (cf. § 152). Such an interpretation is all the more likely if we accept the chronology of the SH which

makes Ong Qan return to Mongolia barely one year before Činggis moved against the Tatar. All in all, I think that the Ong Qan episode should fall between 1198 and 1201, rather than before 1196 as now generally accepted. The chronology of the SWCCL followed by Hambis (loc. cit.) and Okada (CIH, 88-90) may, therefore, need revising. Cf. Yoshida 1968, 44-45.

'Brought him into the camp (*güre'en*)', i.e. into his 'circular' or fortified camp. See above, n. 90.

'In an orderly way they moved to new pastures', i.e. they moved gradually, by stages (*jerge'er*), as one does when trans-migrating for the winter or the summer. I do not think that in the present instance *jerge'er* (= mo. *jerge-ber*) can be rendered 'together', or 'at the same time, simultaneously', or 'in [parallel] ranks', as done by other translators. The Chinese gloss (依次) is unambiguous and makes sense in the context. Cf. Na², 147; Pe, 174; Li, 55. For a somewhat different usage of this term, see § 159 (ad fin.) and com.

§ 152. 'Our elder brother the Qan', lit. 'This Qan, our elder brother.'

'A rotten (lit. "stinking") liver' (*hümegei helige*), i.e. a foul character, or nature, an evil mind – the liver being regarded by Mongols and Turks alike as the source of the emotions. The word *hümegei* (= mo. *ümekei*, *ömekei*) has all the connotations of eng. 'foul' (as in 'foul smell', 'foul language'). Cf. kh. *ömxiï* 'smelly, rotten, putrid.' For *hümegei* and *helige*, both with initial *h*, see Pelliot 1925, 239, no. 72, and 211-212, no. 14. The expression 'to have (lit. "harbour in one's bosom": *ebürit-* = mo. *ebürle-*) a stinking liver' was a current idiom at the time, cf. Pelliot 1944b, 63, n. 6; HCG, 243, 421. See also Oz¹, III, 228-229, n. 2; and MKeT, 671a-b. In the modern literary language (*h*)*helige* 'liver' has been replaced by *sanaya* 'thought, mind, etc.' in the expression *ümekei* (*ömekei*) *sanaya* 'evil mind, evil intention, ill will.' Cf. Da⁵, 104; MKT, 282b.

'What shall we do with him? (*e'üni ker kikün bida*). For this expression, cf. Cleaves 1964/65, 51, n. 9.

'When he was seven years old ... when he was thirteen years old', lit. 'the seven-year-old one (acc.) ... the thirteen-year-old one (acc.).'

'A kidskin coat' (*ešige daqu*). For *ešige*, mo. *esige* ~ *isige*, 'young male goat', cf. Hung 1956, 30, n. 5; DO, 249b.

For the situation of the Bu'ura Steppe, see above, n. 105.

'He pounded grain in a Merkit's mortar', lit. 'he pounded a mortar of the Merkit.' For *a'ur*, mo. *aγur*, *uγur*, 'mortar', cf. Khomonov 1970, 30; for *nödü-*, mo. *nüdü-*, *nidü-*, 'to pound', cf. DO, 503a-b.

For *ha'ul-* 'to raid', see above, n. 54.

On Ajai Qan, a chief of the Alči Tatar tribe, see Pelliot 1944b, 68; HCG, 245; Bese 1978, 354-355, no. 1.

'He took with him a shepherd of Ajai Qan.' It is not clear from the text whether it was a shepherd that helped young To'oril (the later Ong Qan) to escape and then fled with him, or whether To'oril escaped taking the shepherd as prisoner. Pelliot (HCG, 245) understands To'oril to have been 'délivré' by the shepherd. According to Rašid al-Dīn, To'oril's mother *Ilma was ravished by the abductor, Alčitai, who must be identified with the Ajai Qan of the Alči Tatar. See *ibid*; SL², I/1, 113. During his captivity the Merkit made To'oril pound grain and, subsequently, the Tatars made him tend their camels, all menial activities which indicate that he was, in fact, demoted to the status of a serf. Cf. Ratchnevsky's and Ozawa's remarks in Ratchnevsky 1987, 78, and Oz¹, III, 229, n. 4.

Teme'en, mo. *temegen*, 'camel (in general)' is, like *bu'ura*, mo. *buγura*, 'camel stallion', a borrowing from Turkic. See TMEN, no. 1015; RH, 217, no. 14. Cf. above, n. 65, and below, n. 274.

'After that, he fled again for fear of the Naiman and went to the *gür qan* of the Qara Kidat on the Čui River, in the country of the Sarta'ul.' For the event in question, cf. §§ 151 and 177. The Čui River is, of course, the Chu (Ču) River in Kazakhstan. See above, n. 151. (The SH has the rather puzzling form in *-i* – possibly of Turkic origin – that is also found in the HYC, B,

8a [the 'Chu' in TOA, 120, is a mistake for 'Chui'; cf. MR, I, 98] and in other sources; see HCSL, 653; DTKO, 366; HYTM, 20.) The term Sarta'ul (= pmo. Sartaʔul) designated *sensu lato* any Central and Western Asian Muslim, and, *sensu stricto*, the people of Khwārazm (*Sarta'ul irgen*). By 'the country of the Sarta'ul' is meant, very broadly, the entire Turkestan region. Much has been written on this term, its history and etymology. See NMP, II, 647, s.v. 'Ergiuul'; NHHO, 34; Cleaves 1949, 101, n. 33; Hambis 1960, 151-153; Li, 158, n. 152; Mu, II, 47-49, n. 24. Cf. also Vlad.², 169, 176; PM, 112; and RH, 258, no. 3 (in note 2 on p. 258, it is stated that 'In the Mongol era, it [i.e. the term *sartaul* – I.R.] denoted both "Muslim" and the "urban Iranian population"). I shall only mention one problem in connection with the form Sarta'ul (= Sartaʔul). This form is well attested, as is also Sartaqčïn (= pmo. Sartaʔčïn), which occurs in § 181, and Sartaqtai (= pmo. Sartaʔtai) in §§ 182, 263. All these forms are indeed found in the AT. See ATI, 244b. They all have the same meaning. Cf. the SH, where they are glossed *Hui-hui* 回回 'Muslim' (HW, 132). The written forms Sartaqčïn and Sartaʔtai clearly indicate that the noun on which they are formed is Sartaʔ (mmo. Sartaq, where *-q* = *-γ*). Cf. NHHO, 34. According to Pelliot (NMP, II, 647), Sarta'ul derives from Sart, Sartaq, Sartaqčïn with a final in *-'ul*. In Uighur script, this final is written *-γul*. Apart from the fact that Sarta'ul cannot derive from Sart (or Sartaqčïn), but only from Sarta or Sartaq (= Sartaʔ) (as correctly noted by Pelliot in HCG, 151, 253), the suffix *-γul* is not obvious, since it normally functions as a deverbal noun suffix and not as a denominal noun suffix. Cf. GWM, 46, § 153. However, in some rare cases, as in the present one, the suffix *-γull-gül* is actually used as a denominal noun suffix (cf. also below, n. 174). See MÜIT, 2629, no. 183 (1). Alternatively, could Sarta'ul be an ancient plural in *-(u)l* of Sartaq (Sartaʔ)? For this, still hypothetical, plural (not registered in our grammars), cf. D. Sinor in *AM* 2:1925, 214; Mo, 8; but see Doerfer 1970, 76; Street 1990a, 374 (8. 4). With regard to Khwārazm, I shall employ this transcription (rather than *Xvārazm*, *Khwārazm*, *Hwārizm*,

Khwarezm, *Kharezsm*, etc.) because it is the one more commonly in use.

'In less than a year', lit. 'a year not having elapsed.'

For the forms *Ui'ut* (pl. of *Ui'ur* = *Uiqur* ~ *Uyiqur*) and *Tang'ut* (= *Tangqut*), see above, n. 151.

From the present account of Ong Qan's wanderings and his plight we also learn that he spent less than a year with the *gür qan* of the Qara Kitai in Central Asia, and that, on his return journey, besides the five goats and the camel mentioned in § 151, he had a blind yellowish-white horse with a black tail and mane (*soqor qali'un moritu*). No doubt, some of these 'embellishments' are literary clichés used to characterize a particular situation, viz. a state of extreme hardship and distress. Further on in this section, we also learn that Ong Qan was not alone in his predicament (as we may have been led to believe), but had a number of followers with him.

The words 'Now, forgetting that he has kept himself alive like this thanks to his son Temüjin' (*edö'e Temüjin kö'ün-tür teyin yabuqsan-ıyan umartaʔu*) have been translated in several different ways owing to the wide semantic range of the verb *yabu-* 'to go, walk; to act, live or conduct oneself as, be like; to undertake, practise'; and, as an auxiliary verb, 'to keep on (doing)', i.e. expressing continuity of action. The interlinear gloss translates *yabuqsan-ıyan* as 'he went (or conducted) himself (acc.)' (行了的自的行), with the ambiguity unresolved. The sectional summary (Y² 5, 16b) simply paraphrases 'he forgot the previous favour.' Cf. Wa, 257. The AT¹, 54a, has the same wording of the SH which Šastina renders as 'And now, when he lives thus with his son Tömüčïn, forgetting what had been (*o tom, čto bylo*, i.e. what had happened between them).' See LDAT, 132. Since the nomen perfecti of *yabu-* is in the reflexive-possessive accusative case with Ong Qan as the subject, the action of that verb must perforce refer to Ong Qan, not to Temüjin, hence Cleaves' rendering 'forgetting the fact that he was so gone unto [his] son Temüjin' (Cl, 81) – as against the renderings of most other translators down to On (2001 ed.),

128 ('Now, he forgets what his son Temüjin did for him'). I agree with Cleaves (and with Na², 149, before him), but I take *yabu-* in the meaning of 'to keep going, to keep alive'; cf. ord. *jawy-* 'rester en vie, vivre, durer' (DO, 399b). And I take the dative case applied to Temüjin (*Temüjin-tür*) to be a dativus instrumentalis ('by means of, by virtue of, thanks to'). Cf. the expression *möngke tenggeri-yin gücün-tür* 'by the strength of Eternal Heaven' in § 224. See below, n. 224.

It is noteworthy that in the earlier account (§ 151), Činggis Qan is referred to as Činggis Qa'an, whereas in the present version of the same account he is called Temüjin. Because of this inconsistency, and the fact that in the present account the speakers, i.e. Ong Qan's brothers and the Kereyit chiefs, say that Ong Qan 'came to his son Temüjin' instead of 'went to his son Temüjin' (cf. a few lines before where it is stated that he 'went to the *gür qan* of the Qara Kidat'), it is difficult to draw any conclusion concerning the time of the event. See the discussion in n. 151 above.

For Altun Aşuq ('Golden Helmet?') and the other conspirators, see HCG, 419-422. In the Chinese and Persian sources they are named as Qul Bari, Altun Aşuq, El Qutur (*or* Qotor) and El Qongqor (*or* Qongqur). In the SH the last personage is not mentioned, instead we have Alin Taiši, whose name appears, albeit incompletely, in the SWCCL, and in its full form in Rašīd al-Dīn's parallel account. (The SH has, incorrectly, 'Arin' instead of 'Alin' = tu. *alin* 'forehead'; and 'Taisi' 太子 for 'Taiši' 太師; cf. above, n. 50.) After Ong Qan's defeat in 1203, Alin Taiši escapes and, following Jaqa Gambu's example, joins Tayang Qan of the Naiman. See SL², I/2, 118; SWCCL¹, 26b-27a. It should be pointed out that *all* these personages bear Turkic names – a further indication of the Turkish background of the Kereyit leadership. For El Qutur, cf. Bese 1978, 366-367, no. 17; for Qulbari, cf. also below, n. 177. For the name Altun (= mo. Altan 'Gold'), which occurs again in § 238, see below, n. 238.

'Their words', lit. 'the words that they had thus spoken to one another.'

'Who had thus conspired', lit. 'who had thus spoken to one another.'

For *bari'as* (w.f. *bariyas*; cf. AT¹, 54b) 'fetters', cf. mo. *bariya* id.

Ong Qan's words to the conspirators are interesting and deserve attention. Firstly, he recalls a mutual pledge (lit. 'what did we say to each other?') which is not self-evident. However, from the parallel accounts in the Persian and Chinese sources, it appears that during their arduous return journey, Ong Qan and his few followers (this is the first time we learn that he was not alone), i.e. the very same people who now conspired against him, had made an 'inviolable' oath that could only have been one of mutual loyalty and support to the bitter end. Cf. SL², I/2, 118; HCG, 417; YS² 1, 7. Secondly, Ong Qan says: '*tanu metü ya'u setkigü bi.*' These words have been misunderstood by most translators (including myself in Ra, V, 153; cf. also Li, 56; Oz¹, III, 227; On, 67 [the revised rendering in the 2001 ed., 128, is much better]; Ta, 80; Ev-Pop, 113), but the correct interpretation is actually given in the Chinese sectional summary (Y² 5, 17a): 'You are like this, *but* I am not like you.' These words have been correctly paraphrased by Waley as follows: 'That is the kind of people you are; but I am not going to behave to you as you would behave to me.' (Wa, 257; cf. Pa, 77.) This interpretation is confirmed by Rašīd al-Dīn, loc. cit. Mostaert translated: 'Pourquoi aurais-je des sentiments comme vous?' [A.M.] Cf. Cl, 81: 'How could I think as ye?' The meaning is clear: 'If I were to think, and act, as you did, I would make an end of you, but I am not going to do that because I am not like you, therefore I shall spare you.'

'He had them freed from their fetters', lit. 'he had their fetters loosened.'

'After they had been spat on by the Qan *himself*': the 'himself' is necessary because of the corroborative particle *ele*. See Street 1986, 17 (27).

§ 153. Since the text speaks of the autumn (not the spring, as in Ha, 52) of the Year of the Dog (= 1202), 'that winter' should refer to the 1201-1202 winter, of which mention is made at the end of § 151, where it is stated that Činggis Qan had spent it at Quba Qaya (a fact confirmed by other sources, see above, n. 151). The year 1202 for this campaign is confirmed by the SWCCL¹, 30a, where the entry concerning the encounter at Ulqui Šilügeljit and the incident involving Altan, Qučar and Dāritai are registered. Cf. SL², I/2, 120, where the Year of the Dog (= 1202) for these events is given correctly, but the corresponding year of the Hegira (and its Christian era equivalent) is incorrect (578/1182 *pro* 598/1202). Cf. GK, 61-62, 72-73; ČK¹, 61-62 (= ČK², 66-67).

For the Tatar tribes engaged by Činggis, see HCG, 4-5, 240-245; Li, 158, n. 153. Ča'a'an = Čaqān (< Čaqa'an, pmo. Čaγayan) 'White.' The form Ča'a'an – a *hapax legomenon* in the SH – is unusual, as one would normally expect Čaqa'an or Čaqān (see R, 206a). Cf., however, the names Ča'alun (§ 157) and Ča'adai (§ 242 et passim), both apparently formed on *ča'an* (= *ča'ān*) 'white' (+ the den. noun suff. *-lun* and *-dai*). See below, n. 242, for a possible explanation. The transcriptions Čaqa'an of Li², 109, and Čaqa'an of Ra, V, 46, and On, 67, are incorrect, as is the Čagaan of Oz¹, III, 236. Further on in the same section we find the form Čahan (= Ča'ān) *pro* Čaqan (= Čaqān). See above, n. 1. For the Čaqān Tatar, see Bese 1988, 37. On the Alči Tatar, cf. also Pelliot 1944b, 56, n. 4, 60; and, for the name Alči, idem 1935, 908ff.; and Bese 1988, 35. The word 'Tatar' after Duta'ut has been inadvertently dropped from the text, but it is found in AT¹, 54b; cf. Cl, 81, n. 23. See also Poppe 1975, 166; Bese 1988, 37-38. The text has Aluqai (Tatar), but the correct form is Aruqai, as shown by the AT¹, 54b, and this is indeed the form adopted by Ligeti in Li, 56. However, in Li², 109, and ATL, 114, Ligeti gives as the correct form Alqui which is unwarranted and which has unfortunately passed into On, 67 (the 2001 ed., 153, has 'Aluqai', still incorrect). Cf. Bese 1988, 35-36. The present campaign against

the Tatar tribes is the final act of the ongoing feud between Činggis' family and the Tatars (cf. §§ 67-68 and 132-134). See Clark 1978, 35-37; Ratchnevsky 1987, 77.

Dalan Nemürges ('The Seventy Felt Cloaks') was the name of a place or, rather, an area, near the Khalkha (Qalqa, Xalx) River in eastern Mongolia, as evident also from §§ 173 and 175, and which, according to Pêrlée², 9 (= Pêrlée⁴, 88), was in the basin of the Nömrögiin Gol (= mo. Nömörge-yin Gol) – an affluent of the Khalkha – at 47° N 119° 30 E (more precisely: 47° 18 N 119° 30 E). I incline to the view that Dalan Nemürges was the designation of a wider area (rather than of a specific place) because in § 173 Činggis Qan 'entered' it (*orobai*). The Chinese sectional summary (Y² 5, 16b) does, in fact, refer to it as *ti-mien* 地面 'territory, area.' Moreover, its very name 'The Seventy Felt Cloaks' points to a hilly area, which I believe must be situated near, or be part of, the western slopes of the Khingan Mountains.

'Činggis Qa'an jointly issued the following decree', lit. 'Činggis Qa'an spoke together the decree' (*Činggis Qa'an jasaq ügüleldürün*). 'To speak the *jasaq*' = 'to set forth (declare, promulgate, issue) the *jasaq*.' However, the verb is in the reciprocal form, often used in the SH for the cooperative (*-ldu/-ldü-* for *-lča/-lče-*), and vice versa. See Haenisch 1950, 19-20. This has led translators to understand this sentence in several different ways: Č.Q. gave the order to all (Pe, Li); Č.Q. discussed the battle orders together with, or in front of his soldiers (Ja, On); Č.Q. 'spoke an ordinance with [his soldiers]' (Cl); etc. Some scholars, notably Haenisch and Kozin, have ignored the reciprocal/cooperative form altogether, and Šastina has done the same in her translation of the parallel passage in the AT (LDAT, 132). It is true that the Chinese sectional summary (Y² 5, 18b) does not take it into account and says simply that he 'gave these orders to the troops' (號令諸軍), but this is only a summary and not a literal translation. The interlinear gloss does render the reciprocal/cooperative form by prefixing the word *kung* 共 'together', regularly used for the

cooperative, thus indicating that the reciprocal has cooperative force. In view of what follows, it seems clear to me that the joint promulgation of the decree can only refer to it having been agreed upon by Činggis together with the other military leaders, chief among whom were his own kinsmen Altan, Qučar and Dāritai. I think that the reciprocal/cooperative form is used precisely in anticipation of what these very personages did, i.e. contravening the mutually agreed order. It is inconceivable, in my view, that Činggis would have discussed the *jaṣaq* with his soldiers to obtain their consent as stated by some of the translators; conversely, it makes perfect sense to have discussed the order with the other commanders. As for the *jaṣaq* (= mo. *jaṣay*), i.e. in the present instance the decree or ordinance (with normative force), issued by the *qan*, see above, n. 74, and the discussion in de Rachewiltz 1993 (the relevant passage is cited on p. 97). Most of the major contributions to the *jaṣaq* problem are reviewed, or mentioned, in the above paper; however, several others, either irrelevant to the discussion or not available at the time, were omitted. Among them, the articles by Pêrlêe in *SM* 3, 13-15:1962, 24; Čige & Oyun in *ÖMNSÜ*, 1988.1, 123-138; Saïn in *Mongolica* 1 (22):1990, 80-91; and Bira in *MTSTBS*, III, 256-262; as well as ČQĴBB, this last work being a study of both the *jaṣay* and Činggis Qan's *biligs*, i.e. his 'wise sayings'; and the important joint work ĖBČIZ. Cf. also D. Daščêrên in *MNT*, I, 40-48; and, more recently, Skrynnikova 2000; and, by the same author, *KHIV*, 42ff. I think the subject is virtually exhausted, at least for the time being.

For *olja* 'booty, plunder', see *TMEN*, no. 27; de Rachewiltz 1985, 216-217; and *RH*, 291, no. 34 (where we find the aberrant form '*oljam*' 'gift'). Cf. also above, n. 92. The early Mongol regulations concerning the acquisition and allocation of war booty and spoils deserves a thorough study. See, provisionally, the pertinent remarks in ČK¹, 61-62 (= ČK², 66).

'When the victory is complete', lit. 'When (or if) we have finished overcoming.'

'Will surely be ours' (*bidanu'ai bui je*). For *bidanu'ai* 'ours', cf. *Lettres*, 78, n. 243.

'If we are forced by the enemy (*nökör gü'ün-e*) to retreat.' For this construction, see Poppe 1964, 369. The word *nökör* 'companion' accompanied by *gü'ün* 'person', occurs here with the unusual meaning of 'enemy' (cf. also § 267). Mostaert (*Mo*, 112) does not comment on it. Doerfer (*TMEN*, no. 388, p. 521) suggests that the original meaning of *nökör* is 'the other', hence its positive ('companion') and negative ('enemy') connotations. Cf. mmo. *nökö'e* 'the other, the second.' See *HW*, 118, 119, s.vv. 'noko'e' and 'nokor.' Doerfer cites indoeur. *ghostis* 'the stranger', goth. *gastis* 'the guest', and lat. *hostis* 'the enemy.' We may add ch. *k'o* 客 'guest, stranger' → 'enemy.' Cf. the *Kung-yang chuan* 公羊傳 in *CCCC*, III, 202: 宣 XV, 2 公. However, SH *nökö'e* corresponds to mo. *nögöge*, not *nököge*, and the initial vowel of the second syllable is *g* in virtually all Mongolian modern languages and dialects, which is strange if *nökör* and *nökö'e* are related. The Chinese transcription of the SH alone cannot, of course, be relied upon to establish such a relationship. However, it should be noted that the form with *k* is well attested in 'Phags-pa, but, as pointed out by Poppe (*MMHS*, 33), 'Phags-pa offers numerous instances of confusion between *k* ('ph. *k'*) and *g*. Cf. *Materiel II*, 3, 115-116; 'Quelques problèmes', 240-243. For mmo. *nökö'e*, mo. *nögüge*, Poppe (*IMCS*, 248) postulates cmo. **nöküge*. On the basis of the modern dialects, Tömörtogoo (*MXTXÜ*, 88) postulates Pmo. **nögüge*. Cf. *Oz*¹, III, 237, n. 2; VI, 423-424, n. 6. I am not convinced that the vowel of the second syllable was ever *ü*. Cf. *MĴBT*, I, 479b. This complex problem deserves further study.

'To the point where we began the attack', lit. 'to our place from where we stormed at the beginning' (*türün-ü dobtuluqsan qaĵar-turiyan*). For *türün*, cf. above, n. 111.

Ulqui Šilügeljit was the name of a river in the same general area, for we know from §173 that, following the Ulqui Šilügeljit upstream, one reached Dalan Nemürges. As this was near the

Khalkha River, the Ulqui Šilügeljit must be identified with one of the rivers whose sources are not far from it. The most likely candidate is obviously the Ulqui (Ulkhui = Ulghui? ; 'Olqui' in CW, 110, following D'Ohsson, I, 64, n. 2, and, ultimately, the map of D'Anville) in the south-east at 46° N 119° E. See Poppe 1956, 41; NMP, I, 326. The Ulqui corresponds to present-day Urgan (= Örgén) Gol (Uchingol, Wu-li-le-chi ho). This river receives the waters of its western tributary, the Seljin (= Seyelji) Gol (Wu-lan-chi-i ho). While I agree with Pelliot (HCG, 410) that the Ulqui Šilügeljit is one, not two rivers, its double name indicates perhaps that it is 'the Šilügeljit of the Ulqui', which may well be the Seljin Gol. See Yanai's map (in MSK) at 46° N 119° 30 E. Cf. MWESC 2, 20a, for references to these two rivers in Chinese sources; MGYMC, 88; and Mu, II, 58-59, n. 6.

For *muqutqa-* (*moqutqa-* in § 177; for *u ~ o*, cf. 'Quelques problèmes', 268-269) 'to destroy', cf. TMEN, no. 376; de Rachewiltz 1982a, 416; and above, nn. 113 and 133.

Altan, Qučar and Dāritai were last mentioned in § 142. Their relationship with Činggis Qan must always have been an uneasy one for reasons of seniority and leadership within the kin, Altan being Yisügei's cousin and therefore 'uncle' to Činggis; Qučar being the first cousin of Činggis; and Dāritai, Yisügei's younger brother, being a true uncle of Činggis. See above, n. 123. It seems that their infringement of the 'decree', i.e. the joint agreement regarding the collection of the booty, was a deliberate act of defiance against Činggis Qan's authority, eventually leading to their disaffection. Cf. ČK¹, 61-62 (= ČK, 66-67); Hambis 1975, 16, nn. 26, 27; 19.

'Had not complied with them', lit. 'had not complied with the words.'

For *ya'u ke* 'all one's belongings or personal effects, baggage; goods and things (in general: fr. *'n'importe quoi'*)', see Mo, 84-85; Ligeti 1971, 152; Oz¹, III, 238, n. 4.

The confiscation of the princes' booty was carried out by Ĵebe – here on his first official mission (as 'a *Ĵebe*-arrow', see § 147) – and by Qubilai of the Barulas tribe (see § 120). These

two captains, with Ĵelme and Sübe'etei, will later be known as the 'four hounds' (*dörben noqas*) of Činggis Qan. See § 195 and com.

§ 154. 'To decide what to do with the *Tatar* tribesmen', lit. 'saying, "What are we going to do with their tribe people?"'

'In a single tent', lit. 'entering into a single tent.'

The 'great council' (*yeke eye*) was no doubt a 'family council' (ger. *Familienrat*), as stated by Ratchnevsky 1987, 104, on the strength of the reference to the 'kinsmen' (*uruq*), but it must have included also the chiefs (*noyat*) and companions (*nököt*) who had to carry out its decisions. The later (*yeke*) *qurilta*, or great assembly, was the natural development of the *yeke eye*. Cf. below, n. 282.

For the poetic passage beginning 'From olden days ...', cf. § 133. Some translators treat this as a prose passage, but see Da⁵, 106, and Če, 119-120. For the expression *ösöl ösöjü kisal kisaĵu*, see above, n. 58.

'We shall measure *the Tatars* against the linchpin of a cart', i.e. all those who stood higher than the linchpin in the axletree of a cart were to be killed – in practice, this meant everyone except small children. The practice is well known, and it was applied to males only. Cf. HWC, I, 106-107. However, as pointed out by Ligeti (Li, 158, n. 154), not *all* the males of a tribe had to suffer this fate, but only the members of the leading clan (*oboq*) belonging to the same 'bone' (*yasu[n]*), i.e. whose lineage stemmed from a common ancestor (see above, nn. 9 and 112). See also the reference in § 139 to the destruction of the Ĵürkin clan. Cf. above, nn. 113, 133. 'And kill them to the last one,/We shall utterly slay them' is, literally, 'We shall kill slaying them,/We shall slay them until we exterminate them.'

'The rest', lit. 'those who shall have been left.'

'Some here, some there, dividing them among ourselves', lit. 'In all directions (*ĵük ĵük*) we shall apportion *them* to each other.' The idea was to completely break apart and scatter the survivors in order to destroy their tribal unity.

Yeke Čeren (? Čaran), a Tatar chief, must not be confused with the homonymous son of Činggis Qan's great-uncle Qulan Ba'atur, on whom see §§ 51, 169.

For *tungqaq* 'proclamation, announcement', cf. TMEN, no. 132.

'Surround and attack' renders *e'erekün*. *E'ere-* (= mo. *gere-*) is 'to assault, attack (usually by surrounding the enemy)', hence my translation.

'Each taking an enemy with us as a death-companion.' For this expression see above, n. 149.

'From now on Belgütei shall not join us', lit. 'After this, Belgütei shall not enter into (= participate in, join).'

'He shall judge litigations and those who are guilty of theft and falsehood', lit. 'he shall judge (*jarqulatuqai*) quarrels and those who have committed theft and deceitful deeds.' Cf. 'Trois documents', 464. For *jarqula-* (= mo. *jarɣula-*) 'to judge' < *jarqu* (= mo. *jarɣu*) 'judgement', see below, n. 203. In other words, Belgütei was to be in charge (*ɣasa-* 'to manage, handle, deal with') of the commoners outside the council, settle their litigations and, as judge, mete out punishments in matters of theft and falsehood, while Činggis Qan and the other chiefs were busy inside the tent with the affairs of the council. This passage is noteworthy on two counts. Firstly, the appointment of Belgütei, Činggis' half-brother, as the first judge (*jarquči*, mo. *jarɣuči*) at the fledgling Mongol court – an office that will assume great importance later on. I shall expand on this in n. 203. Secondly, the magnanimous attitude of Činggis towards Belgütei after he had committed such a serious offence as the disclosure of the council's decision to an enemy chief, and the subsequent losses incurred by the Mongols as a result of that indiscretion. While excluding him from the council and major policy decisions, Činggis still conferred on him substantial authority. The relationship between Činggis and Belgütei is an interesting one, deserving closer scrutiny. Cf., for example, the famous episode involving Būri Bökö (§§ 131, 140), when Činggis intervened to take revenge on behalf of Belgütei to the

extent of arranging the killing of a rival athlete, an unconscionable action. More information on Belgütei can be gathered from the Persian sources and his biography in YS² 117, 2905-2906. Cf. HCG, 437a (Index).

'The ceremonial wine' renders the term *ötök* (= pmo. *ötög*), which derives from tu. *ötüg* 'prayer, request to a superior.' See TMEN, no. 574. In the interlinear gloss it is translated as 'wine which is offered' (進酒). This was a formal invitation to drink, performed according to established rules, at official banquets, ceremonies and gatherings (*qurim*). The ritual followed at the Mongol court during the Yüan period is known, and we have a good deal of information from western and other sources. See, provisionally, Pelliot 1930b, 33, n. 1; MP¹, I, 217-220; MP², I, 381-384; MP³, 124-127; Li, 153, n. 130, and 164-165, n. 187; Ratchnevsky 1976, 527, n. 38. Cf. also above, nn. 70, 130; and below, n. 275.

The name of Dāritai (Otčigin), Činggis' uncle, is written here Da'arитай (w.f. Daɣarитай > Da'arитай > Dāritai) as in § 242. It is interesting that he should be mentioned together with Belgütei, which implies that he, too, was culpable of the same or some other infringement, possibly in connection with the events related in the previous section (§ 153 ad fin.).

§ 155. 'Then, on that occasion', renders Mongolian *tende ... tende*, lit. 'then ... then.' Yisügen (< *yisü[n]* 'nine' + dim. suff. *-gen*, see below, n. 239) is already called *qadun* = *qatun* (see above, nn. 54, 132-133), although she became so only after she was taken by Činggis Qan as one of his (secondary) wives. On her name, cf. Bese 1974, 92-93; Rybatzki [2003], s.v.

'He will take care of me, regarding me as a human being (*gü'ün*) and a person (*bodo*) worth keeping.' For this sentence, see Mo, 70-72. On, 68, renders *gü'ün* as 'a human being' and *bodo* as 'a beast of burden'¹⁸⁵, explaining in note 185 on the same page that in Mongolian *bodo* 'refers to domestic animals, either an ox, horse or camel', and citing § 195 where this word appears with this meaning. Cf. the 2001 ed., 130 and n. 347 (in

this version *gü'ün* becomes 'a chess pawn', and *bodo* 'a camel'!). However, then as now, *bodo* (= mo. *boda*, kh. *boḍ*) has two meanings, viz. 'large cattle' and 'object, body, substance, etc.' Cf. Les., 108b; MMED, 65a; TMEN, no. 812 (pp. 360-361); MKeT, 1003b. Both these meanings are attested in the SH with their corresponding Chinese gloss. See HW, 16. Clearly, in the present context *bodo* must be taken in the second acceptation, as the Ming translators did in their interlinear rendering (物). Ev-Pop, 115, translates 'ne pourrait-il pas me considérer comme une simple personne?', without taking into account the meaning of *asaramu* 'will take care of me', rendering *gü'ün* as 'une simple personne', and turning *bodo-da* into *bodufu* 'reckoning', as in Će, 121. This interpretation is untenable. Cf. Oz¹, III, 250, n. 1.

'My elder sister, who is called Yisüi', lit. 'A sister older than me, called Yisüi.' For *egeči* 'elder sister', cf. TMEN, no. 67; Mo, 72; RH, 231, no. 27. Yisüi is a name also formed from *yisü(n)* 'nine.' Cf. Bese, loc. cit; Rybatzki [2003], s.v. The final *-i* is a feminine form suffix. This phenomenon is reflected in verbal endings, such as *-mul-mi*, *-yul-yi*, *-ul-i*, *-bal-bi*, etc., on which see Ozawa 1992. Cf. MÜIT, no. 5, III, 2 (p. 2505a). Cf. also above, n. 55, and below, n. 214.

'She is *more* suitable for a ruler (*qan gü'ün-e*).' The compound expression *qan gü'ün*, lit. 'ruler person', means 'a person who is a ruler', i.e. 'a ruler.' Cf. below, n. 276.

'A bridegroom for her was taken into our family as a son-in-law' renders *güregen güregelen büligi*, i.e. 'a son-in-law was taken for her as (or became) a son-in-law', meaning that the young man to whom she was betrothed had come to stay for some time in the house of the father-in-law 'as a son-in-law', prior to taking his wife to his own house. This ancient Mongol custom is described earlier in the SH (§ 66). Cf. Vlad.², 59. Since this practice meant the virtual marriage of the couple, who lived together in the father-in-law's house as man and wife, the Chinese sectional summary (Y² 5, 24a) says simply that she was married to him. He is, in fact, called *ere* 'husband' in the next

section (§ 156). For *güregen* ~ *gürigen* ~ *güre'en* 'son-in-law, bridegroom', see 'Trois documents', 474; Cleaves 1953a, 257. For the form *büligi* of the praesens perfecti of *bü-* 'to be', cf. 'Trois documents', 460; and above, nn. 3, 56, 74.

'I wonder now' renders *edö'e maqa*. For *maqa* (= pmo. *mayā*), cf. § 31, where it was translated 'no one really knows.' See the remarks in n. 31 above. The meaning is essentially the same: the speaker expresses ignorance as to the issue in question, and this is done by means of the adverb *maqa* 'really' in the form of a rhetorical question.

For *qa'aqši* (= mo. *qamiyasi*) 'where? (lit. "towards where?")', cf. *ord. xāši* (*xāši*) id. See DO, 342b-343a. In their reconstructions of the Uighur-Mongol text of the SH, some scholars write *qayayši* (see, e.g., Oz¹, III, 484) and some *qamiyayši* (see, e.g., Ir, 128). I think the latter form is the correct one in view of the fact that SH *qa'a* 'where' = pmo. *qamiya* (see above, n. 31), and that in AT¹, 55b, we find *qamiyasi*. For the directional suffix *-yši* (= *-si*), see GWM, 58, § 211; 59, § 216.

Bodulqan 'confusion, disorder' is a *hapax legomenon* in the SH. It corresponds to mo. *buduliyan* id. The verb *buduli-* 'to create confusion' is found in the Preclassical Mongolian version of the *Hsiao-ching*. See de Rachewiltz 1982, 35 (24a4), 47. Cf. TH, 154 (= JYT, 270).

'If ... is' is expressed with the combination *büksen bö'esü*, in which *bö'esü* = 'if.' The form *büksen* (= pmo. *bügsen*), nomen perfecti of *bü-* 'to be', would normally indicate a (completed) past state; it is used here because the elder sister is not actually there to be seen, and one only knows that she was, or had been, as described. Cf. Poppe 1954a, 413, n. 9; VG, 93; Oz¹, III, 252, n. 3. In English, however, one should use the present tense.

'Better than you' (*čimadača sayin*) can also be translated 'more beautiful than you.'

‘Will you yield *your place* to her?’ (*ǰayilaǰu ökgü-yü*). *Ökgü-yü* is the nomen futuri of the verb *ök-* (= mo. *ög-*, used here as an auxiliary) followed by the interrogative particle *-yü*. The corresponding form in the AT¹, 55b, is *ökgüi-üü*. This is the form given also in Oz¹, III, 484, for the original text of the SH in Uighur-Mongol script, whereas that given in Ir, 128, is *ökgüyü*. The interrogative particle which in Classical Mongolian is written *-uu*, *-u / -üü*, *-ü* (cf. GWM, 172, § 622) occurs in Preclassical Mongolian as **-u*, *-γu*, *-uγu*, *-yuyu / *-ü*, *-gü*, *-ügü*, **-yügü* which corresponds to mmo. *-u*, *-’u*, *-u’u*, *-yu*, *-yu’u / -ü*, *-’ü*, *-ü’ü*, *-yü*, *-yü’ü*. It is clear from the presence of the intervocalic *-γ-*, *-g-* > *-’-* that the vowel of the interrogative particle *-ul-ü* is long, i.e. *-ū/-ü*; hence, in association with the connecting consonant *y*, we have *-yū/-yü*. Cf. ‘Trois documents’, 465; Mo, 90-91, n. 87, 238, n. 221; Cleaves 1982, 77, n. 13; and *Lettres*, 14, 67, for the ‘consonne de liaison’ *-y-* (however, Mostaert and Cleaves ignore the lengthening of the vowel). As for the transcription *ökgü-yü* in our passage, this is not the only possible one, since *ökgüi-ü* is also plausible and is, indeed, the form adopted in Oz¹, III, 248. Cf. Pe, 48, n. 4: ‘ökgüy-ü?’ The form *ökgü* has been chosen here in preference to *ökgüi* because the former is the regular nomen futuri of *ök-* in the SH (see R, 277b). In view of the above, the reconstruction of the original form in Uighur-Mongol script of *ökgü-yü* remains purely hypothetical. For mmo. *ökgü* = mo. *ökgü*, cf. ‘Quelques problèmes’, 242-243.

‘As soon as I see.’ Cf. Cl, 83: ‘If I but see.’ Cf. also Street 1986, 42 (85), where *ele* in the present context is rendered as ‘precisely.’ However, the Ming translators understood this clause in the way I rendered it. See Y² 5, 24a; Pa, 79. Cf. also Da⁵, 107, where the immediacy is expressed with the adverb *darui* ‘at once.’

‘On this promise’, lit. ‘at this (= her) word’ (*ene üge-tür*). In Mongolian, as in English, ‘word’ (*üge*) means also ‘promise’; thus, further on, the expression ‘keeping the promise she had

made earlier’, is, literally, ‘reaching the word(s) she had spoken before.’

‘Činggis Qa’an issued the order’ (*tungqa’aju*). For *tungqa’a-* (= mo. *tungγaya-*), lit. ‘to cause to proclaim (or to announce)’, cf. TMEN, no. 145; Cleaves 2001a, 47-48, n. 75. Cf. above, n. 154.

‘Came across her’ (*jolqaju’ui*), i.e. unexpectedly, as indicated by the third past, or praeteritum imperfecti, used by the narrator. Here the narrator himself was, I believe, with Činggis at the time, witness the use of the expression ‘our troops’; indeed, he must have been quite close to him to relate this event in such great detail.

‘Since she turned out to be ... *of his principal wives*’, lit. ‘Since she turned out to be like (= in accordance with) the words of Yisügen Qatun, he let *her* enter into his thoughts (= heart, affection). He took Yisüi Qatun *as wife* and made her sit in the row *of his principal wives*.’ We know that the *qan*’s wives, like his high officials and courtiers, occupied well defined places at court according to their official rank. Yisüi Qatun was placed among Činggis’ wives of the second ‘rank’ (*jerge*), and was the first, or principal wife belonging to the third *ordo* or ‘palace.’ Yisügen Qatun was the first of the wives belonging to the fourth *ordo*, so that Yisüi was, indeed, superior in rank to her sister. See YS² 106, 2695-2696, where the two *qatuns* are called Yisü and Yisügen respectively (cf. below, n. 156 ad fin.); Mo, 74, n. 71. However, the entire passage is understood differently by Poppe. See Poppe 1964, 375. Cf. Ratchnevsky 1976, 516, 527, n. 38. For the expression ‘to make enter into one’s thoughts’ (*oyin-dur-iyān oro’ul-*), see Mo, 73. Cf. § 66.

§ 156. ‘After having completely ravaged the Tatars’, lit. ‘After having completed the ravaging (*daulin* [= *da’ulin*] *baraǰu*) of the Tatar people.’ For the auxiliary of achievement *bara-*, cf. above, nn. 75, 149. On *daulin* for *da’ulin*, cf. below, n. 170.

‘Having thought it over’, lit. ‘thinking within himself’ (*ditora’an setkijü*).

Handwritten notes:
 ...
 ...
 ...

'And no others' renders the restrictive particle *ele* 'only, just.' The passage 'You make ... not his own' reads, literally, 'You – only these people that have assembled, stand you all in groups of related families (*ayimaq ayimaq*) – separate the persons of a group other than their own.' The words 'only ... of related families' are interpolated as a direct order of Činggis to the people in question, the meaning being, however, 'let these people, etc.', as already pointed out in Cl, 84, n. 32. *Ayimaq* (= mo. *ayimaγ*) is a term designating a group of *ayil*, or related families, camping together – not a 'tribe' at this time – hence A. Waley's rendering 'camping-group' (Wa, 259). Cf. Vlad.², 176-177; Mu, II, 68-70; Oz¹, III, 258-259, n. 2. There is a good deal of literature on this important term and its usage before, during and after the Yüan period. See TMEN, no. 61; Ratchnevsky 1966, 180; Aubin 1974, 15, n. 16; RLGYC, 119ff.; cf. also Cleaves 1955a, 365, n. 26; and idem 1961, 67, n. 23. The Chinese interlinear gloss renders *ayimaq* as 'tribe' (部落), reflecting the later development of this early social grouping. For the period we are concerned with, the term 'tribe' properly applies only to *ulus* (*irgen*). Therefore, the rendering 'tribe' that we find in Cl, On, and Ev-Pop is not, in my view, accurate. For the *ayil*, see above, n. 81. 'Separate (imp.)' renders *ö'ere böldeyitketkün*, lit. 'cause to be alone (= set apart).' The verb *böldeyit-* (= pmo. *böldeyid-*) 'to be alone (*or* on his own, isolated)' occurs again in §§ 170 and 196 (in § 170 preceded by *öre* = *ö'ere*; the '*öre*' of L², 124, is a misprint). For a possible semantic connection between this verb and *boldaq* (= mo. *bolday*) 'isolated hill' (see HW, 17), both deriving from **bolda-* ~ **bölde-* 'to stand alone', see Oz¹, III, 259-260, n. 3. Pelliot had already hinted at such a connection [P.P.-C.R.A.C.].

'A handsome and alert young man' (*niken jala'ui sayin gürümele gü'ün*). For *jala'u* ~ *jala'ui* 'young', cf. *ma'u* ~ *ma'ui* 'bad', etc. See SG, 299; and above, n. 3. For *gürümele* 'brisk, alert', cf. above, n. 90.

'To which clan do you belong?' (*či ya'un gü'ün bui?*). For this expression, see above, n. 15.

'He has been living as an outcast (*o'orčaq*)', lit. 'he has gone becoming an outcast.' In the interlinear gloss, *o'orčaq* is rendered as 'bandit, robber' (劫賊; § 200: 劫), an extension of its primary meaning of 'outcast, runaway; a vagabond, a man who avoids company', hence a man who lives by expediency (N.P. p.c.). In a nomadic or semi-nomadic society, a person who is detached or isolated from his kith and kin, or cut off – for whatever reason – from his tribe, is, *ipso facto*, an outcast, and the step from outcast to outlaw is but a short one. He then, as Ligeti points out, automatically becomes 'a free prey whom no one and nothing protects' (Li, 158, n. 156). *O'orčaq* is, in fact, a deverbal noun from *o'or-* (= mo. *oγor-*) 'to let off, drive away; to abandon' (for the suffix. *-čaq/-ček* [= mo. *-čayl/-čeg*], see MÜIT, 2813a, no. 447 [2]). Cf. HW, 125; Les., 603a: *oγur-* 'to leave, abandon; to neglect'; *oγurčay* 'isolated, deserted, abandoned, lone.' Cf. also DO, 522b; and MMED, 396a. The secondary meaning of 'bandit, robber' is attested in later literary texts. See TH, 114 (= JYT, 202); cf. MKeT, 403a. However, I think the correct rendering here (as in § 200) is 'outcast' or 'runaway' (the '*fugitif*' of Mo, 125), for this describes exactly the young man's situation. For further comments on this word, see Oz¹, III, 259-260, n. 3; Če, 375-376, n. 258; Rassadin 1995, 113; and below, n. 214.

'Those like him' (*inu metüs-i*). For the 'preposed' pronoun *inu*, cf. Cleaves 1953, 78, n. 7.

'Cast him out of my sight!', lit. 'Cast him behind (= out) of my eyes!' In the present context the meaning is: cause him to disappear, wipe him out.

For some comments on the pathos of this episode within the context of love and friendship as portrayed in the SH, see Sárközi 1978, 152.

The episode described in this section is not related in the SWCCL nor in Rašid al-Dīn's work, but both Yisügen and her sister Yisüi are often mentioned by Rašid, who however calls them Yesügen ~ Yesüket and Yesülün respectively. See SL², I/1, 202a (Index), and I/2, 286a (Index). Whereas Yesüket can

be put down to a scribal error, the form Yesülün (= Yisülün) for Yisüi ~ Yisü (cf. above, n. 155) is difficult to explain since Yisülün is a woman's name in its own right. See Bese 1980, 319, no. 16. For initial *ye* ~ *yi*, cf. HCG, 2; and above, n. 50.

§ 157. The SH places Ong Qan's campaign against Toqto'a Beki s.a. 1202, but the chronology of these events is unreliable and the present campaign against the Merkit no doubt took place a few years earlier, in 1198, or very soon after (SL², I/2, 111, gives 1197-1198). See above, n. 151, and below, n. 177. Cf. HCG, 265-266; GK, 59-62. We last met Toqto'a Beki in § 109 when, defeated by the joint forces of Ong Qan, Temüjin and Jamuqa, he had fled and 'entered the Barqujin territory', i.e. the Barqujin Lowland (*töküm; tögüm* in §§ 8 and 177). On this area east of the Baikal, see above, nn. 8 and 109. As noted by Pelliot (HCG, 288), 'Le Barqujin-tögüm apparaît à plusieurs reprises comme le lieu de refuge où se rendent gens ou tribus chassés de Mongolie; ils "entrent" au Barqujin.'

For Tögüs Beki, Toqto'a's eldest son, see *ibid.*, 281-282.

On Qutuqtai and Ča'alun, see *ibid.*, 282-284. For the etymology of the name Qutuqtai, see Rybatzki [2003], s.v.; for that of Ča'alun, see HCG, 282, but cf. Bese 1978, 365, no. 14; *idem* 1980, 319, no. 7; Rybatzki [2003], s.v.; and above, n. 153. As noted by Pelliot, *loc. cit.*, 282, the text has 'Ča'arun' for 'Ča'alun' owing to a scribal error. The words *okit inu* are probably a later interpolation (they are not found in the corresponding passage in AT¹, 56b); Qutuqtai and Ča'alun must have been the wives (*qatut*), not the daughters, of Toqto'a. Hence the text should in all likelihood read: 'seized Toqto'a's two wives Qutuqtai and Ča'alun.' On, 69, following Mu, II, 70, translated: 'He took Toqto'a's two girls, Qutuqtai and Cha'alun as his wives', but in the 2001 ed., 132, following CI, 85, he rephrased the sentence as follows: 'He took Toqto'a's two daughters, Qutuqtai and Cha'alun, and his wives.' Wei, 109, had also taken the verb *yao* 要 of the Chinese sectional summary in the sense of 'to take for himself', which may be interpreted,

of course, as 'to take as wife or concubine', the Mongolian verb *ab-* (which is regularly glossed *yao* in the SH) having both the meaning of 'to seize' and 'to take as wife.' Cf. also El-Ar, 458, n. 3, quoting Hsieh, 81, where this phrase is understood in the same way. And we can add to the list Al, 76, who was probably the first to come up with this interpretation. However, neither the SWCCL nor Rašid al-Dīn speaks of Ong Qan's taking the two ladies as wives, although both sources mention the event in question. See SWCCL¹, 21a, and SL², I/2, 111, where, in both instances, the verb used is 'to capture.' See HCG, 264. Oddly enough, as already pointed out by Pelliot, *op. cit.*, 283, in this single passage of his work Rašid refers to the two women as being the daughters of Toqto'a Beki, whereas elsewhere they are always called his wives. There is, therefore, a strange contamination here with the SH which is difficult to explain and which points to two diverging traditions.

Toqto'a's son Qutu (= Qodu) was mentioned earlier in §§ 141 and 144. See above, n. 141, for the problem concerning his name. On Čila'un, mentioned here for the first time, see HCG, 287. Cf. § 177 and *com.*

'Gave not one thing', lit. 'did not give whatever (*ya'u ber*).'
For this use of the particle *ber*, see Street 1981, 156ff. Failing to share the booty with an ally was a dishonourable act and an infringement of the customary law. See Činggis Qan's later reproaches to Ong Qan on that score in § 177. Cf. SL², I/2, 128. In the SWCCL¹, 21a, and YS² 1, 6, the fact that Ong Qan kept all the booty for himself is also mentioned. See HCG, 265.

§ 158. This entire section has been translated by Pelliot in HCG, 310, where, however, '(*muqulqa-*)' is a misprint for '(*muqutqa-*).'

Buyirūq Qan, on whom see above, §§ 141-144, 151, was the son of Inanč Bilgä (the Inanča Qan of § 151, and Inanča Bilge Qan of §§ 177, 189, 194) and the (elder?) brother of Tayang Qan (see below, § 166), with whom he had quarrelled. His domain, or camping and grazing grounds (*nuntuq*), was in the

region of the river Urungu south of the Altai, his brother having retained the ancestral Naiman territory further to the north-west, i.e. the region of the Black Irtysh and Bukhtarma rivers. Thus Činggis, who was coming from the east, clashed first with Buyirūq. However, in this passage the SH has apparently again confused two different expeditions, as in the case of the joint campaign against the Merkit related in §§ 104-112. At any rate, the campaign against Buyirūq seems to have taken place also in 1199. On all these chronologically complex questions, see HCG, 297-311; GK, 63, 73; and ČK¹, 53-56 (= ČK², 57-61). For Güčügüt (Güčü'üt in § 141), see above, n. 141.

As pointed out earlier (n. 151), the Naiman were strongly influenced by Turkic culture, as evident in their nomenclature. In this section, most of the geographical and proper names are Turkic or part-Turkic (i.e. Turco-Mongolian hybrids): Uluq Taq (= tu. Uluγ Tay 'Great Mountain'); Soqoq Usun (< tu. *soγuq* 'cold' and mo. *usun* 'water', i.e. 'river'; cf. SMT, 25; Dogsüren 1977, 188); Qum Šinggir (= tu. Qum Señir 'Sand Promontory'); Yedi Tubluq (< tu. 'Who Has Seven Balls'); Kišil Baš (= tu. Qizil Baš 'Red Head'). On the Uluq Taq and the Altai mountains, see above, n. 144. Soqoq Usun, mentioned in the Chinese and Persian sources, has been identified with present-day Söög Gol or Sogoogiyn Gol, north-west of the city of Kobdo (Xovd), at 49° 01' N 89° 27' E. See Pelliot 1920, 173; TH, 239 (= JYT, 412-413). Cf. also HCG, 310. According to Pèrlée², 5 (cf. Pèrlée⁴, 96), Soqoq Usun at 47° N 90° E is still called Sogug Usu. The Ürünggü (= Ürüngü, also a Turkic name of uncertain etymology) is the well-known river Urungu (kh. Ürengé; ch. Wu-lun-ku ho 烏龍古河), in the Altai-Kobdo area (west of the Altai and south of Kobdo), but actually in northern Sinkiang. See HCG, 314-316; Hambis 1974, 38-39; TH, 132 (= JYT, 231). Qum Šinggir is an unidentified locality on the upper course of the Urungu, probably near present Bulgan (ch. Pu-erh-ken 布爾根), at 46° 07' N 90° 31' E. See HCG, 315-316. Lake Kišil Baš is the modern Pu-lun-t'ö hai 布倫托海 (Ürengé or

Ülengüür Nuur) – the Ulyungur Nor of (still) most maps – into which flows the Urungu, always in northern Sinkiang. See HCG, 311-314; Hambis 1974, 39. Cf. Li, 159, n. 158, also for the other place-names; Ligeti 1966, 128-130; Poppe 1955, 40; TMEN, no. 1482. On Yedi Tubluq, see HCG, 317-318; Li, loc. cit.; On, 70, n. 188.

For *qara'ul* 'patrol', see above, n. 142. *Qara'ul yabu-* is, literally, 'to go as a patrol.' Cf. Oz¹, III, 268, n. 2.

For *bolun*, lit. 'becoming' = 'being on the point of ...', 'being about to ...', cf. VG, 51-52 (where, however, on p. 52, '§ 159' is a misprint for '§ 158').

For the words *olang-niyan tasuraqdaju*, lit. 'undergoing the breaking of his saddle-strap', see Poppe 1964, 376.

The events in this section are retold with additional details and slight variations in § 177.

§ 159. On Kökse'ü (~ Kökse'ü) Sabraq, see HCG, 318. He was one of the leaders of the army of Tayang Qan of the Naiman whom Tayang sent to meet the forces of Činggis Qan and Ong Qan that were approaching his territory. For *kökse'ü* < tu. (čag.) *köksägü* 'chest pain', cf. TMEN, no. 1678. Cf. below, n. 163. *Qatqulduqçi*, lit. 'fighter, warrior', i.e. 'good at fighting', 'a great warrior.'

The Bayidaraq Confluence (Bayidaraq Belčir) was an area just south of the point where the river Baidarik (i.e. the Baydarag or Baïdragiïn Gol) meets its main tributary, the Dzak (or Dzag, Zag) Gol, south of the Khangai Mountains. See HCG, 321-322. According to Pèrlée², 6 (cf. Pèrlée⁴, 86), this locality at 47° N 99° E (the '74' of Pèrlée² is a misprint, tacitly corrected in Pèrlée³, 8, which has unfortunately passed into Pèrlée⁴) is now called Zag Baïdragiïn Belčir. Cf. Hambis 1974, 39-40. For the name Bayidaraq ~ Baidaraq (cf. § 177), see Cleaves 1956, 273, n. 784. *Belčir* is a term meaning 'the place or area where two rivers meet', i.e. 'the confluence.' In § 161 (Y² 5, 31b) it is glossed *ku-k'ou* 谷口, lit. 'the mouth of the valley' – i.e. of the river valley. It can, therefore, be loosely rendered as 'vallée'

[A.M.]. Cf. Les., 97a; SMT, 16, s.v. 'belčér'; HCG, 320-321. The armies of Činggis and Ong Qan were returning from lake Kišil Baš to their respective camps on the Tūla and the Kerulen and, then being winter, they naturally preferred to stay on the southern side of the Khangai. See HCG, 318-322.

'We shall fight in the morning!' (*manaqaru qatqulduya*), i.e. 'tomorrow morning.' We have already encountered the word *manaqa(r)ši* (§§ 66, 72, 143) 'the following morning; next day', and *manaqar (üdür)* (§§ 83, 142) 'tomorrow', about which see n. 66 above. This is the first occurrence of *manaqaru* (= pmo. *manaγaru*) which, as in § 177, is glossed in Chinese as *ming-tsaο* 明早 'tomorrow morning', whereas in § 246 it is glossed *tsao-ch'en* 早晨 '(early) morning.' For *manaqaru* (~ *manaqari*), etc., cf. Mo, 17-18, n. 12 (where Mostaert states that *manaqaru* is a variant of *manaqar*, mo. *manaγar*, 'morning'; cf. AT¹, 57a, id.), 172-173; de Rachewiltz 1990, 288, n. 25; Oz¹, VI, 210, n. 8; and below, n. 177. The expression *manaqaru qatqulduya* corresponds to *manaqar qatqulduya* of § 142, which I translated 'Tomorrow we'll fight!' However, in view of the fact that the two words are not exactly the same in Mongolian, and that in § 142 the Chinese gloss is *ming-jih* 明日 'tomorrow', I have slightly altered the rendering in the present instance, but the meaning is the same.

'In *battle* order' renders mmo. *jerge'er*, a word which occurs also in § 151, but with a different meaning ('orderly, gradually'). See above, n. 151.

As noted by Pelliot (HCG, 323), the fires were lit because it was winter. Relating this event, the YS² 1, 6, expands as follows: 'That night Wang Han (i.e. Ong Qan) lit many fires in his camp so that they would not suspect that he was surreptitiously moving his tribesmen to another place.'

'In the place where he was stationed', lit. 'in his position' (*bayidal-dur-ıyan*). As a military term, *bayidal* means 'the position, or station, of the troops for combat.' Poppe 1964, 375, renders it as 'military camp.'

'That same night' (*söni bö'et*), lit. 'having been (= being still) night.' Cf. above, n. 110.

Qara Se'ül ('Black Tail') is a river not identified by Pelliot (HCG, 325) which, according to Pèrlée², 7 (cf. Pèrlée⁴, 91) is probably the present Xar Süülüin Gol (north-east of Zag Baıdragiın Bèlčir at 47° N 100° E), a river which is not marked on our maps.

§ 160. The 'anti-*qan*' Ĵamuqa, who suddenly reappears here after the debacle described in § 144, had actually rejoined Ong Qan and Činggis Qan in this campaign, but, according to the SH, only to play a treacherous role. On these events, see GK, 62-64; ČK¹, 53-56 (= ČK², 57-61).

'Has been sending envoys to the Naiman, lit. 'had envoys at the Naiman', i.e. he had been having relations with them. Cf. § 166.

'The skylark that stays in one place' (*aqū qayıruqana*). The *qayıruqana* of the SH has been identified with mo. *qayıručai*, kh. *xairgacai*, the Mongolian skylark, or steppe lark (*Melanocorypha mongolica*). See HCG, 326-327; Li, 159, n. 160; Oz¹, III, 274-275, n. 2; Vietze, 1990, 384-385. On the other hand, Mostaert identifies the *qayıruqana* with ord. *χārχanaḵ šiwiḳ* 'nom d'un petit oiseau', the written form of which is *qayırayana* 'the seagull' (DO, 346a, and Addenda et Corrigenda, xiiib). Poppe, for his part, writes (p.c.): '*qayıruqana* = Khalkha *xairguuna* "Falco Eleonorae", Engl. "Pigeon hawk" (see *Bull. of the Terminological Commission of the Mongolian Acad. of Sc.*, Nos 78-80, Ulaanbaatar, 1970, p. 24).' I think Pelliot is correct in view of the contrast implied in Ĵamuqa's utterance. The term *bildu'ur* corresponds to the *bilji'ur* of §§ 77, 220. See above, n. 77. I translate *aḵıraqa* as 'migratory', since both the ideas of moving away and returning, of coming and going, are conveyed by the verb *aḵıra-*. See HW, 4; Oz¹, III, 275, n. 2. The contrast expressed by the poetic simile is, of course, that between a stable and loyal person and one that is fickle and treacherous. Cf. Hung 1956, 17, n. 6. For

the variant simile used in the same story recorded in the SWCCL¹, 22a, in SL², I/2, 113, and in the YS² 1, 9, see HCG, 326-327.

Gürin Ba'atur is also known to us from Rašīd al-Dīn and the SWCCL, see HCG, 295 and 328-329. Pelliot (ibid., 328-329) has discussed the appellation Ubčiqtai – an ethnicon of *Ubčiq (= *Ubčiy) – of the SH, and suggests that it is probably an early scribal error for Übčiritei, lit. '(With the face) flayed (i.e. red, for shame)', so that it would in fact be a nickname ('Red Face') by which Gürin Ba'atur was also known. AT¹, 57a, has the corrupt reading Uručičitai Gürün (not Gürin as in ATL, 119) Bayatur. See, however, Bese's remarks in Bese 1988, 29-31, countering Pelliot's interpretation, proposing instead the reading 'Občiytai "male member of the Občiy (clan)"' for the 'epithet of Kürin Bayatur' (ibid., 30).

'How can you speak so deceitfully', lit. 'How can you speak deceiving (*ĵusuritčü*) thus.' *Ĵusurit-* 'to deceive' = mo. *ĵisurid-*; cf. mo. *ĵisurla-*, *ĵusurla-* 'to flatter, to deceive cunningly.' See TMEN, no. 169.

'Speak ... backbiting and slandering' (*ulkin ĵingkün ügüleyü*). Cf. Mo, 169, n. 155, where the expression *ulkin ĵingkün ügüle-* is rendered simply as 'médire, calomnier.' See also Ligeti 1972, 3, n. 3; Oz¹, III, 277-278, n. 6. (The 'ügüleye' of L², 114, is a misprint for 'ügüleyü.')

'Your upright (*šili'un*) brother.' For *šili'un* (= pmo. *siliyu*, *siliyun*; mo. *siluyun*) 'upright, noble, sincere, etc.', see Cleaves 1950, 113, n. 75; de Rachewiltz 1982, 75-76, n. 224. Cf. also DO, 634b. Here Činggis Qan is referred to as a 'brother' (*aqade'ü*) of Ĵamuqa, the term 'brother' used *sensu lato* with the meaning of 'cousin', the two being indeed cousins by reason of their common ancestry from Bodončar. See above, n. 104.

§ 161. 'Early next morning, at daybreak', lit. 'Early next day ("the morrow": *manaqar*; see above, n. 159), the day lightening.'

'He wanted to fight', lit. 'Saying, "let us fight!"'

'They certainly treat us like burnt offerings *at the sacrifice for the dead*' (*ede čī bidan-i tüleşilen aju'u*). *Tüleşilen* is the converbium modale of *tüleşile-* 'to regard *someone* as being like *tüleşi*.' **Tüleşi* (= ch. *shao-fan* 燒飯) was a special term for the sacrificial food offering to the spirits of the dead – food that was burnt in the ground and the remains of which were thrown away after the ceremony. Hence, metaphorically, something that is no longer useful and can be disposed of as one pleases. See Mo, 19-20, n. 14; HCG, 323; Li, 159, n. 161; Tomka 1965, 174; Franke H 1975, 138. For the sacrifice to the ancestors at which food was burnt in the ground, see above, n. 70. For the role of the corroborative-adversative particle *čī*, cf. Street 1984, 140.

On the Eder Altai (the 'Eter' of Cl, 86, is not correct) Confluence (*belčir*, cf. above, n. 159), see HCG, 335-338. The place has not been identified. The identification proposed by Pèrlée², 4 (= Pèrlée⁴, 89), situating this locality at 100° N 49° E, is unacceptable as it would place it too far north of the route that Činggis must have followed in order to go from the Bayidaraq valley to the Sa'ari Steppe, i.e. from approximately 47° N 99° E to 47° N 107° E. For the Sa'ari Steppe (Sa'ari Ke'er), see above, n. 128. In other words, Činggis had returned to his own camping grounds between the Kerulen and Tūla rivers.

Qasar is Činggis' younger brother Joči Qasar.

'Having realized the difficulties of the Naiman' (*Naiman-u tübü'üd-i uqaju*), possibly referring to the internal problems due to the family discord of the Naiman leadership, i.e. the enmity between Buyuruq Qan and Tayang Qan, the two sons of Īnanč Bilgä (Inanča Bilge) Qan, which had split the tribe in two (cf. above, n. 158), but see the remarks at the end of the present note. The word *tübü'üt*, a plural of **tübüg* (the mmo. pl. suff. *-t* > *-d* before a vowel), poses a problem, as this word is a *hapax legomenon*. The Chinese gloss interprets it as meaning 'the main points (or essentials), gist' (大概), while the sectional summary gives 'measure (or device)' (計量) (Y² 5, 32a; Wa, 260, has misunderstood the passage). The word has been read *tubu'ud* as well as *tübü'üd* (cf. Pe, 49 and n. 4; L², 114; Oz¹, III,

279; Ir, 132; El-Ar, 467; Će, 124); it has also been related to *tu. tüp* (*tüb, tip*) ‘bottom, foundation, root, etc.’ (see ED, 434a-b; DTS, 598a) by TH, 271 (= JYT, 470), followed by El-Al, 468, n. 5, and Oz¹, III, 280 and 284-285, n. 5. Thus, on the basis of the Chinese gloss, or the sectional summary, or the presumed Turkic correspondence, we have various renderings of the term: ‘l’essentiel’ (Pe, 179), ‘die Pläne’ (Ha, 55), ‘the intentions’ (Li, 59), ‘the devices’ (Cl, 86), ‘the general situation’ (Ja, 205), ‘the foundation’ (Do¹, 130), ‘the gist’ (Na², 162), ‘the (military) situation’ (Mu, II, 73; On, 71 [id. in the 2001 ed., 133]); ‘the true character’ (Oz¹, III, 280); ‘a general idea’ (Oz², I, 193); etc. Other investigators, beginning with Kozin and including Damdinsürén and Gaadamba, see in **tübüg* the mo. *tübeg, töbeg* ‘difficulty, trouble’ (cf. kalm. *tüw^uG*, ord. *t’öwök* id.) and translate accordingly. See Ko, 126 (where, however, the sentence is misunderstood), 546, 606; Da⁵, 109; Γa, 88; Ra, V, 51; Će, 124; Ta, 85; Ev-Pop, 118. The interpretation based on the correspondence with *tu. tüp* is, in my view, unacceptable because there is already a word *tüb* in the SH (§ 220) glossed *chung* 中 ‘middle, centre’, which is indeed a borrowing from *tu. tüp* – a term which, besides the meanings given above, has the military acceptance of ‘main, principal, central (army, camp).’ See TMEN, no. 995. Cf. mo. *töb* ‘centre, middle, straight, righteous, etc.’ In the SH, *tüb* is used only with this technical meaning, and the meanings ‘essentials; devices; etc.’ attributed to it are not found in Mongolian. Moreover, the plural of *tüb* would be *tübüd*, not *tübügüd* (SH: *tübü’üt*). I am, therefore, still in favour of *tübü’üt* = mo. *tübegüd*, pl. of *tübeg*. In the AT the word in question appears in the corrupt form *tubun* (AT¹, 57b), which Ligeti has tacitly amended to *tubud* (ATL, 119). Of course, **tubud* (= *tübüd*) could be the contracted form of **tubuyud*, the plural of **tubuy* and, if so, we may have an instance of a vocalic ambivalent word (such as *ümere* ~ *umara*, *söyü-* ~ *soyu-*, *getül-* ~ *yatul-*, etc.), i.e. **tübüg* ~ **tubuy*, but this is speculative. In her translation of the AT, Šastina has not commented on this puzzling word and her rendering follows

Kozin’s interpretation (see LDAT, 136). Čoyiji’s commentary (AT⁴, 250) is also of no help. In view of this, and the fact that Kozin’s, Damdinsürén’s and Gaadamba’s interpretation is at variance with both the Chinese gloss and the sectional summary, one cannot accept it without reservations.

‘No longer counted them as people to be reckoned with’, lit. ‘did not count them as people’ – ‘people’ (*haran*) meaning here ‘fighting men’, i.e. a fighting force that could still cause much trouble to the Mongols. As noted by Ev-Pop, 280, n. 51, there is a similar statement in the SWCCL¹, 24a, where we read that, after routing the Naiman with his brother Qasar at *Hulān Janče (possibly a mistake for Hulān Če[g]), Činggis Qan ‘saw that the power of the Naiman had been reduced and there was no (longer) need to worry (on account of it).’ Cf. HCG, 387. However, this applies to another, subsequent campaign which is not mentioned in the SH nor by Rašīd al-Dīn, but which is recorded in the YS² 1, 7, where the account ends with the words ‘The power of the Naiman was henceforth reduced.’ Cf. Pelliot’s remarks in HCG, 387-388; and GK, 65. It seems that in the course of the later editing of the SH a sentence was transposed from another entry in a Chinese or Mongol source to the SH. This final sentence of § 161 is, indeed, somewhat incongruous as later events showed that the Naiman, in spite of their internal feuds, were still a power to be reckoned with.

§ 162. Senggüm (= Senggün) is Ilqa Sengün, the son of Ong Qan, called Nilqa Senggüm in §§ 165, 166 and 167; always Ilqa (I-laha 亦刺合 [= 哈]) in the YS, see YSJMSY, 14a; and Ilqa Sēngün ~ Nilqa Sēngün in Rašīd al-Dīn’s work. See SL², I/1, 130, 131; I/2, 114 (twice). Nilqa is a nickname meaning ‘junior, little one (= the youngest boy or son).’ Cf. § 195 (see, however, On, 73, n. 199). *Sengün* (> *senggüm*) is a mongolized form of the Kitan/Liao title *hsiang-wen* 詳穩, itself a retranscription in Chinese of the Kitan form of the original Chinese title *hsiang-kung* 相公 ‘His Excellency the Minister’, usually given to ministers and heads of the Secretariat. See HCG, 334; and

Choimaa 1997. The 'four steeds' are paralleled to the 'four hounds' (*dörben noqas*, see § 195), viz. Ĵebe (see § 146), Qubilai (see § 120), Ĵelme (see § 97), and Sübe'etei (see § 120), the other four champions and army leaders. Cf. HCG, 340. For brief sketches of these personages, see ČQK and, especially, TYÖ. According to Rašid al-Dīn, the four sons of Činggis Qan (Ĵoči, Ča'adai, Ögödei and Tolui) were also known as the 'four *külüks*.' See *Successors*, 159. Cf. SH, § 254, confirming Rašid's statement. As for the symbolism of the number four, see Moses 1996, 80-81.

Hula'an Qut ('Red Cliffs') is a locality which, according to Pêrlée², 5 (= Pêrlée⁴, 96), corresponds to modern Ulaan Xus (the Ulaan Hus of our maps) in the Bayan Ölgii AĴmag, at 49° N 89° E. Pêrlée's identification seems to be an arbitrary one. This place-name occurs again in § 177, in a longer and different form (Ĵorqal Qun-u Hula'anu'ut Bolda'ut). Although Pelliot could not identify this locality (HCG, 380), by a different argument he developed it can be definitely situated near the Selenga in the region of modern Kyakhta. See below, n. 177.

'Had been shot in the thigh by an arrow' (*quya qaqdaĴu*). *Qaqda-* is the passive form of *qa-* 'to shoot (an arrow).' Cf. kalm. *Ĵa-* id. See Oz¹, III, 294-295, n. 3.

'Those "four steeds" arrived and saved him (*abura'at*), and they recovered ... for him (*aburaĴu ökbei*).' *Abura-* 'to save, rescue' is followed here (as in three other instances in this section) by the auxiliary verb *ök-* (= mo. *ög-*) indicating that the action is performed in the interest of a person other than the subject (Činggis Qan), i.e. for the benefit of Ong Qan and Senggüm. It is, therefore, not necessary to translate *ök-* as 'to give, return, etc.' Cf. Cl, 87.

'His good father' = 'his late father', as in § 73. Ong Qan is referring to the events described above, §§ 150-151.

'Who had been lost', lit. 'who had finished going' (*odun baraqsan*), i.e. 'gone to the last man', 'utterly dispersed', with *bara-* 'to finish' acting as the auxiliary of completed action. Cf. above, n. 149.

'People', i.e. one's tribesmen, is rendered in this section with the expressions *irge orqo* (~ *orqa*) and *ulus*, which are synonymous. Cf. § 177: *odun baraqsan irge orqo*.

The words 'now, once more, ... for me' have been rendered in my translation in conformity with the Chinese wording in the sectional summary (Y² 5, 35a-b) supported by AT¹, 58a, which is slightly at variance with that of the SH. See Cl, 87, n. 43, for a comparison of the three texts.

For the exact connotations of the last sentence, cf. *Lettres*, 83 and n. 252; and below, n. 172. Cleaves' translation 'Let the protection of Heaven and Earth know how I shall return the benefit' is incorrect insofar as the verb *mede-*, 'to know', in the present context means 'to decide', as indeed shown in *Lettres*, loc. cit. Cf. also *ibid.*, 47-48.

Regarding the events related in the last sections (§§ 160-163), it seems odd that Činggis Qan should wish to assist Ong Qan and Senggüm in their predicament after Ong Qan's treacherous behaviour described in § 159. For possible explanations of Činggis' intentions, see ČK¹, 54-56 (= ČK², 58-61).

§ 164. 'Gathered the lost people and returned them to me.' The verb *quriya-* 'to gather, assemble, bring together' implies also the action of 'conquering.' See below, n. 196.

'As for myself' (*bi ber*). For this anaphoric-emphatic use of the particle *ber*, see Street 1981, 147-148. Cf. Oz¹, III, 300, n. 2.

'To ascend to the heights' and the parallel expression 'to ascend to the cliffs' are metaphors for 'to die', as already pointed out by Ligeti (Li, 159, n. 164). This no doubt originates from the ancient custom of burying the chief on the slopes of a (sacred) mountain, as we know was the case with Činggis and several of his successors. For some references to burial grounds on elevated places, see Barthold & Rogers 1970, 210-211; *Successors*, 141. Cf. also Pêrlée 1956; Boyle 1974a; Tatar 1976, 4-7; and Cl, 88, n. 44, for further references. *Qaldut*,

'cliffs', plural of *qaldun*, poses a problem. In § 103, 'Qaldun' stands for 'Burqan Qaldun', the sacred mountain of the Mongols. In our passage, however, the Chinese interlinear gloss for *qaldut* is *yai-mei* 崖每 'cliffs', a meaning that *may* have been inferred by the Ming translators from the word *ündüt* 'heights' of the preceding couplet, and from the fact that it occurs in the name of Mount Burqan Qaldun. But the explanation of the name Burqan Qaldun as 'Buddha Mountain (*or* Heights, *or* Cliff)' is by no means certain. See above, n. 1. Nevertheless, I too accept, albeit with some reservations, the Chinese gloss.

'Lack force of character' (*aburi üge[i]ün bui*), lit. 'are without a good character.' Cf. Cl, 88: 'are without virtue.' *Aburi* does, in fact, mean both 'character, nature, disposition', and 'virtue' (< 'good character'). See de Rachewiltz 1982, 53, n. 6; Cleaves 1982, 78-79, n. 20.

'There is only Senggüm, my one son, but it is as if he did not exist', lit. 'My only son is as if I did not have him (*ügei šitü*), and Senggüm is the only one', i.e. Ong Qan's only son, Senggüm, is a nonentity, a worthless man (in the father's opinion), but, alas, he is the only one he has. This, in fact, was not true. As already pointed out by Cleaves, according to Rašid al-Dīn Ong Qan had at least two sons. See Cl, 88, n. 47. Cf. HCG, 237. For the Persian text, see SL², I/2, 109 and n. 6, where the name of Ong Qan's youngest son (Senggüm was the eldest) is given as 'Eku' ('Īqū' in Pelliot's transcription). It would seem that here, again, the SH twists the facts to produce a dramatic effect; however, one cannot exclude the possibility that when Ong Qan made this statement the second son was already dead. For the use of *šitü* 'as if, like' (= mo. *metü*), with and without *ügei*, see Cleaves 1951, 80, n. 54; Oz¹, III, 302, n. 6. Cf. DO, 620a-b.

Ong Qan's and Činggis Qan's mutual declaration in the Black Forest (Qara Tün) by (lit. 'of') the Tu'ula, i.e. the Tūla River (see above, n. 96), was the formal oath sanctioning the father-son adoption established through the bond of *anda*-ship between Ong Qan and Yisügei Ba'atur, on which see §§ 96 and

104 and com.; Li, 149, n. 104. See also Vlad.², 76. What we have in the present section is the actual wording of the oath. Cf. § 177, where Činggis reproaches Ong Qan for not having kept to it. The exact locality in the Black Forest area where the declaration was made is also specified in § 177, which says it was the 'Hula'anu'ut Bolda'ut of Ĵorqal Qun' i.e. the 'Red Solitary Hills of Deer Cliff.' See below, n. 177.

'The reason why ... was because', lit. 'As for the reason for which ... *it was* by the reason that.'

'Such was the reason' (*yosu teyimü*). The *yosun* in L², 116, is an oversight for *yosu*. Cf. *Lettres*, 70.

'Out of jealousy' (*nayidaǰu*), lit. 'being jealous.'

'We shall attack together as one ... We shall chase them together as one!' 'As one' renders the Mongolian *niken-e*, lit. 'in one.' Cf. Cl, 89: 'in one place' (a literal but incorrect translation of the Chinese gloss *i-ch'u* 一處, here = 一同 'together'); On, 72: 'with one (goal) ... with one (aim)' (cf. the 2001 ed., 135: 'with a single [goal] ... with a single [aim]'). However, *niken-e* is inseparable from *qamtu*, forming the expression *qamtu niken-e* which means 'together, jointly, simultaneously, unanimously' (Les., 925a). Cf. Oz¹, III, 299.

'Should a snake with *venomous* teeth ... Should a snake with *venomous* fangs' – all familiar similes for a treacherous man who pretends to be a friend.

For *södürte*- 'to provoke or incite (discord, a quarrel) among each other' and the parallel verb *adarda*- (= pmo. *adarta*-) 'to slander, to sow discord through slander', see Ligeti 1972, 2-3, n. 3. Cf. Oz¹, III, 304-305, nn. 9, 10.

For *ara'a* (= mo. *araya*) 'large tooth: molar, fang', cf. TMEN, no. 474; Les., 47b.

For the expressions 'By talking *only* mouth to mouth (lit. "by teeth and mouth")' and 'By explaining *only* face to face (lit. "by mouth and tongue")', cf. Mo, 210.

The entire poetic passage is translated in Mo, 172, n. 155. See also Cërënsodnom 1986, 71.

For the expression *üge baraldu-* ‘to pledge one’s word’, see above, n. 123.

For the corresponding section in the SWCCL¹, 19b, see HCG, 257, 262. For Rašīd al-Dīn’s account, see SL², I/2, (110), 116, where the locality of Ong Qan and Činggis Qan’s meeting is given as the Sa’ari Steppe (Sa’ari Ke’er, see above, n. 123), i.e. the area west of the south-west corner of the great bend of the Kerulen and east of the great bend of the Tūla – an area therefore contiguous to the Black Forest and, indeed, occasionally identified with it. See above, n. 128. The different accounts are discussed in ČK¹, 55-56 (= ČK², 59-61).

§ 165. ‘More affection’, lit. ‘double affection’ (*dabqur amaraq*).

Joči is Činggis’ eldest son, mentioned here for the first time. For the name Joči, read by some scholars as Jöči and almost certainly meaning ‘guest’, see above, n. 51. Cf. also Golden 2002. Joči was born soon after the Merkit’s defeat and Börte’s rescue (§ 110), probably – at the latest – in 1184 (see above, n. 104). If so, he must have been about eighteen (according to the SH chronology) when these events took place, viz. in 1202. On him, see also below, n. 254. After the failure of the projected marriage with Ča’ur Beki as related in this section, Joči married a daughter of Jaqa Gambu. He was the father of Batu, *qan* of the Golden Horde (r. 1227-55). He died probably in 1227 (or, possibly, earlier – the exact date is not known) and, according to Rašīd al-Dīn, was buried in a different burial ground from that of his father, i.e. not at Burqan Qaldun. There were always doubts about his paternity, since Börte had apparently conceived him while in captivity, but Činggis recognized him as his son. However, he was not his favourite offspring. His personality is somewhat shadowy. He seems to have been mostly interested in hunting and shooting, and, generally, fighting; and he liked boasting (cf. SH, §§ 254, 255). On him and his descendants, see NMP, III (Index), 137a-b; NHHO, 10 et passim (see the Index, 255a); *Chapitre CVII*, 3, 52-53; *Successors*, 358a (Index); YShi, 160; Aubin 1975, 470 and n. 19; Golden 2002.

For *döyi* ‘younger sister’, see above, n. 85.

For Senggüm’s younger sister Ča’ur Beki (and the name Ča’ur), see HCG, 58-59, 234, 235, 246. The word *ča’ur* (= pmo. *čaγur*) means ‘raid, plunder’; cf. HW, 26. It is often used as a proper name. Cf. Rybatzki [2003], s.v. For *beki* (read *begi*?) – an honorific title given to both men and women – see the discussion in n. 49 above.

Qoĵin Beki (read Qočin Begi?) was the eldest of Činggis’ daughters and, indeed, of his children; she later married Butu or Botu (who had first married Činggis’ sister Temülün). See HCG, 50-51, 235. Cf. NMP, I, 303; and below, n. 202. Qoĵin Beki is called Fuĵin Begi by Rašīd al-Dīn (SL², I/2, 70; *Successors*, 97), Qo’ajin Begi in the SWCCL¹, 33b, and Qočin Begi in the YS² 109, 2759. The MTPL, 6b, has Ajin Be’i for Qo’ajin Begi. See CG, 24, 30-31, n. 14. Her original name requires further investigation. Cf. Rybatzki [2003], s.v.

For Tusaqa, Senggüm’s son, cf. HCG, 234, 235, 339; NMP, loc. cit.

‘By the door’ (*ala’un-a*). The Chinese interlinear gloss and sectional summary both take the word *ala’un* (w.f. **alaγun*) to mean ‘the back of the door’ (門後), so that *ala’un-a* is, literally, ‘at the back of the door (of the tent).’ Unfortunately, *ala’un* is a *hapax legomenon* in Mongolian. The AT¹, 58b, has *alun-a* (= *alün-a* < **alaγun-a*), which does not help, as *alun* is also not attested elsewhere. The explanation given in TH, 91-92 (= JYT, 162) to the effect that *ala’un* corresponds to čag. *alay* ‘fire’ (< pers.) and adopted by On, 73 and n. 198 (and repeated in the 2001 ed., 136-137, no. 365), is in my view far-fetched and unconvincing. The word appears again in § 214, likewise glossed ‘back of the door.’ However, in the corresponding passage in AT¹, 68a, the word *ala’un-a* has been dropped by the copyist. I think we should accept the Chinese interpretation, particularly since it is repeated in another section of the work.

‘Only’ (*e’enekče*, mo. *egenegče*). For this word, which can also be rendered as ‘exclusively’ and ‘constantly’, cf. Cleaves 1949, 107-108, n. 65.

The back of the tent (*qoyimar*) is the place opposite the entrance and facing south; it is, therefore, the place of honour occupied by the master of the house, his wife, and his special guests. What Senggüm means is that, should a girl from his clan marry into Činggis' clan, she will have to sit near the door of the tent, i.e. she would be treated like a servant; if, on the other hand, a girl from Činggis' clan should marry into Senggüm's family, she would expect to sit in the back of the tent, facing the door, i.e. she would be treated like a lady. Hence Senggüm's refusal to give his daughter. For a different interpretation, see CW, 117; and Li, 160, n. 165. For the term *qoyimar* (~ *qoyimor*), see Cleaves 1948a, 451, n. 9; Oz¹, III, 311, n. 4.

'He spoke disparagingly of us.' This statement is noteworthy, for by 'us' (*bidan-i*) is meant the family of Činggis Qan, not the Mongols in general. The person who relates this incident must, therefore, be a member of that family. See Section Three of the Introduction and n. 52.

'In his heart (= in his mind)', lit. 'within himself' (*doto-ra'an*). Cf. above, n. 156.

For Nilqa Senggüm = Ilqa Senggüm, see above, n. 162.

'Lost affection', lit. 'the heart (= affection, love) remained behind' (*dura qočorču'u*). For the expression *dura qočor-* (~ *qočar-*) 'to lose one's affection (for someone)', see Cleaves 1948a (where the relevant section of § 165 is also translated and annotated, *ibid.*, 451-452); *Lettres*, 68-70.

As other scholars have pointed out, the purpose of the marriage proposed by Činggis Qan – outwardly an expression of closer friendship – was motivated by a desire to increase his own prestige and power through a double alliance. Later Mongol historiography may have regarded this proposal and Senggüm's rejection as somewhat demeaning for the ruling house and not fit for inclusion in the official account. Hence the omission of the episode in the SWCCL and Rašid's work. See Ratchnevsky 1976, 511; Hung 1956, 17, n. 5. Cf. ČK¹, 62ff. (= ČK², 67ff.), also for the echo of the story concerning Činggis'

failure to establish a marriage alliance with Ong Qan in Marco Polo's *The Description of the World*.

§ 166. After the events described in § 153 (s.a. 1202), Altan, Qučar and Dāritai had turned against Činggis Qan. We are now in the spring of the following year, the Year of the Pig 1203. The names of the other personages listed present a problem, as it is not clear whether they are all proper names, or whether two or more of them (Qardakidai, Söge'etei, Ebügejin and Noyakin) are ethnic designations (i.e. of the Qardakid, the Söge'en, the Ebügejin and Noyakin tribes or clans). Therefore, we have different interpretations, resulting in the actual individuals named being from five to nine in number with Ĵamuqa, Altan and Qučar. Among the more recent translations, cf. Li, 166 (8); Mu, II, 98 and 105-106, n. 8 (6); Oz¹, III, 315 (5); Oz², I, 197 (5); Cl, 90 (8); On, 73 (9; but in the 2001 ed., 137, the 'Qardakids, Ebügejins, and Noyakins' have become 'people'); Ev-Pop, 120 (8). Of the earlier ones, Pe, 170, lists seven, while Ha, 57, lists only six. There is a total lack of uniformity; however, we know that To'oril was a man of the Söge'en (w.f. Sögegen) tribe (on him and his tribe see HCG, 128-130, 255-257; cf. Bese 1988, 33-34), and that Qači'un (~ Qaĵi'un) Beki was a Dörben. See § 141, and HCG, 402. Moreover, the 'Qardakidai' mentioned together with Ebügejin and Noyakin is obviously related to the 'Qarta'at' that appears, also with Ebügejin and Noyakin (but after their names) later in this section. In AT¹, 59a, we find in the first instance 'Kirdaqubai' and in the second 'Kirdaqdai', which Ligeti (ATL, 123) has equated to 'Qardakidai' and 'Qartayad' respectively on the basis of the SH readings. 'Qardakidai' is clearly an ethnonym from *Qardakin. Cf. Qadagidai 'a Qadagin (tribesman)' < Qadagin. See HCG, 394-395. Qarta'at (w.f. Qartayad) is a plural of Qarta'an (w.f. Qartayan) which is the name of a Mongol tribe. See SL², I/1, 78, 183. 'Qardakidai' must then be a misreading for *Qarta'adai, probably because of a phonetic resemblance with Qadagidai. Ebügejin and Noyakin were two Qarta'an

tribesmen. Later they are mentioned again with their tribal designation in apposition: 'Ebügejin and Noyakin – the *two* Qarta'at (pl. of Qarta'an).' This interpretation would account for the different designations of these two personages. For the incorrect form 'Nobukin' for 'Noyakin' in Y¹ and Y² (5, 40a), cf. Y³ 6, 11a: 'Noyakin.' See Cleaves 1948a, 452-453, n. 16. For Qarta'an, Qarta'at, *Qarta'adai, cf. Borjigin, Borjigid, Borjigidai. See ETI, 33b. For Qači'un's title of *beki*, unrelated to that of *beki* = *begi* of § 165, see HCG, 180, and TP 28:1931, 231.

Berke Elet ('Difficult Sands') was, according to Pêrlée², 8 (cf. Pêrlée⁴, 97), a locality situated in the region of the southern Bayan Uul (= Bayan Ula, at 47° N 109° E), with which he identifies the ĴeĴe'er Heights (ĴeĴe'er Ündür). Pêrlée's suggestion is probably correct: Berke Elet was certainly in this general area, and ĴeĴe'er must not be confused, as some investigators have done, with the Čekčer of § 61, etc., which was in eastern Mongolia (cf. HCG, 423). The identification in the ČKA, 53b (cf. *ibid.*, 32, A-5) of Berke Elet with 'Berkhiyn khöndiy' (i.e. Bêrxiiñ Xöndii) in the Argun Range area must be dismissed, since the ĴeĴe'er Heights cannot be identified with the Argun Range. See below, n. 185. For the word *berke* in the combination Berke Elet, see Cleaves 1959, 86, n. 282.

'Has messengers *sent* with secret communications', lit. 'has messengers with a tongue (*keletü*)', i.e. with verbal communications (= secret information). Cf. above, n. 142, for the special usage of the term *kele* 'tongue.' See also Oz¹, III, 317-318, n. 2.

Tayang Qan was one of the two leaders of the important Naiman tribe, first mentioned in § 141 in connection with Buyirūq Qan who had rallied to Ĵamuqa. The name Tayang is in reality an epithet like Ong Qan, deriving from the Chinese title *ta-wang* 大王 'great king (or prince).' See HCG, 221; TMEN, no. 122; Fletcher 1986, 23. His real name was Tai Buqa. He was the brother, probably the younger one, of Buyirūq; their father was Inanča Bilge Qan, on whom see above, n. 151. As already mentioned (n. 158), the two brothers had quarrelled and

split, so that the Naiman tribe, or tribal complex, was now divided, with Buyirūq Qan and his followers occupying the mountain region of the Altai in the south down to the river Urungu, and Tayang Qan the territory of the Black Irtysh and Bukhtarma rivers in the north-west. For Tayang Qan, besides HCG, 304-310, see also Gaadamba 1968, 96-100.

For *nende-* 'to make a surprise attack', see Oz¹, III, 318, n. 4.

'I will join you *and* attack his flank' (*köndelen-eče oroldusu*), lit. 'I shall enter (= join) from the side.'

'For you ... For you ...': the action in favour of Senggüm is expressed by means of the auxiliary verb *ök-* (= mo. *ög-*) 'to give.' Cf. above, n. 163. Pelliot's translation (Pe, 181) 'nous [te] donnerons ... je vous le donnerai' is, therefore, incorrect.

For 'the *two* Qarta'at', see above.

For *kölde-* 'to seize the feet' (*köl kölda-* id.), cf. DO, 426b.

'The best plan is to go' (*arqača otču*). For *arqača* (pmo. *arqača*, cf. AT¹, 59a) = *arqa-ča*, an ellipsis for *arqa-ča sayin anu* 'the best from among the schemes (or ways and means, methods, plans) at our disposal', see Mo, 23.

'If his people are taken away from him' (*ulus-iyān abda'asu*), lit. 'if he undergoes the taking of his people.' For this passive construction, see Poppe 1964, 373-374.

'Prince Nilqa Senggüm' (*Nilqa Senggüm kö'ün*). Here *kö'ün* 'son' = 'prince.' See HW, 105. I follow Mu, II, 99, and others in taking *kö'ün* with this meaning, which is appropriate as Senggüm was the son of Ong Qan (his only son according to the SH, § 164), and there was no particular reason for Qači'un Beki to call him 'son.'

'Whatever you decide', lit. 'whatever you think (or intend to do).'

'To the farthest limit', lit. 'To the extreme point of the long (= length)', rather than 'to the top (of a tree)', as understood by some translators on the basis of the sectional summary (Y² 5, 42a). Cf. Na², 169; Pe, 181; Mu, loc. cit.; Wa, 263; etc. The Mongol couplet is obviously an ancient saying corresponding to

our expressions 'all the way', 'in fortune and misfortune', and the like. Cf. El-Ar, 482, n. 11. It occurs again in § 199 where, however, the word for 'bottom' (*hira'ur*) appears in the form *hiru'ar* = mo. *iruyar* id. For this word, see *ibid.*; Pelliot 1925, 217, no. 26; Poppe 1969, 268.

The beginning of § 166 up to 'set out and went' is translated and annotated in Cleaves 1948a, 452-453.

The present account represents the development of a situation which originates in § 160 with the *rapprochement* of Ĵamuqa to Ong Qan and Činggis Qan (made, however, with ulterior motives according to the SH), and which will inexorably lead to the break-up between Ong Qan and his adopted son in the following sections. This interplay between Ĵamuqa, Senggüm and Ong Qan which is described in the SH at the *personal* level, reflects the tribal struggle for supremacy in Mongolia between the three main rival groups, with shifting and ephemeral alliances, at a time when the Kereyit leadership was weakened by internal conflict and the problem of succession (see §§ 152, 164). On the special relationship between Ong Qan and Ĵamuqa, and on the latter's role in the present circumstances, cf. Buyandelger 1989.

§ 167. Sayıqan Töde'en appears only once in the SH, but is mentioned in other works, including SL², I/2, 123, where he is referred to as an *emir* (= mo. *noyan*) of Senggüm. On the name Töde'en, see HCG, 126 and 467b (Index).

The demonstrative pronouns *ede'er* (= mo. *edeger*) 'these' and *tede'er* (= mo. *tedeger*) 'those' appear here for the first time. For these forms of *ede* and *tere* (which, in my opinion, have not been satisfactorily explained), cf. PLA, 70; IMCS, 228. See also HW, 41, s.v. 'ede', where *ede'er* is defined as 'attributive'; and Street 1981, 159-160. In my opinion *ede'er* and *tede'er* are slightly emphatic, with the ending *-er* (= *-ger*, *-ber*) corresponding to the Russian particle *-to*.

For *turuq* 'support' (Cl, 91: 'prop'), a term that seems to occur only in the SH, cf. tu. *turuy* 'standing' (< *tur-* 'to stand'),

and yak. *turuk* 'support.' Cf. TH, 266 (= ĴYT, 461). Ozawa reads *tuluq* further on in the same § 167 (Y² 5, 44a), and takes it to mean also 'support' (< mmo., mo. *tul-* 'to lean on, support' + conn. vo. *-u-* + suff. *-G* [= γ]). See Oz¹, III, 324, n. 1; IV, 155-156, n. 12. His interpretation is shared by Γ a, 91 and 340, n. 503, who equates SH *tuluq* with mo. *tulqa* 'support.' However, the argument in favour of the reading *turuq* (= *turuy*) is stronger because this reading (with *-r-*) occurs three times (§§ 167, 179, 207), whereas *tuluq* occurs only once (i.e. the second occurrence in § 167), and on this occasion the corresponding word in AT¹, 59b, is (*t*)*uruy*, clearly confirming the form with *-r-*. The form *tuluq* of § 167 is therefore due to the editor or scribe dropping the diacritical character 𐰽, as is often the case in the SH. Moreover, the Yakut correspondence (for which I am indebted to N. Poppe) is perfect. I should add that the word *tulqa* 'pillar' is well attested in Preclassical and Middle Mongolian. See Cleaves 1951, 56 [32]; MA, 354a; *Matériel I*, 103. Cf. also below, n. 245. In the SH, §§ 245 and 254, we find the word *tulu* meaning 'the stone base of a pillar.' There is also a *tulu* in § 272 meaning 'trout'; and a *turuq* (= mo. *turuy*) in §§ 201 and 207 meaning '(for) a long time.' Finally, a word '*tuluq*' appears once in ATI, 103, line 4511, but this is an error for *tology* 'a large felt rug or carpet.' See SH, § 189: *tology* id.; DO, 666b, s.v. '*t'oloq*' 'tapis de cérémonie en feutre blanc.' Cf. LDAT, 265.

For *ima'ari* (pmo. *imayari* = *imayar-i*) 'by him', see IMCS, 214. *Turuq ima'ari bolju* is, literally, 'our support being by him.'

'We shall not be loved by Heaven.' Here, again, we have a reference to Heaven withdrawing its love, i.e. protection, as a consequence of an evil intention. Cf. de Rachewiltz 1977, 27.

'Ĵamuqa has a glib tongue', lit. 'Ĵamuqa has a tongue that usually (*or* always) goes (= moves)', i.e. he indulges in wild, unreliable talk. Cf. the sectional summary (Y² 5, 45a). The AT¹, 59b, glosses *yabuday* with *qudal olgiyan* 'lie and gossip.'

For *yabuday*, cf. also TMEN, no. 401 (the '410' in TMEN, IV, 545a, is a misprint).

For the expression *jöb-ü'ü tab-u'u* (AT¹, 59b: *jöb-üü tab-uu*), lit. 'right(ly)?, correct(ly)?', cf. the expression *mön-üü bisi-üü* 'right or wrong?' (Les., 547a). The idiom occurs again in § 168; and in § 275 the interrogative phrase *jöb-i tab-i bol-*, lit. 'to become right, correct?', is used to express uncertainty with regard to the outcome of an enterprise such as a military campaign. Cf. Oz¹, III, 325-326, nn. 2, 3.

'When *any* man with a mouth and a tongue says *these things*', lit. 'Whereas (*or* while) a man who has a mouth and who has a tongue is speaking', i.e. it is common, general knowledge, hence it must be true. The sectional summary (Y² 5, 45a) says: 'Now people who have mouths and tongues speak thus', which Waley renders as 'Every man that has mouth and lips says the same' (Wa, 263). See Pan¹, 119, and Pan², 57: 'If every man who has mouth and tongue speaks thus.' Cf., however, Onon's translations: 'In spite of the men (I send) with (eloquent) mouths and tongues' (On, 74); and '[I send] you men with [winning] tongues' (idem, 2001 ed., 138).

'He sent messages twice, three times' (*jiči quči ügülejü ile'et*). For *jiči quči* (= pmo. *γučī*) 'twice, thrice', cf. Vietze 1990, 381.

'He went to him in person', lit. 'he went by himself in person' (*ö'esün be'engedün otču*). The expression *be'engedün*, 'in person', occurs in Preclassical Mongolian texts written *beyenggedün*. See Cleaves 1950, 113, n. 76. In the past, this word has been split in two and read as *be'en* (= mo. *beye[n]* 'person, body') *gedün*. Cf., e.g., H, 42; Ko, 249; L², 119; R, 78, line 5133. However, Pelliot read correctly *bä'ängädün* (Pe, 51; note 6 should be deleted) following Y¹ 5, 43a, which transcribes the word as a single unit. Buriat has a verb *bēenxēdē-* meaning 'to strain or exert oneself.' See BRS, 130b. I have no doubt that this verb is the same as pmo. *beyenggedü-* and mmo. *be'engedü-*. The SH *be'engedün* would, therefore, be its converbum modale in *-n*, lit. 'straining (*or* exerting) oneself',

but used in an adverbial function with the meaning of 'in person.' In the 'Činggis Qayan-u yeke öčig' edited by Damdinsüren, we find the same form written *beyenggidün* (= *beyenggedün*). See MUĴ, 76a. On *be'engedün*, *beyenggedün*, see Oz¹, III, 326, n. 4; TH, 147 (= JYT, 255); and Gaadamba's comments regarding the formation of the word in Γa, 341, n. 505.

'Even *now*, at a time when you are *still* so lively and well', lit. 'Even (*bel*) at the time of you being so much alive.' For *bel* 'even, also' – a rare word – see ET², I, 73-74; TH, 147-148 (= JYT, 257); Oz¹, III, 326-327, n. 5.

'*Temüjin* has not the slightest regard for us', lit. 'is not making *us* to be even a thing (= anything).' Cf. Street 1981, 163.

'*Will have reached the age when men/Choke on the white milk./And are stifled by the black meat*', lit., 'Will choke on the "white" food./Will stifle on the "black" food.' The 'white' (*čaqa'an*) foods comprise milk, milk products such as kumis, and liquid food in general; and the 'black' (*qara*) ones are meat and solid foods. See Mo, 76. Senggüm intimates that once Ong Qan reaches old age – the age when one is liable to choke on *any* kind of food – Činggis Qan will take advantage of the situation to seize his subjects. For a discussion of this passage, see *ibid.*, 74-77; Li, 160, n. 167; Cl, 91, nn. 58 and 59. For a different interpretation of the 'black' (*qara* = *qara usun* 'black water, water'), see Ja, 213, n. 2. Whereas there is no doubt about the meaning of the 'white', i.e. milk and milk products (see KĴ, 351-360; cf. Ts. Saranguerel in *Anda* 22:July 1996, 12-13), the meaning of the 'black' as meat and solid food is not as clear-cut and well attested. Mostaert's interpretation may, indeed, have to be re-examined, although the meaning of the sentence is perfectly clear. Cf. Oz¹, III, 328, n. 7.

For Qurčaqus Buyuruq Qan, see above, n. 150.

'In such great number', lit. 'so much' (*edüi*).

'How will he let anyone govern it?' (*ken-e ber yekin mede'ülgü*) – a rhetorical question which is, literally, 'How will

he let govern it (= let it be governed) by anyone?' For a different interpretation of this sentence, see Mo, 77; Li, 62; Cl, 91; etc., who take *ber* as the conjunction 'and' following the Chinese interlinear gloss (*yeh* 也). But *ken-e ber* must be taken together ('by anyone'), as correctly understood by Haenisch (Ha, 58). Cf. Street 1981, 157. Therefore, renderings such as 'Who will he let govern them [i.e. the people - I.R.]?' (On, 74; cf. the 2001 ed., 139: 'Who will he let rule them?'), and 'For whom will you manage it?' (LDAT, 140) miss the point.

'Concerned about *losing* the affection.' For *qayirala-* 'to be concerned (or feel sorry) about', cf. § 267.

'Who knows whether we shall be loved by Heaven after all?' The words 'Who knows whether ... after all?' render the single term *maqa*, on which see above, n. 31.

'You say, "How shall we do away with the son?"' This sentence has been interpreted in several different ways, but I think that the above translation is the correct one. Cf. the sectional summary rendering (Y² 5, 45a): 'How do you intend to forsake (= kill) the son?' See Cl, 92 and n. 63. The passage has been completely misunderstood by Pankratov (Pan¹, 119; Pan², 57). For some relevant remarks on this section, chiefly concerning Ong Qan, Senggüm and the 'father-son' relationship between Ong Qan and Činggis Qan, see Gaadamba 1968, 120.

The events just described have their counterpart in the YS² 1, 9; SWCCL¹, 34a-35a; and SL², I/2, 123, s.a. 1202 (the SL² gives 1202-1203). The differences between the three narratives (SH, YS and SWCCL/SL) are as interesting as their similarities, especially in the phraseology.

§ 168. 'Those same *people* requested' (*müt lü ... quyu büle'e*). For *müt lü*, lit. 'the same, indeed', cf. Mo, 121; Street 1986a, 17-18. The rare emphatic particle *lü* (~ *lu*) appears here for the first time. The question of whether one should read *lü* or *lu* is still under discussion. See *ibid.*, 9-10; cf. Oz¹, III, 333 (*mud-lu*); VI, 331 (*Ögödei-lü*). *Müt* is the plural of *mün* (= mo. *mön*), hence the reading *mud* with the back *u* is incorrect. For *quyu büle'e*

instead of *quyun büle'e*, cf. § 31: *qono aju'u* for *qonon aju'u*, and § 84: *qono a'ululāi* for *qonon a'ululāi*. The disappearance of the final *n* (suffix of the converbum modale) is simply due to the failure of the transcriber or copyist to note the small diacritic character *ni* 你 at the end of the word to render the sound *n* at the end of the syllables *yun* and *non*.

For the Mongol traditional 'betrothal feast' (*bu'uljar*), see Mu, II, 114-115, n. 1; and Yao 1963, where the whole episode is critically discussed. The term *bu'uljar* (written *buyulčar* or *buyuljar* in the corresponding passage in AT¹, 60a), occurs in the YS² 1, 9, in the form *pu-hun-ch'a-erh* 布渾察爾 (**buhulčar* = **bu'ulčar*; see below) glossed as 'betrothal feast' (許親). Cf. Hung 1956, 16, n. 3. Mo. *baγaljajur*, *baγaljuur*, *baγaljür*, and, more rarely, *boγoljuur*, means 'throat'; in the Ujumchin dialect of Inner Mongolia, *baγuljuur*(=*baγaljuur*)-*un qurim* (*baγaljürin hurim*) means 'betrothal feast (or banquet)'. See TH, 154 (= JYT, 270). Da¹, 134 (cf. Da⁵, 112-113), followed by Ja, 214, n. 1, explains the term *bu'uljar* as 'sheep's neck' - the feast being so called because the meat from the sheep's neck was partaken of by the betrothed in the hope and expectation that the marriage would be as strong, i.e. durable, as a sheep's neck. See Yao 1963, 96-99; MCS, 83, 91, 93. Cf. On, 74, n. 201; Ev-Pop, 281, n. 70. (Damdinsüren's interpretation has been adopted by virtually all Mongolian scholars.) In the SH, *bu'uljar* is glossed 'betrothal banquet' (許婚筵席), which Cleaves renders as 'betrothal meal' (Cl, 92), thereby translating the expression *bu'uljar ide-* as 'to eat the betrothal meal.' There is no indication in the SH that *bu'uljar* means anything but 'betrothal feast or banquet.' Also, the word for 'throat' is not obvious for 'sheep's neck.' Furthermore, although we have descriptions of Mongolian wedding ceremonies going back several centuries, there is no record of an early 'sheep's neck' custom. Cf. Serruys 1945, 128-130; Yao 1963, 96-99. However, the main objection is the difficulty in reconciling SH *bu'uljar*, written *buyuljar*, with mo. *baγaljür* (< *baγaljajur*) since the intervocalic

velar consonant in *baγa* is retained in all Mongolian languages and dialects (as *γ*, *g* or *χ*), whereas it had already disappeared in the word *bu'uljar* of the SH. (In the written form *buγuljar*, the letter *γ* stands merely for the hiatus.) This problem was indeed noticed by Ozawa who expressed his reservations, without dismissing a relationship between the two words. See Oz', III, 336-337, n. 2. Murakami (in Mu, II, 114, n. 1), hinted at a possible relationship between *bu'uljar* and (mo.) *boγu-* ~ *buγu-* 'to tie, bind', but this runs into difficulties too because the transcription of the above two Written Mongolian forms are actually incorrect: the verb in question is neither *boγu-* (as in Les., 111a-b), nor *buγu-*, but *boγo-*. See VGAS, 21, 123, 139; MKT, 469b-c (cf. 1999 ed., 469b). This verb occurs as *bō-* in the modern Mongolian dialects. In the SH, § 240, we find a verb *bo'o-* (w.f. *boγo-*) 'to obstruct (the way)', which also occurs in the MA, 121a, with the meaning of 'to strangle.' Mo. *boγo-* and the dialect forms (*bō-*) encompass these various related meanings as do their Turkic counterparts. Cf. tu. *boγ-*, *buγ-*, *bō-*, *bū-*, etc. 'to strangle, choke; to tie, obstruct.' See VGAS, loc. cit.; ĚSTY, II, 164-167. However, a verb **buγu-* (> *bū-*) must have existed in Ancient Mongolian since it is still present in the word *buγulya* (kh., bur. *buulga*, i.e. *būlga*) 'yoke, (horse) collar' which is evidently formed on **buγu-* 'to fasten to the neck' and the deverbial noun suffix *-lyā* (as in *qayalyā* 'gate' < *qaya-* 'to close'). At an early stage there were, therefore, two parallel forms, viz. *boγo-* (> *bō-*) 'to strangle, obstruct', and **buγu-* (> *bū-*) 'to fasten, tie', the latter converging later into *boγo-*. *Mutatis mutandis*, a similar development occurred in Turkic. This being the case, Murakami's suggestion (discarded in favour of Damdinsürèn's interpretation) must be reconsidered. A verb **buγu-* > *bū-* must have had an intermediate form *bu'u-*. The SH *bu'uljar* may be the evidence of such a development, provided we read *bu'ulčar* instead of *bu'uljar*. The form *bu'ulčar* is supported by the YS, as we have already seen, and the AT¹ form can be read either *buγuljar* or *buγulčar*,

the letter *č* in the ms. being used for both *č* and *ǰ*. Moreover, the confusion between the two affricates in the SH transcription is well attested, and we have a perfect example of this phenomenon in § 195, where the verb *šilemelče-* 'to drivel' is transcribed as *šilemelče-* and *šilemelje-*. (Cf. also § 194: *belji'el* 'pasture' for *belči'er*; §§ 134, 179: *ja'ut quri* ~ *ča'ut quri*, a title; §§ 128, 201: *Joči Darmala* ~ *Čoči Darmala*, pr. name; etc.) The confusion is always due to the ambivalence of the letter *č* in the Uighur-Mongol script – further evidence, incidentally, that the text of the SH used by the Ming transcribers was written in this script and not in 'Phags-pa script, which distinguishes clearly between the two letters. Assuming, then, that *bu'ulčar* is the correct reading, this form can be explained as a deverbial noun in *-r* (see GWM, 49, § 178) of the co-operative in *-lča-* (see *ibid.*, 63, § 233) of *bu'u-* (w.f. **buγu-*) 'to fasten, to firmly tie or bind', i.e. 'a firm mutual bond or tie (= union)' – a most appropriate term for 'betrothal.' The meaning 'betrothal feast' would simply be an extension of it (→ 'the betrothal [occasion = feast/banquet]'). Thus, *bu'ulčar ide-* would literally be 'to eat the betrothal (feast)' or, as Waley puts it (Wa, 264), 'to eat the Feast of Betrothal.' Cf. the expression *qurim ide-* 'to eat (= to attend) a banquet or feast' (Les., 990b). If this interpretation is correct, it follows that the Ujumchin expression referred to above is based on folk etymology, i.e. the ancient expression *bu'uljar/bu'ulčar ide-* was incorrectly interpreted as meaning *bayaljuur ide-*, and so the custom of eating the sheep's neck was introduced. There are many examples of similar folk etymologies in Mongolian literature, beginning with the SH itself, where, e.g., the meanings of clan names are explained merely on the basis of phonetic affinities (Ch. 1). In my translation I have rendered the SH expression as 'to dine at the betrothal feast' without altering the meaning, whatever the etymology (still unresolved) of *bu'uljar/bu'ulčar*.

For Father Mōnglik, now again on Činggis Qan's side, see above, n. 130. The present passage concerning him and Činggis (whom he calls 'son') is discussed in Hambis 1975, 24-25, in the

light of the parallel passages in the SWCCL and SL. See also above, n. 68. Cf. Street 1986a, 18.

‘On the contrary’ and ‘contradicting themselves’ both translate the adverb *buru’ui-a*, lit. ‘in the opposite direction.’ Cf. Oz¹, III, 337, n. 4.

‘You must proceed with caution’, lit. ‘You must go understanding.’ Cf. Poppe 1964, 371.

‘Our herds are lean, and we must fatten our horses *first*.’ The word for ‘herds’ and ‘horses’ is the same (*adu’u[n]*). See above, n. 23.

‘Let us send *a message* giving as an excuse’, lit. ‘Let us send saying pretending (*or* in pretence: *šiltaju*).’ For *šilta-*, cf. Cleaves 1955, 35, n. 18.

§ 169. The Yeke Čeren mentioned in this section – the younger cousin (lit. ‘younger brother’: *de’ü*) of Altan – was the son of Qulan Ba’atur, as clearly stated in § 51. Cf. HCG, 125. According to a different tradition recorded in the SWCCL¹, 35b, this personage was called Yeke Čaqaran (= *Čaqaran). Cf. the form Jārān (= Čārān) of the second element of this name in Rašīd al-Dīn’s work (SL², I/2, 124, n. 5), which may be taken as a contraction of *Čaqaran. On the strength of the SWCCL and SL, Hambis has adopted the form ‘Yäkä-Tchaqaran’ in GK, 76. But the editors of SL² have preferred to transcribe Rašīd’s Jārān as Čerēn, i.e. Čeren, following the SH (SL², I/2, 124). However, it should be pointed out that the second element of the name in Uighur-Mongol script can be read Čeren as well as Čaran and therefore the name as found in AT¹, 10a (= SH, § 51) and 60b (= SH, § 169), can be read Yeke Čeren or Yeke Čaran. The Ming editors of the SH, who were unacquainted with the real pronunciation of this name, may have transcribed it from the text in Uighur-Mongolian script simply ‘by ear’, i.e. making the second element agree in vocalization with the first. Rašīd’s informants, on the other hand, may have known the correct reading from Mongol oral sources. Thus, one cannot exclude that the true pronunciation of this name was Yeke Čāran or

Čārān (? < *Čaqarayan; cf. Rašīd’s Jārān). I think we can dismiss the interpretation of the name Yeke Čeren as ‘Grande-Longévité’ in Ev-Pop, 48 and 122-123, which is based on the assumption that Čeren = tib. *tse-ring* ‘grand âge, longévité’ (ibid., 260, n. 104), since this common Tibetan-Mongolian name, written Cērēn in Cyrillic, is regularly written Čering (C’RYNK) in Uighur-Mongol script and not Čeren (C’R’N), as confirmed by the AT. There is, of course, no connection between our Yeke Čeren and the Tatar chief of the same name, on whom see above, §§ 154-156.

‘What sort of a reward might be expected by a person ...?’, lit. ‘Just (*ele*) what will a person ... be made to become?’, i.e. what kind of treatment (= reward) will there be for him? A rhetorical question. Cf. Poppe 1964, 371; Street 1986, 26.

Alaq It, the name of Yeke Čeren’s wife, is a hybrid Mongol-Turkic name meaning ‘Spotted Dog.’ Oz¹, III, 339, 343, n. 3, amends this name to Alayčid; however, this would be a most unusual form for a personal name and unsupported by any source. Moreover, the form Alaqud of AT¹, 60b, is clearly a copyist’s error for Alaqid = Alay Id = SH Alaq It. The form Alaq Nidün of SL², I/2, 124, is a corruption of Alaq Id (with a prothetic *n-* and the genitive suffix *-ün* incorporated in the name). On this name see also Rybatzki [2003], s.v. ‘Alaq.’

‘Some people.’ By ‘people’ (*haran*) are meant the household staff, i.e. servants, grooms, etc.

Yeke Čeren’s herdsmen Badai and Kišiliq were first mentioned in § 51, where they are referred to as *darqat* or ‘freemen’, thus anticipating the special status that Činggis Qan will confer on them in § 187 as a reward for the service they perform in the present episode.

‘Withdrew’, lit. ‘returned’ (*qariba*).

The name Narin Ke’en (w.f. Kegen, see AT¹, 60b) means ‘Fine Adornment.’ For his remarks deprecating his father’s careless words, see Mo, 79-82. Narin Ke’en says that it would have been better if they – the inclusive *bida* ‘we’ refers to his family – had had their tongues torn out so as to prevent them

making such imprudent, and irreparable, comments on the impending attack.

For *hürü-* (= mo. *ürü-*) ‘to polish or sharpen (an arrow)’, see Pelliot 1925, 239, no. 74; the ‘huruḥu, hurḥu’ of HW, 79, must be amended to ‘hürügü.’

With regard to the two horses, the Chinese gloss indicates that Merkidei Čaqa’an (‘The Merkit White’) and Aman Čaqa’an Ke’er (‘The Bay with a White Muzzle’) were their respective names. On the other hand, the Chinese sectional summary takes these epithets as purely descriptive, except for ‘Merkidei’ which it ignores. See Y² 5, 51a. Cf. § 87. I think Damdinsürén is correct in taking them as descriptive terms and not as proper names (see Da⁵, 113); therefore, I render ‘Merkidei’ (Merkit + the suff. *-dei*, on which see Poppe 1975, 162-163) simply as ‘Merkit.’ This may refer to a particular type of horse or, more likely, to a horse seized from the Merkit. An unpublished note by A. Mostaert renders *Merkidei čaqa’an* as ‘Le blanc de chez les Merk.’

For *huya-* (= mo. *uya-*) ‘to tie, tether’, see Pelliot 1925, 223, no. 46.

‘Tonight, towards daybreak.’ The expression *söni erte* is glossed *yeh-li tsao* 夜裏早 ‘in the night, early (in the morning)’, while in the sectional summary it is rendered *ming-jih tsao* 明日早 ‘early tomorrow’ or ‘tomorrow early (in the morning).’ Since in the Chinese interlinear translation the two Mongolian words are glossed one after the other, i.e. *söni* = ch. *yeh-li*, and *erte* = ch. *tsao*, *yeh-li tsao* must be understood as above and not as ‘early in the night’ (Cl, 93). Oz¹, III, 348-350, n. 7, discusses this expression at length, but his rendering *yofuke* 夜更 ‘late at night’ (cf. *ibid.*, 344) is, in my view, not sufficiently precise. *Söni erte* means ‘in the night just before dawn’, clearly referring to the following day. Cf. Da⁵, 113: ... *xonood öglöö ert* ‘having spent the night, early in the morning.’

‘I have checked what you said a short while ago’, lit. ‘I have carefully examined (*bolqa’aba*) your information (or news,

message: *kelen*) of a moment ago.’ For *bolqa’a-* (~ *bolqā-*; cf. § 246) ‘to carefully examine, to check’, see Mo, 169.

‘Travel-tent’ renders *qoš*, a term borrowed from Turkic and meaning ‘a conical pole-tent with felt cover.’ See Róna-Tas 1963, 50. Cf. Poppe 1955, 40-41 (see also *idem* in *ZDMG* 99:1949, 278); Rassadin 1995, 114. At this time, *qoš* designated a small tent suitable for casual use by one or two individuals; however, later in the Yüan dynasty, the term *qoš* was apparently used for a felt-house on wheels, i.e. a coach or tent-cart. See Mu, II, 119-120, n. 11; T. Kobayashi in *TYGH*, 32, 4:April 1950, 88; and MSR, 120; Khomonov 1970, 36-37; DO, 308a, s.v. ‘⁴*qošī*.’ Cf. also the reference to this type of small tent in MP¹, 173. For the tent called *qošiliq* (< *qoš*), see above, n. 80.

‘From the back of his tent.’ Badai and Kišiliq followed a strict rule that was evidently already observed at the time, and was formalized later, after the reorganization of the Guard (*kešik*), viz. that any man coming at night with an urgent message should not be let in, but should stand with the nightguards at the back, i.e. at the northern side, of the tent and communicate his message from there. See §§ 229 and 278. This was obviously a precautionary measure; and talking through the wall of the tent presented no problem.

‘If Činggis Qa’an favours us with his trust, he will not hesitate to act’, lit. ‘If Činggis Qa’an deigns, there is no hesitation (*ariyal ügei*)’, or, more freely, ‘Please, Činggis Qa’an, don’t hesitate!’ Most translators understand ‘If Činggis Qa’an favours us, he will not doubt (what we say).’ Cl, 94, renders this sentence: ‘If Činggis Qa’an favours [us], [we assure him that] there is no doubt.’ Cf. On, 76, and Ev-Pop, 123. However, in § 141 the verb *ariya-* definitely means ‘to hesitate, waver, falter’, i.e. to be in doubt as to whether to do something or not; hence *ariyal ügei* must mean ‘without hesitation’, and it must refer to a course of action. Cf. TH, 95 (= JYT, 169); and Oz¹, III, 353, n. 15. As we shall see, Činggis followed the two herdsmen’s advice and later generously rewarded them.

As noted by Wei Kwei Sun, there is an apparent difficulty with distances in this section. Badai and Kišiliq reached Činggis Qan's camp in the same night, while the references to the horses' leanness in § 168 implies that Činggis' camp was situated much further from Senggüm's camp. However, by then Senggüm had joined his father Ong Qan at his camp in the Black Forest on the Tūla River. We know from § 164 that Ong Qan was in the Black Forest, and that he had a meeting with Činggis whose camp in the Sa'ari Steppe was not far removed from his. On the other hand, Senggüm's own camp was at Berke Elet, north of the ĴeĴe'er Heights in the southern Bayan Uul region, i.e. about 200 km (as the crow flies) east of Činggis' encampment (see § 166). Furthermore, from § 166 we learn that Senggüm went to his father's camp to change Ong Qan's mind about Činggis and get his approval to trap the latter, in which endeavour he eventually succeeded. Thus, Senggüm's plot was hatched in the Black Forest camp, and he himself stayed there to carry it out with his father and allies. It is clear from § 169 that the distance between them and Činggis' camp could be covered in a few hours' ride, which in the light of the above makes perfect sense.

The accounts of the same events in the SWCCL, SL and YS are somewhat different. For example, the SWCCL¹, 36a, and YS² 1, 9-10, state that Badai was Kišiliq's younger brother, whereas SL², I/2, 124, says (like the SH) that they were *nökörs*, i.e. companions – one of those rare instances in which Rašid al-Dīn is at variance with the SWCCL and agrees with the SH. Also, it is only from the SH that we learn that Yeke Čeren (or Čaqaran) was Altan's younger cousin: the SWCCL and SL call him simply a high official and retainer of Ong Qan's. The YS account is much shorter. Cf. Hung 1956, 15, n. 1. There is also a discrepancy in Rašid al-Dīn's work, which gives a different account in *The History of the Tribes* involving Kököčü Teb Tenggeri (on whom see below, n. 244). See SL², I/1, 133. Cf. ČK¹, 64, n. 115 (= ČK², 69).

For a critical discussion of § 169 from the literary point of view, cf. Gaadamba 1968, 100ff.

§ 170. The entire section from 'On this intelligence' to 'he would have been *caught* unprepared' has been translated and discussed in Mo, 82-90. The following are some additional remarks.

For the expression *teyin ügülekeĴü* 'On this intelligence', lit. 'being so told', cf. *Lettres*, 82.

For the expression *söni bö'et* 'that same night', see above, n. 110.

'The trusted men (lit. "the trustworthy ones") who were at his side' (*dergede'ün bükün itegelten-e* [dat.]). For *dergede'ün* 'in the proximity of, by', cf. Ligeti 1971, 147.

'His baggage', lit. 'all his things (= effects, possessions).' See *ibid.*, 152; and above, n. 153.

'Set out and fled in the night', lit. 'fleeing (being night = that same night he moved on).' For *burūila- < buruĴuyila-* (= mo. *buruĴula-*) 'to flee', see Oz¹, IV, 17-20, n. 5. In this passage I have variously rendered the verb *gödöl-* (= mo. *ködel-, ködöl-*) 'to move, depart', as 'to set out', 'to proceed', 'to move on', and 'to advance.' Cf. Mo, 88.

The Ma'u ('Evil') Heights (Ma'u Ündür) refer to an as yet unidentified mountain near, and south of, the river Khalkha (Qalqa) in northeastern Mongolia which flows into the Buir Nör. According to Pèrlée², 11 (cf. Pèrlée⁴, 100), this mountain is situated near this river and the river Nömrög (= Nömörge), i.e. the Numurgin Gol of our maps at 47° 18' N 119° 30' E. The text has 'Mau' throughout (cf. the form *niuča* 'secret' for *ni'uča* in Y² 1, 1a), but the reading 'Ma'u' is guaranteed by the 'Mayu' of AT¹, 61a and 61b. For *au ~ a'u*, cf. Mo, x, n. 8 (however, Mostaert does not elaborate the point), and F.W. Cleaves in *HJAS* 13:1950, 232; for *niuča = ni'uča*, see Cl, xvii; and, especially, 'Quelques problèmes', 257-258, where Mostaert discusses 'l'omission fautive de l'hiatus.' For this common phenomenon in the Arabic-Persian sources, cf. the forms *umdaan ~ umda'an* (VMI, 71), *baraun ~ bara'un* (*ibid.*, 18),

naur ~ *na'ur* (TMEN, no. 381; RH, 245, no. 2), *sibauči* and *šibawun* (= *šiba'un*) (RH, 137, no. 9; LH [1928], 60), etc.

Ĵelme Qo'a must not be confused with Ĵelme, the son of Ĵarči'udai, who was also an Uriangqai (= Uriyangqai). See § 97. On this otherwise unknown Ĵelme Qo'a and his name, see HCG, 138.

'As his rearguard', lit. 'as the rearguard of his rear' (*qoyina'an čaqdu'ulsun*). For the military term *čaqdu'ulsun* (= pmo. *čayduγulsun*) 'rearguard', see Poppe 1967, 510-511, no. 4; Kałużyński 1978, 131. And for *qara'ulsun* (= pmo. *qarayulsun*) 'scout (lit. "watchman")', see Vietze 1990, 383-384.

The Qalaqaljīt Sands (Qalaqaljīt Elet) must have been a sandy plain somewhere further to the south of the Khalkha River. For Qalaqaljīt Rašīd al-Dīn writes Qalālājīt and Qalāljin. See SL², I/2, 302b (Index); cf. HCG, 46. Li, 160, n. 170, is of the opinion that Qalaljīt is the correct form. AT¹, 61a, has 'Qalayajin' or 'Qalajin' (? = Qalqajin; cf. ATL, 128). If Qalayajin is the correct reading, as I believe, it must be a scribal error for Qalalajin (the letter *l* could easily have been dropped); such a name would normally develop into Qalāljin, plural: Qalālājīt. This may explain Rašīd al-Dīn's Qalāljin and Qalālājīt, but, according to Rašīd, Qalāljin was the name of a river, which makes it unlikely that Qalālājīt is the plural of Qalāljin. I think that the former is a scribal error for the latter (the AT¹ has the *-n* ending). On the other hand, Pêrléé², 10 (cf. Pêrléé⁴, 99), reads this name as Qara Qaljīd and suggests that it refers to a place south of the confluence of the Nömrög and Khalkha rivers (at 47°/48° N 119°/120° E), where there are to this day various sandy areas such as Xuučdyn Els, Kuran Els, Udaart Els and Moilt Els. Poppe 1956, 41, no. 11, deals with this locality. His conclusion is that 'it must be somewhere near the Khalkha and Ulkhui rivers which are on the frontier of Outer Mongolia and Manchuria.' The locality is also discussed in Schubert 1970, 524, n. 5, proposing another identification further to the west (which is most unlikely).

'To rest and eat' (*üderin*). The verb *üderi-* ~ *üderit-* = mo. *üdele-* 'to rest at noon for a meal when travelling.' For this practice and the supposed identification of the site in question 32 km north-east of Delgerkhan (Dêlgêrxaan) and 3 km south-east of the Tsenkher (Cênxêr) River (at 47°/48° N 109°/110° E), see Schubert 1970.

The names of Čigidei and Yadir, Alčidai's two horseherds, do not occur again in the SH. On Činggis' nephew Alčidai, see below, n. 242.

'Led their geldings to pasture, some here and some there, on the fresh grass. As they moved *about ...*', lit. 'when they were going, feeding their geldings in groups (*jüyl-e jüyl-e*) on the green (= grass), ...' *Jüyl-e jüyl-e* has been variously translated as 'while on the way' (Na², 178), 'par groupes' (Pe, 184), 'jeder seines Weges' (Ha, 61), 'from place to place' (Ko, 130), 'chacun de son côté' (Mo, 88), 'one after the other' (Li, 64), 'each one' (Mu, II, 123), 'here and there' (Oz¹, IV, 10; Oz², I, 219), 'each his own way' (Cl, 95), 'to the spots' (On, 76; left untranslated in the 2001 ed., 143), 'all kinds of (grass)' (Če, 132), 'diverses (herbes)' (Ev-Pop, 127). For other renderings see Oz¹, IV, 24, n. 9. Pelliot's translation 'par groupes' agrees with both the Chinese gloss (*i-lu i-lu* 一路一路, where *lu* means 'group') and the Mongolian text (*jüyl* = pmo., mo. *jüil*). The horses were scattered on the pasture, some here and some there, as is usually the case when feeding, hence my somewhat free rendering.

'Coming in pursuit', lit. 'approaching from the rear (= after them).'

Hula'an Burqat (Buruqat in the text) means 'Red Willows.' For a discussion of this name, see Li, 160, n. 170. As stated in the text, it was a place on the south side of the Ma'u Heights. The full imagery of the dust raised by the enemy on this occasion is repeated in § 173.

For the impersonal (passive) construction with *ke'ekde-* 'to be told', cf. Mo, 108; Poppe 1964, 368.

'That is Ong Qan', lit. 'Ong Qan – that *one* –.' Cf. Cleaves 1959, 91, n. 364.

'Unprepared' (*genet*). For *genen* (pl. *genet*), see above, n. 104. Cf. also Oz¹, IV, 27-29, n. 12.

'Who are those with son Temüjin who are likely to fight?', i.e. who pose a real threat. For this sentence, cf. Poucha 1955, 166ff.

For the Uru'ut and the Mangqut, see above, n. 130; Ratchnevsky 1966a, 183, n. 10, 182; and Li, 160, n. 170. See also below, n. 195. For *ke'en* 'called', cf. Mo, 89, n. 85.

'Every time they turn about ... wheel round': these expressions refer to military manoeuvres, such as the well-known technique of the Mongol army to feign retreat and then return to attack from the sides. See, e.g., SF, 81; MM, 36. 'Their battle array (*toyi*) holds (lit. "is proper").' The military term *toyi* (= pmo. *toi*) corresponds to tu. *toy* 'camp', on which see ED, 566b; DTS, 572a; Poppe 1955, 41. Cf. Pelliot 1944b, 65, n. 1. In view of this, Poppe (p.c.) understood the Mongol sentence as follows: 'Each time they surround (circumvent), [their] camp holds.' He also pointed out that the AT (see AT¹, 61b) renders *toyi* with *töb* 'center', which could be the same as 'camp, headquarters.' 'Their ranks (*dem*) holds (lit. "is proper").' *Dem* is glossed *tz'u-hsü* 次序 'order of sequence', i.e. 'rank(s)'. However, in the later literary language and in the dialects, *dem* has the meaning of 'aid, help, assistance; skill, ability, dexterity.' At the root of this term used in the military sense is the idea of 'order' – an order based on the skill of the soldiers and their mutual interaction. Cf. Oz¹, IV, 31, n. 16.

'Those people are accustomed to swords and spears (*üldü jida-tur daduqsan*).' For the expression *üldü jida* 'sword and spear', cf. Cleaves 1959, 95, n. 426; and for *dad-* 'to get accustomed (to), get used (to)', cf. Cleaves 1949, 126, n. 216.

'They have black and multicoloured standards' (*qaraqčī'ut alaččī'ut tuqtan bui*). *Qaraqčī'ut* is the plural of *qaraqčīn* (= pmo., mo. *qarayčīn*), formed on *qara* 'black' + the denominal noun suffix *-qčīn* designating colours and names of female

animals and people, or forming another noun of the same meaning, as is evident from its usage in the SH where it is glossed simply as *hei* 黑 'black.' Cf. Poppe 1975, 164, 166. The same applies to *alaččī'ut* (< *alaq*, pmo., mo. *alaγ* 'multicoloured, variegated, motley' + *-qčīn* + *-'ut*) 'multicoloured (pl.)'. Cf. § 124: *alaččī'ut qonind-i* 'pied sheep (acc.)'. The AT¹, 61b, confirms this by adding the glosses *qara* and *alaγ* to the two obsolete words *qarayčīγud* and *alayčīγud* of the SH. In view of this, my remarks in *Matériel II*, 39, where I discussed the expression *alaččīn ügei* and stated that the suffix in question is *-čīn*, are incorrect. The relevant suffix is *-qčīn* (= mo. *-γčīn*), on which see, provisionally, JŠ, 32-33, § 31; MÜIT, 2651b-2653a, no. 211. See also Oz¹, IV, 31-34, n.17; and Vietze 1990, 384. Neither scholar can find a satisfactory answer to why a feminine suffix should be used for an object like a banner; however, as demonstrated by the example of *alaččīn ügei* in the HIIY (IIA, 14r,4), this suffix has other functions which have not yet been properly investigated.

'They are the people of whom we must be wary!' (*tede serelten irgen bui*). Cf. Cl, 96: '[They] are people against whom one should forewarn himself.' *Serelten* is the plural of *sereltei* 'vigilant' (see AT¹, 35b), and both the Chinese transcription and translation of the word leave no doubt as to its meaning. See HW, 134; GHMBK, 533. However, On, 78, translates it as 'inferior', stating in note 207 on the same page that the word should be read *saraltan* 'lower-class people' (id. in the 2001 ed., 144 and n. 380). This interpretation is unacceptable, since it would not make sense in the context, the Uru'ut and the Mangqut being in fact outstanding warriors, witness Ĵamuqa's pertinent remarks.

The Ĵirgin, or Čirkin, tribe to which Qadaq belonged was a subtribe of the Kereyit. See HCG, 56, 398; Bese 1988, 24-25. At the time of John of Pian di Carpine's visit to Güyük (1246), there was at the Mongol court a Kereyit (?) chancellor by the same name who was a Nestorian Christian like his colleague, the famous Kereyit (?) Čingqai. See Pelliot 1914, 628; ISK, 108,

109, 587; Buell 1994, 181-182. For Čingqai, see Section Three of the Introduction.

'Shall meet them', lit. 'shall oppose them.' For *tušiyaldu* 'to oppose one another', cf. Oz¹, IV, 34-35, n. 18; TMEN, no. 136.

'In support' (*gejige*), i.e. as reserve. For *gejige* 'reinforcement, reserve troops, auxiliaries', see TMEN, no. 357; Kažužin'ski 1978, 131; Róna-Tas 1986, 136. Further on in this section I render the term *gejige* as 'to support.' The original and primary meaning of the word is 'nape of the neck, occiput' (cf. RH, 206, no. 3; Les., 381a), and its usage as a military term is secondary and derivative.

On the Tümen Tübergen and Olon Dongqayit, see above, n. 150. For Ačiq Širun, who is mentioned again in §§ 174 and 181, see also SL², I/1, 128; I/2, 131 (where, however, Rašid al-Dīn writes 'Ačiq and Širun', indicating two people rather than one).

For *turqa'ut* (pl. of *turqaq*) 'bodyguards' (later 'dayguards'), see above, n. 79. Although I use the term 'bodyguard', this term must be understood here *sensu lato*: Ong Qan's 'bodyguard' is an enlarged élite force (1,000 men: *minqa[n]*), the pick of the cavalry, sent ahead of Ong Qan who leads the main body of the army (*qol*). For *minqa[n]* (= *mingqa[n]*, mo. *mingγa[n]*) 'thousand', cf. RH, 243, no. 14: id. See also TMEN, no. 1749; IMCS, 248.

On the name Qori Šilemün, see HCG, 62. For the title *taiši*, see above, n. 50.

'The main body of the army' renders *yekē qol*, lit. 'the great centre.' *Qol* by itself designates the main force. See Poppe 1967, 513-514, no. 7; cf. above, n. 142, and below, n. 247. For the importance of the military organization of the Kereyit under Ong Qan in relation to the future army organization of Činggis Qan, see the relevant remarks in Li, 160-161, n. 170.

'Drew apart', lit. 'went out being alone apart' (*ōre böldeyitčü qarču*). For *ōre* (< *ō'ere*) *böldeyit-*, lit. 'to be alone (= set) apart', see above, n. 156.

'Less capable', lit. 'on the other side (or beyond) me' (*nadača činaru*), i.e. 'he cannot (even) reach me.'

'Not much of a companion, is he!' (*čaqtu nökör buyu*), meaning that he is, in fact, a very mediocre, hence unreliable, friend. *Čaqtu* is, literally, 'having a measure', *ča* (= mo. *čay*) having also the meaning of 'measure' besides that of 'time, season, etc.' Cf. Poppe 1967, 511. A person 'who has a measure' is measurable, hence not out of the ordinary (see Cl, 96, n. 3). The Chinese gloss gives *cho-chung* 酌中 'middling', i.e. nothing remarkable, as the equivalent of Mongolian *čaqtu*. For the expression *cho-chung*, cf. MEYD, 188-189, n. 200. In § 245, *čaqtu* is rendered as 'common, mediocre' (*p'ing-teng ti* 平等的) in the sectional summary (Y² 10, 41b). I should point out, however, that *čaqtu* can also mean 'having a (set) time, seasonal', hence 'occasional, transitory.' Cf. Kow., 2108a: *čay-un γalaγu* 'oies de passage.' In other words, *čaqtu nökör* may also mean 'an occasional (or opportunistic) companion.' See Ra, VI, 46; On, 78; Ev-Pop, 128, and 283, n. 10. Cf. also T. Kobayashi's remarks in TYGH, 32, 4: April 1950, 88. In either case the meaning is essentially the same: a companion not worth having. Cf. Če, 134: *yaliqū ügei nökör* 'a companion who is not of good quality' – one, therefore, that can be abandoned without compunction.

'To be on his guard', lit. 'saying that the sworn friend must be on his guard.'

For 'secretly' (*doro'un*), cf. Ligeti 1971, 147.

'Sent the following message', lit., 'sending a tongue (= a verbal communication, a secret message) ... sent saying.' Cf. above, n. 166.

The passage within brackets is missing in the SH, but is preserved in the AT¹, 62b. Cf. ATL, 130; Cl, 97, n. 4.

'From this I realized', lit. 'When (or If) I considered, I realized from this.'

§ 171. Jürčedei, the chief of the Uru'ut, and his tribesmen had separated earlier from Jamuqa and had joined Činggis Qan. See

§ 130. See *ibid.* also for his designation of ‘uncle’ (*ebin*). For the clan and family grouping of military units (together with their dependants such as the *bo’ot* [= pmo. *boγod*]) forming the vanguard (*manglaila-*), as in the case of Jürčedei, see Vlad.², 117ff. Cf. also the important note 170 in Li, 160-161.

‘Before Jürčedei could utter a word’, lit. ‘Before Jürčede[i] made a sound.’ The final *i* of the name Jürčedei has dropped once in this section and once in § 176; however, Jürčede may be a variant of Jürčedei. Cf. Ögölei ~ Ögele, Ilügei ~ Ilüge, etc. See HCG, 129.

Quyildar of the Mangqut first appears in the SH, § 130, where he is called Quyuldar (on this form, see HCG, 168). He had also defected from Jamuqa, had received the appellation of Sečen (‘the Wise’) by Činggis Qan, and the two had become *andas*, or sworn friends. See *ibid.*, 167-168; Li, 160, n. 170; Mu, II, 139-140; and below, n. 175.

‘I shall fight in front (*emüne*) of my sworn friend!’ The adverb *emüne* (with the gen.) means ‘in front of, before’ and ‘for, on behalf of.’ Cf. Buck, 99-100, no. 31; 123, no. 31; and above n. 147. Cl, 97, and Oz¹, IV, 47, have opted for the second interpretation (‘I shall fight on behalf of ...’), which is grammatically correct. However, this interpretation does not make much sense because it is obvious that Quyildar, a sworn friend of Činggis, would fight *for* him; the question here is in *what capacity* in the battle formation. Quyildar will go as vanguard before Činggis Qan, thus taking the brunt of the attack and seriously endangering his life, hence the pointed remark about his ‘orphaned children.’ Cf. also the sectional summary (Y² 6, 10a: *mien-ch’ien* 面前 ‘before, in front’), and Pa, 88. Naka had understood the text correctly (Na¹, 211).

For *önečit kö’üt* ‘orphaned children’, cf. Cleaves 2001b, 70-71, n. 37. For the whole sentence, see *Lettres*, 184.

In the description of the encounter, the action verbs ‘to attack’ (*dobtul-*), ‘to advance’ (*ayis-*), and ‘to overcome, defeat’ (*daru-*) are repeated several times. To avoid these monotonous repetitions in the translation, I have made use of synonyms (‘to

attack’/‘to charge’, ‘to rush (against)’; ‘to advance’/‘to go forward’, ‘to press ahead’; ‘to overcome’/‘to crush’, ‘to defeat’).

‘Turned back and stood guard over Quyildar.’ The expression *de’ere eke’er-*, lit. ‘to return over (someone)’, is apparently a military expression meaning for soldiers to turn back and gather around, ‘covering’ as it were, a wounded comrade to protect him. The Chinese sectional summary paraphrases as follows (Y² 6, 10b): ‘The Mangqut troops turned back and stood where Quyildar had fallen from the horse.’ The same expression occurs a few lines further down with the verb *bayi-* ‘to stand, stay.’

‘Without permission from Ong Qan’, lit. ‘without counsel (*eye ügei’ü*) from Ong Qan.’ Cf. Cleaves 1953, 79-80, n. 12.

‘Was shot by an arrow in *one of* his bright red cheeks (*enggesge qačar*).’ Although the interlinear gloss gives only ‘red’ (紅) for *enggesge* (see HW, 44), mmo. *enggesge* ~ *engeske* (= mo. *enggeske*) properly means ‘rouge.’ See MA, 161a; Les., 318a. Both Pelliot and Ligeti are of the opinion that Senggüm had applied rouge to his cheeks and have translated accordingly. See Pe, 186; Li, 66. For Onon, ‘red cheek’ simply means ‘cheek’ (On, 79 and n. 210; cf. the 2001 ed., 146 and n. 385), following in this the Chinese sectional summary (Y² 6, 10b) which ignores the qualifier. I think that the expression ‘rouge-cheek’ means ‘a cheek as red as if rouge had been applied to it’, i.e. a very red or bright red cheek. The qualifier is there because in all probability Senggüm’s complexion was unusually red even by current Mongolian standards. The arrow wound in Senggüm’s cheek is reported again in §§ 174 and 208, from which we also learn that it was caused by an *učumaq*-arrow. See below, n. 174.

‘Touched the hilltops’, lit. ‘hit upon the hills.’

‘Spent the night some distance from there’, lit. ‘spent the night separating themselves’, i.e. taking up a position distant from Ong Qan and the battlefield.

The narrator presents the engagement between the coalition led by Ong Qan (but without Jamuqa) and Činggis Qan as a

victory for the latter, but as will become apparent from subsequent events, the battle of Qalaqaljit Sands was in fact a reverse for the Mongols. See the pertinent remarks in Li, 160, n. 170. As Ligeti points out, Činggis could 'separate' himself from Ong Qan only after being severely mauled. Cf. ČK¹, 64-65 (= ČK², 69-70). The tendentious interpretation of the SH is taken up by all the other sources, whose accounts present the battle also as a defeat for Ong Qan foreshadowing the end of Kereyit power. Cf. SWCCL¹, 37a; SL², I/2, 125-126; YS² 1, 10.

§ 172. Öködei (= Ögödei), mentioned here for the first time, was Činggis Qan's third son. He was born in 1186, was elected emperor (*qa'an*) on 11 or 13 September 1229, and died on 11 December 1241 of alcoholism. On him see HWC, 178-239 et passim (Index, 750a, s.v.; and 751b, s.v. 'Qa'an'); *Successors*, 17-94 et passim (Index, 362b); SL², I/1, 209a; I/2, 293b; D'Ohsson, II, 1-109; *Chapitre CVII*, 71-73; HCG, 456b; NMP, III, 201a-b; Vlad.², 276b; ISK, 788a-b (s.v. in the indices of the last four works); YShi, 111-112. The reading with *-k-* occurs only in §§ 172 and 173; elsewhere it is Ögödei. For *k* ~ *g*, cf. 'Quelques problèmes', 240-243; *Matériel I*, (3,) 5, 37, 100. When the events related in this section took place (1203), Ögödei was only seventeen years old.

'Bo'orču and Boroqul as true friends', lit. 'The trustworthy (or reliable) Bo'orču and Boroqul.' Bo'orču and Boroqul were two of the 'four steeds' (*dörben külü'üt*). See above, n. 163.

'How could they part from each other, whether (*ber*) living or (*ber*) dying?' For the use of *ber* in this rhetorical question, see Street 1981, 152-153, § 4.3.1. For *aju* 'living', lit. 'being', cf. VG, 69; Oz¹, IV, 58-59, n. 4.

'Approaching from the rear' (*qoyinača ayisu gürčü*). For the present in *-u* of *ayis-* 'to approach', see Mo, 96; Cleaves 1982, 87, n. 70; YMT, 77.

'Let Eternal Heaven decide *what should be!*' (*möngke tenggeri medetügei*), in other words, 'Let Heaven take care of this!' This was the usual phrase or formula used by the

medieval Mongols when they wanted to thank Heaven, or take Heaven as witness of an oath, a promise or a threat. See *Lettres*, 47-48. As noted by Ligeti, these words were accompanied by a ritual beating of the breast with the fist to establish communication with the supernatural powers (Li, 161, n. 172). On particular and solemn occasions other acts of submission to, and reverence for, Heaven were also performed. See § 103 and com. The Mongolian formula may be compared, *mutatis mutandis*, to the Christian expression *Fiat voluntas Dei*: in both a submission to the will of the Supreme Power is implied. The MTPL (17a) and the HTSL (11a) refer to the Mongol custom of invoking Heaven, and, in the latter source, P'eng Ta-ya remarks that 'with regard to things that have already been done by other persons, they (i.e. the Mongols) say, "Heaven knows." There is not a single matter that they do not attribute to Heaven.' P'eng's 'Heaven knows' is a more literal than accurate rendering of the Mongolian *tenggeri medetügei*, since *mede-* in this case means 'to decide', not 'to know.' Cf. CG, 141. It has escaped scholars so far that the formula in question is also quoted by William of Rubruck in his *Itinerarium*, but in a different context. Rubruck (SF, 230) mentions the Buddhist formula *Om mani battam* (= *Om maṇi padme hūm*). Stating that a priest from a temple in Qara Qorum translated it as 'God, you know' (MWR, 154). Clearly, the monk, who did not know the meaning of the invocation in Sanskrit ('Om, the jewel in the lotus, Amen'), assumed that it was the same as the familiar invocation in Mongolian. (For an example of the use of the verb 'to decide' applied to the supreme authority of the *qan*, cf. *Successors*, 148.) As for the term *möngke* (= pmo. *mōngke*) 'eternal', the usual epithet of Heaven which appears here for the first time, see TMEN, no. 1744. Cf. de Rachewiltz 1973, 28-29.

For *čölö* 'pause, intermission', cf. Mo, 120.

'The pack-saddle' (*inggirčaq*). As noted by Cleaves, this term designates 'a wooden saddle serving as pack-saddle for horses and oxen, without stirrups attached' (Cl, 99, n. 11). Cf.

TMEN, no. 562; DO, 396b; Oz¹, IV, 60-61, n. 8; Khomonov 1970, 35.

'Following the tracks left by our *men* when they withdrew from the battlefield, I went on, found them and here I am', lit. 'Following the trail (or path) that we (i.e. our men) went by withdrawing from the battlefield, I went on, found them, and have just come.' Cf. Cl, 99; LSHM, 25; Oz¹, IV, 61-62, n. 9. The verb *mütki-* 'to follow (the tracks/path), trail' is a variant of SH *möčgi-* (= mo. *möski-*) id. See HW, 109; cf. Oz¹, IV, 62, n. 10; and IMCS, 113, for *č* > *s*.

§ 173. 'Then, a moment later, another man approached' (*basa qorumut atala basa niken gü'ün ayisu*). For this sentence, cf. VG, 70. *Qorumut atala* is, literally, 'while there is but a moment.' Cf. above, n. 31.

'His feet dangling under him.' As explained immediately after, Boroqul was riding the horse while holding the wounded Öködei (Ögödei) in front of him. The 'dangling' (*unjiljaju*) feet were, of course, the latter's feet. Since the two were riding double (*sundulaju*), a frontal observer saw only one person riding with his feet hanging loose. For *unjilja-* 'to dangle' (rather than 'to hang', as in Cl, 99), see DO, 735a; Oz¹, IV, 66, n. 1; *sundula-* 'to ride double' = mo. *sundala-* id. See Les., 737b.

'When he came up and drew to a halt', lit. 'When he finished coming ... he arrived.'

'With blood trickling from the corners of his mouth', lit. 'letting blood trickle with (or by) the corners of the mouth.'

'His heart was pained' (*duran aljaqat*). For the expression *dura(n) alja-* '(for) the heart to be pained (or troubled)', cf. Cleaves 1950, 129, n. 309; and, especially, *Lettres*, 69-70.

In this section we have another description of the Mongols' treatment of arrow wounds, which included cauterization. The procedure of sucking the blood and letting the wound bleed freely, so as to clean the wound and avoid blood clotting, was already described in § 145 (see above, n. 145). Cauterization of

the wound is mentioned here for the first time. Cf. Kaszuba 1996, 64.

'Boroqul had sucked the wound-clogging blood, letting it trickle from the corners of the mouth: *that's how* he came', lit. 'Boroqul came, sucking it with his mouth and letting the clogging blood trickle from the corners of his mouth.'

'The dust raised by the enemy ... direction.' For these words of Boroqul, cf. the similar phrase employed in § 170. See also Mo, 90, n. 86.

'Had he come after us ... later!' This passage has been interpreted in several different ways, considerably altering the meaning of the original which must be understood in the context of the events just described. Cf. Pe, 187; Ha, 64; Ko, 174 (completely misunderstanding the text); Li, 67; Cl, 99; Oz¹, IV, 65; Oz², I, 226 (somewhat different from the Oz¹ version); Ta, 96; On, 173; Če, 136; and Ev-Pop, 131. I am now of the opinion that my former rendering (Ra, VI, 32) is not correct. 'If we are now witnessing the enemy take flight' is, literally, 'if we are the object of the fleeing and moving away by the enemy.' For this passive construction, see Poppe 1964, 375. Činggis speaks of the enemy's flight in response to Boroqul's remarks about the enemy's horsemen raising dust while retreating, and his (Činggis') earlier statement that, should the enemy come, he would fight him. Činggis' remarks or, rather, the remarks attributed to him by the SH, are tendentious insofar as they try to disguise the fact that Činggis himself was actually retreating with his badly mauled troops, and moving further to the south-east. Neither Ong Qan, whose son Senggüm had been badly wounded, nor Jamuqa who was playing a very ambiguous role as Ong Qan's ally, were intent on pursuing Činggis at this stage (see § 174). Later on Činggis will admit that had Senggüm not been wounded, 'what would have become of us?' (§ 208). As it was, Činggis prudently moved from the area of the Qalaqaljit Sands south of the Khalkha River to Dalan Nemürges following the 'Ulqui Šilügeljit' (see above, n. 154) upstream, i.e. closer to the Khingan Mountains, to rest, take stock of the situation,

regroup his forces and plan the next move. This, as we shall see, will be one of the most brilliant products of his strategic genius, the so-called ‘Lament of Činggis Qan’ (§ 177-181).

‘He departed ... left ... moved’: all three verbs render the Mongolian *gödöl-* (= mo. *ködel-*, *ködöl-*) which is constantly repeated in this passage.

§ 174. Qada’an Daldurqan of the Tarqut was mentioned in § 120 among those who had joined Činggis when he first parted company with Ĵamuqa. From this section it appears that he had subsequently joined Ong Qan.

‘Then, from the rear, Qada’an Daldurqan came up, leaving behind his wife and children’, lit. ‘Then, Qada’an Daldurqan came from the rear separately (*qaqas*) from his wife and children (or child/son).’ For *qaqas* (= mo. *qayas*) ‘separately, half, respectively’, see Lewicki 1939/49, 251-255; Mo, 146, 150. Cf. also above, nn. 50, 55. The expression *eme kö’ün* may mean ‘wife and child (or son)’, ‘wife and children (or sons)’, or, simply, ‘wife.’ Cf. above, nn. 104, 105, 146, and below, n. 185.

The *učumaq* (= pmo. *učumaγ*) was a particular type of arrow, almost certainly the ‘three-pointed long arrow’ (*sanchien p’i-tzu* 三尖鉞子), i.e. a long arrow with a three-pointed head, of the CYIY, 56a (this page should logically follow p. 54b), the Mongolian equivalent of which is given as *e-ts’ao-ma* 邊曹馬 **ó-tsau-ma*. Cf. Ligeti 1990, 267, no. 212, and Kara 1990, 330, s.v. ‘*uča*<*m*>*ma*[*q*]’ (where, however, the suggested emendation to *yü-chang-ma* 邊昌馬 should be discarded). During the Ch’ing dynasty, the *p’i* 鉞 designated an arrow with a long shaft (99.2 cm) and with a thin and broad iron arrowhead 9.6 cm long. See DKJ, XI, 40234. However, I think that here *p’i-tzu* designates only a long-shaft arrow. The term *učumaq* probably derives from tu. *uč-* ‘to fly.’ Cf. Tserensodnom 1993, 197-198; Rassadin 1995, 113.

The poetic passage beginning ‘When it would have been better ...’ is translated and discussed in Mo, 90-92. Cf. Li, 161,

n. 174; and Waley 1960, 527. For *qada’asun* (= pmo. *qada-γasun*), cf. TMEN, no. 1435.

‘But, having arrived in time to save my son’s life’ (*kö’ün-ü ami erüsun*). These words have been misunderstood by most modern translators. For *erüs-* ‘to arrive in time’, see Mo, 62-63, and n. 56. Cf. also mo. *erüs-* ‘to forestall’ (Les., 332b). *Ami erüsüin* may also be understood as ‘profiting from the life’, i.e. ‘taking advantage of the fact that the life (of my son has been saved).’ Cf. *Matériel II*, 57 (21r, 2).

‘Desist!’, lit. ‘let it be!’

‘A son who was yet to come’, lit. ‘a son who was “at the back” (*ečine*, i.e. out of sight, absent)’, in other words ‘not yet born.’ Cf. VG, 94.

‘We made magic strips’ (*elbesün ĵalama kijü*). The words *elbesün ĵalama* are not glossed in the Chinese interlinear version. However, as pointed out by Murakami (Mu, II, 151, n. 11), *elbesün* is undoubtedly mo. *ilbi* (cf. ord. *ilbe*, *elbe*) ‘magic’ + the denominal noun suffix *-sün* (*-sun*). Cf. bur. *el’bešen* ‘magician, wizard.’ See BRS, 763b; BŠDT, 103b-104a. On *ilbi*, *elbi*, etc., see SG, 371; DO, 381b; Les., 402b-403a; Marazzi 1987, 835-836; de Rachewiltz 1989a, 60. As for *ĵalama*, this term designated coloured ribbons attached to tree branches, to the mane of horses and the neck of other consecrated animals, and placed on graves and sacred places as part of the shamanistic ritual for the worship and invocation of spirits. See DO, 182a; Les., 1030a; IBŠ, 186; BŠDT, 52a; and the additional references in TH, 291-292 (= ĴYT, 506-507), and Oz¹, IV, 84, n. 10. Cf. also Oz², I, 249, n. 4.

The expression *abui babui* is also not glossed in the text. Li, 161, n. 174, referring to the Nestorianism of the Kereyit, is quite positive that these words are ‘the distorted initial words of some Syriac prayer.’ On the strength of Ligeti’s remarks, I suggested in 1977 that *abui babui* may be a corruption of the words *aba baba*: *aba* meaning ‘father’ in Syriac, and *baba* meaning ‘father’ in Turkic. ‘This (I stated) could then be an invocation to God the Father in both Syriac and Turkic – quite

plausible in view of the Nestorian-Turkic cultural background of the Kereyit.' I also pointed out, like others had done before me, that, as evident from the SH, the Nestorian-Christian faith of the Kereyit ruling family was by the 13th century very much imbued with shamanistic elements – a fact confirmed by independent witnesses like William of Rubruck. See Ra, VI, 49, for further references. On the basis of TH, 88-89 (= JYT, 156), On, 81, n. 213, states that 'The words they cried (*abui, babui*) have various meanings, including "Pa! Ma!" (ie, the informal address of parents) and "dearest!" Here, on the assumption that they are addressed to the longed-for son, I have chosen the latter.' (Cf. the 2001 ed., 148, n. 390.) Since the words in question are obviously part of a prayer addressed to the protecting spirits or to a superior being, I doubt whether this interpretation is the correct one. Ev-Pop, 132, renders *abui babui* as 'les pères', the supporting argument (expounded in note 14 on p. 283) being that kalm. *abai* is the usual term of respect of a junior for his senior, while *baaba* may designate the father, the uncle, the mother, the paternal aunt, as well as the mythical ancestor of the Kalmucks. The expression *aaba baaba* is also used with the meaning of 'father and grandfather.' Ev-Pop continues: 'On sait que les Mongols s'adressaient à leurs esprits sous les noms de père ou de mère: "Père [*Baabai*] Seigneur Taureau", etc. Guillaume de Rubrouck précise, dans sa relation de voyage, que certains des esprits protecteurs des Mongols s'appelaient "frère du maître de maison".' Ev-Pop's interpretation, although much sounder than that of Eldengtei et al., remains, like mine, to a large degree hypothetical. Cl, 271a, compares the 'prayer formula' *abui babui* to *abracadabra*; and Pan¹, 121, breaks the two words into four words: '*A bui, ba bui*', which does not help much towards their understanding. Cf. Pan², 60.

'So at last *your* son Senggüm was born, let us take care of him!', lit. 'Let us take care of the son Senggüm who achieved (*baraqsan*, i.e. finally succeeded) to be born in such ways (*ediün*,

i.e. by such means)!' Cf. Oz¹, IV, 85, n. 12; Mo, 114, n. 106. For another instance in the SH of a birth by magic, see § 189.

'On our side', lit. 'with us.'

'Who have *but* a horse as a mount,/Who have *but* a tree as a shelter', lit. 'Who have as a riding animal a horse./Who have as a shelter a tree', in other words, they are in a bad state of affairs and, therefore, incapacitated as adversaries – no doubt a reference to Činggis' predicament after the battle at the Qalaqaljit Sands. For *nemiüre* 'shelter', cf. DO, 498b; Khomonov 1970, 33.

'Like dry horse dung' (*morin-u junda'ul metü*). The reference is to the dry dung collected for use as fuel (argal, argol). For the word *junda'ul* (= pmo. *jundaγul*, see AT¹, 64b: *ju[n]daγul*), cf. mo. *jungγay* 'dirt; excrement of a baby or young animal' (Les., 1079b). Cf. also TH, 301-302 (= JYT, 524); Gantogtokh 1989, 121-122; Gantogtox 1990, 125-126. This word is closely related to tu. *yundaq* 'horse dung', on which see ED, 947a. I think it is formed on *yundaq* > **jundaq* ~ **jundaγ* + the rare denominal noun suffix *-'ul* (= *-γul*), on which see above, n. 152. The term *arqal* (= pmo., mo. *arγal*) also occurs in the SH, but only in a place-name. See below, n. 183.

'Correct! If this is so, I fear my son may be exhausted.' For these words, see Cleaves 1949a, 527.

'From the battlefield', lit. 'from the place where they had fought.'

§ 175. The river Qalqa of the SH is, of course, the Khalkha River (Xalxiin Gol) in eastern Mongolia to which reference has been made in the previous notes, but which is mentioned by the SH for the first time in this section. On this important river, see Hambis 1974, 29-30.

'And counted his forces', lit. 'counted the number (i.e. of his soldiers).' With regard to Činggis Qan's forces after his encounter with Ong Qan at the Qalaqaljit Sands, which according to the sober account of the SH amounted to only 2,600 men, Rašid al-Dīn says that they were 4,600 (SL², I/1,

185, and I/2, 125-126; cf. the SWCCL¹, 35b, which gives the same figure). The discrepancy is discussed by Ligeti (Li, 161, n. 175), who is of the opinion that Rašid's figure is exaggerated. As Ligeti points out, Činggis Qan's army must have been scanty and poorly equipped since it had to provide its own food supply by hunting while on the march. Ačiq Širun's remarks quoted in the previous section confirm that the condition of Činggis' army was anything but brilliant. Činggis' 'lament' and the Baljuna episode all support this interpretation. A further discrepancy between the SH on the one hand and the SWCCL on the other, is that the former speaks of the 'western' and 'eastern' banks (lit. 'sides') of the Khalkha, whereas the other speaks of 'southern' and 'northern' banks (SL² merely refers to 'one bank', and 'the other bank', see *ibid.*, I/2, 126). One section of the river does indeed run in an eastwesterly direction before turning southwestwards and flowing into the Buir Nōr. Činggis Qan, having learned from Qada'an Daldurqan that Ong Qan was not going to pursue him for the time being, left the area of Dalan Nemürge, where he had taken shelter, and moved again westwards, i.e. towards the Buir Nōr, following the course of the Khalkha River downstream. He would have proceeded first in a northwesterly, then in a westerly, and finally in a southwesterly direction. Depending on the 'stage' of this progress, both accounts are correct. Half the force led by Činggis rode along the left bank of the Khalkha, i.e. the western or southern bank; the other half, composed of the Uru'ut and Mangqut troops, rode along the right bank of the river, i.e. the eastern or northern bank. Dividing his troops in this way would have made it easier to obtain provisions by hunting on both sides of the river.

Quyildar had been wounded in the battle (see § 171), but obviously felt he had to participate in the hunt and as a result had a relapse (lit. 'his wounds opened again'; cf. Cleaves 1949a, 527; and *Lettres*, 25) and died. This was a great loss for Činggis Qan who was in an *anda*-relationship with him; the SH makes a point of mentioning his burial on a cliff and, later, the fact that Činggis took care of his family (§ 185). The episode has been

discussed in Harayama 1974; see also *idem* 1972, 7, and Ratchnevsky 1968a, 127, concerning the hunting aspect of it. On Quyildar's burial in relation to other ancient Mongol burial practices, see also Tomka 1965, 166; Perlèe 1956. The expression 'to bury', is, literally, 'to place the bones' (*yasun talbi'ul-*); cf. the expression *yasu bari-* id., lit. 'to take (in one's hands) the bones (= the body of the deceased).' See Cleaves 1951, 91-92, n. 95; TMEN, no. 405; Tomka 1965, 166, n. 30. For the burial on an elevated place, cf. above, n. 164, and below, nn. 201 and 241.

Keltegei Qada. In the Chinese interlinear version *keltegei* is glossed *pan* 半 'half, one-sided' and *qada* as *yai* 崖 'cliff.' Or Nu'u (one word in the Chinese transcription) is glossed *shan-ming* 山名 'name of a mountain.' The sectional summary (Y² 6, 19b) says that Quyildar was buried 'on the "half cliff" of Mount Ornu'u of the Qalqa River.' By 'half cliff' is meant the 'one-sided cliff', i.e. a cliff slanting on one side, i.e. at an angle, inclined (possibly overhanging), as correctly understood by Mu, II, 154, n. 17, and Ja, 227; not 'half-way up the cliff' as in Wa, 268. This is, indeed, what *keltegei qada* means. See Les., 449: *keltegei* 'slanting, askew, inclined.' My earlier rendering (Ra, VI, 33) 'Jagged Cliff' is not quite accurate. This particular cliff was situated at Or Nu'u, i.e. at the Or Bend. (For *nu'u* ~ *nū* < *nyu*, lit. 'corner', see above, n. 94.) The explanation given by On, 82, n. 214 (cf. the 2001 ed., 149, n. 392), that Or = *ör* 'the pit of the stomach: the heart' on the basis of TH, 127 (= JYT, 222) is speculative. Cf. below, n. 280. The locality cannot be identified with certainty, but it was probably at one of the two main bends of the Khalkha River. In the corresponding section relating the same events in SL², I/2, 126, Keltegei Qada is given as the name of a place on the 'Ūr River' (Ūr Müren); and Keltegei Qada is mentioned again (*ibid.*, 147) in connection with the 1204 campaign against Tayang Qan of the Naiman, as a place 'in the valley of the Q(a)lāat River' ('Qalāat' being no doubt a mistake for 'Qalqa'). In the corresponding passages of the SWCCL¹ (37a and 54a), Keltegei is called a 'mountain

ridge' (山岡) of (or at, by) Or Nu'u, and a 'mountain' by the Qalqa River. Rašīd's 'Ūr River' is obviously a conflation of Ūr (= Or) Nu'u and the Qalqa River. Both Keltegei Qada and Or Nu'u are mentioned again in the SH, § 191, in connection with the campaign against the Naiman. In the interlinear version and sectional summary they are referred to as 'place-names' (地名) and 'places' (地) respectively, and from the context it is evident that they were not very far from Abjiqa Köteger (the Abji'a Ködeger of § 187) which was near the sources of the Khalkha (see below, n. 187). Finally, in YS² 1, 12, always with reference to the 1204 campaign, Keltegei Qada is mentioned as 'Mount Kentegei' (a perfect transcription of Keltegei). In view of these numerous references in the SH, SL, SWCCL and YS, it is clear that Keltegei Qada was a well-known place on the Khalkha River at the time of Činggis Qan, and must not be interpreted literally, as several scholars have done following the misleading version of the Chinese sectional summary of § 175. Cf. Oz¹, IV, 90, and 93-94, n. 6, where Ozawa puts forth the alternative rendering of *keltegei qada* as 'the steep cliff.' Cf. Oz², I, 228.

§ 176. 'Just where', lit. 'at the extremity' (*huja'ur-a*). For the use of the term *huja'ur* to designate the point where the river branches off (either at its source or at its estuary), cf. Oz¹, IV, 96-99, n. 2. It should be remembered that *huja'ur*, mo. *iġayur*, designating, as it does, the 'extreme point' of something, can mean either its beginning or its end. Cf., e.g., MA, 184b, 368a.

For Lake Buyur, i.e. the Buir Nōr, see above, n. 53. The Onggirat, or Qonggirat, was the well-known tribe of eastern Mongolia to which Činggis' in-laws belonged. See above, n. 61. For this important tribe, besides HCG, 402ff., see also Li, 161-162, n. 176.

For the Onggirat chief Terge Emel ('Amel' in the text), see above, n. 141. Cf. Cl, 101: 'the Unggirad [chiefs] Terge, Amel, and others'; Oz¹, IV, 95, 96: 'the Unggirad tribe of Terge, Emel and others'; On, 82: 'Terge, Emel and others of the Onggirat'

(the 2001 ed., 149, has 'other members' instead of 'others', but the word 'members' is not in the text).

Jürčedei was the chief of the Uru'ut, not of the Mangqut as stated in Cleaves 1955a, 389. His name occurs once in this section without the final *i*. Cf. above, n. 171.

For the poetic passage in this section, cf. § 64.

'Because he had been sent with this message' renders the words *ke'eġü ile'esü*, lit. 'when he sent, saying.' My rendering of this passage is somewhat free to make it more readable in English. For a literal translation and discussion of the whole § 176, see Mo, 92-95. Cf. also *ibid.*, 182, 194, n. 178.

This section of the SH is the last one to have a regular counterpart in the AT, where the SH narrative resumes with § 208 in AT¹, 65a. Cf. ATL, 136-138. Interestingly enough, the first personage to be mentioned in AT¹, 65a, is the same Jürčedei who appears in § 176. One wonders whether this is a coincidence. See Section Five of the Introduction.

§ 177. The Tüngge Stream (*qoroqan*, but a little further on *qor[o]qan*) is an unidentified stream near the Onggirat camp close to the Buir Nōr and the river Khalkha. Against the reading Tünggeli(k) of the sectional summary (Y² 6, 31b), the reading Tüngge of the Mongol text is confirmed by the SWCCL¹ (38a; but the text should be revised following SWCCL², § XXVII; cf. SWCCL³, 84b-85a), Rašīd al-Dīn (SL², I/2, 127), and the YS (YS² 1, 10), although all these texts designate it as a lake, not as a stream. Since the SWCCL and SL mention the Tüngge Lake together with a Torqa Stream (Torqa Qoroqan), it is possible that the Tüngge Qoroqan of the SH is merely a conflation, due to a lacuna or corruption in the text, of Tüngge (Na'ur) and (Torqa) Qoroqan, as in the case of Rašīd al-Dīn's 'Ūr River' (see above, n. 176). Cf. HCG, 386, and HHCG, § XXVII, n. 31. The 'Tünggeli(k)' of the sectional summary is clearly an amendment of the Ming translator-transcriber who assimilated it to the other streams called Tünggelik in the SH. I think, therefore, that the '(sic)' after 'Tüngge' in On, 82, should be

removed, as has in fact been done in the 2001 edition of this work (p. 150).

'Gave ... a verbal message to be delivered', lit. 'made a voice (= a verbal communication) to be carried by ...'. Arqai Qasar and Sükegei (~ Sügegei) Ĵe'ün had been sent earlier by Činggis Qan as envoys to Ĵamuqa and to Ong Qan (see §§ 127, 151); their role as trusted envoys is specifically referred to in § 124, where Činggis is made to say to Arqai Qasar, Taqai, Sükegei and Ča'urqan: 'Be my far-flying shafts, Be my near-flying arrows!' – the arrow being not only a simile for a courier or envoy (*elči*), but the actual credential of the bearer. See above, n. 124.

'Have gained strength', lit. 'the joints of the bones (= the articulations of their legs) have become stronger.'

The passage beginning with 'My father the Qan' and ending with 'coming between us?' has been translated and discussed in Mo, 95-98. The following are some additional remarks.

I render Mongolian *ma'u*, lit. 'bad, evil', with 'poor' in the sense of 'miserable' – a self-derogatory (and, at times, also endearment) term, as elsewhere in the SH (§§ 111, 124; 245). Cf. Li, 162, n. 177. The 'sons' and 'daughters-in-law' are, of course, Činggis' close relatives – his brothers and sisters-in-law – who are also related to Ong Qan through the latter's adoption of Činggis Qan as his son. See above, n. 164. Mostaert's statement in Mo, 25 and 97 (cited also in Cl, 102, n. 25) that the 'sons' and 'daughters-in-law' are Činggis' own sons and daughters-in-law is, therefore, incorrect. What Činggis Qan means is that if Ong Qan has a grievance against him, he should 'frighten', i.e. reprimand or punish, only him and leave the other members of Činggis' family – who are now also members of Ong Qan's family – in peace (cf. below, n. 183). The word for 'daughters-in-law' is *berinet* (= *beri* + *-net*, pl. form of the pl. suff. *-ner*). For *beri* 'daughter-in-law', cf. TMEN, no. 76; RH, 232, no. 4; Mo, 235. For the double plural suffix *-net* (= pmo. **-ned*), see Street 1990a, 348, § 1 (D); GWM, 70, § 262.

'The couch on which they sat/According to their rank' renders Mongolian *ding sa'uqui iseri*. The word *ding*, which is not glossed in the interlinear version, is not clear. Albeit with some reservation I take it to be a borrowing from Chinese *teng* 等 'grade, rank, kind', this word being in fact transcribed as *ding* in Preclassical Mongolian documents. See, e.g., Cleaves 1949, 108, n. 71: '*Ding* = *têng* 等.' From its position it is clearly an adverb qualifying *sa'u-* 'to sit.' Thus, *ding sa'u-* would mean 'to sit by rank (i.e. according to one's rank or dignity)'; however, other interpretations are possible, although some are rather forced. Cf. Pe, 188: 'bas'; Ha, 65: 'immer' (difficult to justify); Mo, 97, n. 92: (tentative) 'au même niveau'; same rendering in Ir, 151; Li, 68: 'high' (see also *ibid.*, 162, n. 177); Da⁵, 122: 'peacefully' (same rendering in Oz¹, IV, 116; Oz², I, 229; On, 82, etc.; see TH, 282 [= ĴYT, 490]); Če, 394, n. 318: 'for a long time'; Ev-Pop, 133: 'à peine' (difficult to justify); and so on.

The word for 'smoke' occurring twice in the AT in the passage corresponding to § 242 of the SH is *üni*. See AT¹, 89b (where the reading *kini* of the first occurrence is an obvious clerical error for *üni* as shown by the second occurrence). This would lead us to believe that, since this word had an initial *h* in Middle Mongolian, we should read *hüni* in the present section (as well as in § 242) instead of *huni*, as has indeed been done in Pe, 58 (cf. also Pelliot 1925, 238, no. 69); L², 131 (and 208); and R, 86, line 5804 (and 139, lines 9511 and 9512), 235a. However, the correct reading is *huni*; see my remarks in Ra, VI, 51, n. 177, and Oz¹, IV, 122, n. 8. Cf. also DN, 99a. The *üni* of the AT can be explained by the fact that mo. *uniyar* 'mist, haze' ~ *üniyer* (see Kow., 343b, 486a), with the same front-back vocalic alternation that we find in words like *umara* 'behind, north' ~ *ümere*. Činggis Qan is reproaching Ong Qan for wishing to destroy the respect that the members of his (i.e. Činggis') family command (figuratively, by bringing down the couch on which they sit), as well as to ruin their homes (by scattering the smoke of their tents) – in short, to punish them, without their being in no way responsible for anything wrong

that Činggis may have done in the eyes of Ong Qan. Cf. Li, loc. cit.

'Have you been stung .../Have you been stirred up ...?', i.e. 'Did someone cause discord between you and me?' The idea of pricking, or needling, is associated in Mongolian with the manoeuvres of a person who sows discord between two friends. See Mo, 98, n. 93. Cf. the beginning of § 127 where the same idea is expressed; and § 201, repeating the same lines in inverse order. 'Coming between us', lit. 'staying in the way (= crosswise)', i.e. obstructing the path (between us).

The 'Hula'anū'ut Bolda'ut (w.f. Ulayan-nuyud Boldayud) of Jorqal Qun', or 'Red (pl.) Hills of the Deer (?) Cliff' is the same place called Hula'an Qut ('Red Cliffs') in § 163. The name is mentioned by Rašid al-Dīn in the form Hūlān Bōltāvūt (= Hūlān Bolda'ut), which is described as 'a place by the river Qara' and 'near a mountain called Jorqal Qun' in SL², I/2, 129. The corresponding passage in SWCCL¹, 41b, gives Qarqa in place of Rašid's Qara; however, as shown by Pelliot (HCG, 267-270), these are scribal errors and misreadings: the original Mongolian source of Rašid al-Dīn's chronicle had Qaras, i.e. Qaras Muras, a locality west (i.e. north-west) of the Kerulen and near the Selenga, thus, broadly, in the region of Kyakhta.

For the earlier agreement between Ong Qan and Činggis Qan, see § 164; the wording in § 177 is slightly different, but the meaning is the same. See also Mo, 210.

For the words 'Even if I *and my followers* are few in number, I gave you no cause (lit. "did not make you") to seek for a more numerous group (lit. "for many"); even if I am bad, I gave you no cause to seek for *someone* better (lit. "for the good")', cf. Mo, 98-101, 275; Waley 1960, 525. For the use of the word čö'en (= mo. čögen) 'few', cf. also Cleaves 1986, 196, n. 26.

For the events relating to Ong Qan's earlier life which Činggis Qan is recollecting in this section, cf. §§ 150-152.

Ong Qan's younger brothers Tai Temür Taiši and Buqa Temür are mentioned here for the first time. For Tai Temür

('Colt-Iron') Taiši (as usual this title is written incorrectly as Taisi, cf. above, n. 50), see HCG, 234ff. Mmo. *tai* = tu. *tay* 'a one- or two-year-old foal, a colt' (ED, 566b); for *temür* 'iron', cf. TMEN, no. 1012; Rybatzki 2002, 113-116. For Buqa Temür ('Bull-Iron'), see HCG, 234ff.; Cleaves 1955, 43, n. 36. For Erke Qara, see above, n. 151. Inanča Bilge Qan of the Naiman is the Inanča Qan of § 151.

'Because you had become the murderer of your younger brothers, your paternal uncle Gür Qan moved against you', lit. 'Saying, "He (i.e. Ong Qan) has become the killer of his younger brothers", your' Cf. § 150, where it is incorrectly stated that Ong Qan had killed the brothers of his uncle Qurčaquš, i.e. his uncles. See above, n. 150.

For Ong Qan's daughter Huja'ur Üjin, i.e. Lady Huja'ur, see HCG, 266, 287; Rybatzki [2003], s.v. She became the mother of Toqto'a's fifth son Čila'un, who is mentioned for the first time in § 157.

'Gave ... to please him' renders *ni'urqan ökcü*. The rare verb *ni'urqa-* (w.f. *niyurqa-*) 'to please, to curry favour, establish cordial relations, etc.' has caused much discussion among translators and commentators. See Ra, VI, 52; Cl, 104, n. 33; Oz¹, IV, 131-133, n. 23; Kara 1995a. Kara's contribution has settled the problem of interpretation.

The Qunan mentioned in this section is a Tayiči'ut and, therefore, a different person from the Qunan of the Geniges tribe first mentioned in § 122. Both he and Baqaji are mentioned in the SWCCL¹, 38b, as Udur Unan (for Qunan) and Baqaji; and in SL², I/2, 127, as Udur Qunan and Buqaji. The word *udur* of uncertain meaning (? < tu. *udur*; cf. DTS, 606a) occurs in proper names. See, e.g., Udur Bayan in SL², I/2, 26, 30, 31; and Alaq Udur in the SWCCL (see HCG, 430).

Qurban Telesüt ('The Three?') is, according to Pêrlée², 8, to be identified probably with the present Gurvan Têel on the Orkhon at 47° N 101° E (the 'Gurban Geel' of Pêrlée⁴, 89, is a misprint for 'Gurban Teel'). The locality is mentioned also in the corresponding passages in the SWCCL¹, 39b, and SL², I/2,

127, as 'the Talasu(t) Steppe' and as 'Qurban Talasut' respectively. Cf. HCG, 225-226, 263. This locality should not be confused with the Tersüt = Dersüt (= Deresüt ?) of § 150. Pêrlée's identification is due, I think, to a phonetic similarity between Qurban Telesüt and Gurvan Teél. However, in view of Yisügei's pursuit of Gür Qan in the direction of Qašin, which corresponds to the Tangut state of Hsi Hsia in north-west China (see above, n. 150), one must look for Qurban Telesüt further to the south. One must also exclude as a possible candidate the 'Gurban-tala' of the MGYMC, 120, as it is far to the south-west. The word *telesüt* (? *talasut*) remains to be explained, since a reading *teresüt* (pro *telesüt*) = *deresüt* cannot be excluded, as pointed out by Pelliot (HCG, 225).

For the formula 'Let *only* the protection of Heaven Above ...', see above, n. 163.

On Erge Qara and Inanča Bilge Qan, cf. § 151, where their names are written Erke Qara and Inanča Qan. For Erke Qara see above, n. 150.

'Fleeing with a few men, you went to ...', lit. '— a few persons fleeing — you went out and departed to ...'

For the Qara Kidat (~ Kitat), i.e. the Qara Kitai, the Sarta'ul (here written Sarda'ul as in § 198), the Ui'ut (= Uiqut) and the Tang'ut (= Tangqut), see §§ 151 and 152, and n. 151. Cf. also below, n. 198.

'I sent as envoys Taqai and Sükegei to meet you' (*Taqai Sükegei qoyar-i esergü činu elči ile'et*), lit. 'I sent Taqai and Sükegei as envoys towards you.' *Esergü* is an adverb and postposition meaning 'against, facing, opposite, towards', thus corresponding exactly to *ger. entgegen*. See Buck, 100, no. 33; Poppe 1982, 409. For Taqai and Sükegei, i.e. Sükegei Ĵe'un, cf. §§ 120, 124 and com.

'Furthermore, ... I in person went to receive you' (*basa bi ö'esün ... uqduñ yorčijū*). The verb *uqtu-* (= *mo. uytu-*) 'to greet, receive, welcome' occurs in the SH in the forms *uqdu-* (§§ 177, 252) and *uqtu-* (§ 239). For *t ~ d*, cf. 'Quelques problèmes', 243-244.

For the Bürgi Escarpment (Bürgi Ergi), see above, n. 96. It is evident from §§ 151 and 177 that this place was situated on the upper course of the Kerulen. Whereas § 151 speaks of 'the source of the Kelüren River', our section merely says 'on the Kelüren River.' See above, n. 151, also for the problematic Lake Güse'ür.

The campaign against Toqto'a of the Merkit, at the conclusion of which Ong Qan failed to share the plunder with Činggis Qan, is mentioned in § 157, s.a. 1202, but only Ong Qan figures in it, as Činggis was then fighting against the Tatars (see § 153). This campaign was, however, preceded by a joint raid, in which Ĵamuqa also participated, against Toqto'a to rescue Činggis' wife Börte who had been captured by the Merkit, but this took place before Ong Qan's flight from Erke Qara and Činggis' breakaway from Ĵamuqa (see § 104). The chronology of these events is confused and, as already pointed out by Pelliot, there may have been other campaigns against the Merkit that have been conflated into the two mentioned in the SH. See above, n. 157. As for the locality of the encounter Mürüče Se'ül (? Muruča Se'ül, ? Muručağ Se'ül) near the Qadiqliq (= Qadingliq) Ridge or Mountains (*niru'un*), it must have been situated towards the Selenga and 'il peut s'agir d'une steppe touchant aux montagnes à l'Est de Kiakhta' (HCG, 273). According to Pêrlée², 10, this as yet unidentified place was south of the confluence of the Selenga and the Khilok (Xyolgo) River, on the left (= west) side of the Selenga. Cf. Mu, II, 171, n. 10. For Qadinliq = Qadingliq (tu. Qadingliq 'Having Birch-trees'), see HCG, 272.

'Their grainstores' (*tariyat anu*). For *tariyan* 'grain', see TMEN, nos. 119, 886; RH, 256, no. 15. This is the first occurrence of the word 'grain(s)' in the SH; for its significance cf. Ratchnevsky 1968a, 127, 132, n. 9; idem 1987, 66.

For Činggis' rescue of Ong Qan, the levying of taxes for him and taking him to his 'circular camp' (*güre'en*), see also § 151 and com.

For the campaign against Buyıruq Qan 'the Gücügür' (Güçügürtei Buyıruq Qan; on the ethnicon Gücügürtei, cf. HCG, 306), i.e. of the Gücügür clan of the Naiman (on which see above, n. 141), see § 158 and com.

'And, ... we finished him off' (*moqutqaju abu'ai*), rather than 'et nous l'avons pris et en avons fini avec lui' (Pe, 190), and 'we caught up with him ... and destroyed him' (Ra, VII, 37), since *ab-* is here an auxiliary verb. *Moqutqa-* = *muqutqa-*. See HW, 110, 111; 'Quelques problèmes', 268-269. Cf. above, n. 153.

For the events at Bayıdaraq Belçir and Ong Qan's troop withdrawal under cover of night, see §§ 159-161. For the expression *üdesi jilda* (§ 159: *jilda*) 'as evening fell' (lit. 'evening-late'), and *manaqaru erde* (§ 159: *manaqaru*) 'early tomorrow', cf. Mo, 172-173. See also above, n. 159; and below, n. 240.

For Kökse'ü Sabraq's attack on Senggüm and Činggis Qan's dispatch of the 'four steeds', see §§ 162-163.

For the Telegetü (= Telētü [*<* Telegetü] in § 136) Pass, cf. above, n. 136.

For the form Qudu of the name of Toqto'a eldest son, see above, n. 141. In view of the uncertainty of the reading I have reproduced the forms of the name as found in the SH. The two envoys requested by Činggis were Qulbari Quri and Idürgen. Qulbari (Quri is a title, see above, n. 134) already appeared in § 152 among the nobles and brothers of Ong Qan who had conspired against him. On him, see HCG, 419-420. Idürgen (= Itürgen) appears again, and for the last time – he is executed by Qasar – in § 184. On him, see *ibid.*, 379-380; Bese 1978, 368, no. 20.

The parallel versions of Činggis Qan's 'lament' in the SWCCL¹, 38a-43a and SL², I/2, 127-129 (cf. D'Ohsson, I, 73-77) are at variance with those of the YS² 1, 10, and the SH. See Hambis 1975, 38-39, n. 59; Li, 162-163, n. 177.

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THE SECRET HISTORY
OF THE MONGOLS

*A Mongolian Epic Chronicle
of the Thirteenth Century*

TRANSLATED WITH A HISTORICAL
AND PHILOLOGICAL COMMENTARY

BY

IGOR DE RACHEWILTZ

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§ 178. 'Oh! Sinful that I am!' renders Mongolian *ai soyiluuq*. These two words are not glossed in the interlinear translation, but the sectional summary (Y² 6, 34a) translates the passage as 'Ong Qan, having heard these words, sighed and said ...'. *Ai* is an interjection expressing fear, sorrow, etc., but *soyiluuq* poses a problem, as this word is not attested elsewhere that I know of in Mongolian and was clearly a puzzle also for the Ming translators. Murakami relates it to mo. *süile-* 'to be short of breath; to sniff, sniffle.' See Mu, II, 173, n. 13; cf. Les., 742a. TH, 240 (= JYT, 414) quotes VWTD, IV, 229, where there is an entry for modern Matyri and Sagai *sailyŋ* 'unfortunate, wretched.' Most of the recent translators have adopted this interpretation. See, e.g., Oz¹, IV, 138-139, n. 2; On, 85 (where the word 'poor' ['poor and stupid' in the 2001 ed., 154] is applied to Činggis Qan, not to Ong Qan himself); El-Ar, 532. In my opinion, the modern Turkic meaning of the word is a development of the original Old Turkic meaning of *suyluy* ~ *tsuyluy* 'sinful' (< ch. *tsui* 罪 'sin, crime' + den. noun suff. *-luy*), on which see DTS, 513b, 583b; ED, 556a. In view of the Nestorian-Turkish background of the Kereyit chief, and the numerous borrowings from Uighur in the SH, the use of such a loan-word is perfectly plausible if not certain. In this case Ong Qan's utterance can of course only be applied to himself vis-à-vis his 'son.'

'By abandoning my son ... I parted from my duty.' A literal translation of the poetic passage would be: 'To abandon my son?/So I did, and thereby I abandoned the norm./To part from him?/So I did, and thereby I parted from my duty (or obligations).' See Mo, 101; Cl, 106. Cf. Waley 1960, 527. The second couplet restates and strengthens the idea expressed in the first couplet.

For the expression *dura alja'at* 'pained in his heart', cf. above, n. 173.

'He pricked the ball (*tol*) of his little finger (*šigi quru'un*).' In an unpublished note by Pelliot on the word *tol* we read: '*tol*

(*töl-i*) ou *tol-i*, ou *toli*, *töli*, gras du bout du doigt.’ Other scholars have adduced further evidence from Inner Mongolian dialects to the effect that *toli* does indeed mean ‘the fatty part of the finger’, i.e. ‘the pad.’ See Oz¹, IV, 140, n. 5. Thus, the previous renderings of *toli* as ‘tip (of the finger)’ must be discarded. For *šigi quru’un* (= mo. *quruŋun*) ‘little finger’, cf. MA, 333a: *šikēi qurūn*, and mo. *sigeči quruŋu*, *sigejei quruŋun*, *čigejei quruŋun* id. See DO, 614b, s.v. ‘*šige’tš’i*.’

For *daqtai* (= mo. *daytai*) ‘a small birch-bark casket’, cf. DO, 112a; Serruys 1981, 116; Gantogto 1994, 144-146.

On the symbolic act of pricking one’s finger when making a solemn oath, see Li, 163, n. 178; Serruys 1958, 288ff. Cf. also Meserve 2000, 45.

§ 179. ‘Činggis Qa’an also sent the following verbal message to sworn friend Ĵamuqa’, lit. ‘Činggis Qa’an again spoke, saying, “Tell sworn friend Ĵamuqa”, he sent, saying.’

‘You cannot bear the sight of me’ (*üjen yadaŋu*), i.e. ‘you hate me.’ Cf. ru. *nenavidet’*, lit. ‘not to look willingly at’ = ‘to hate.’

The ‘blue cup’ (*kökö čung*) was, according to the sectional summary (Y² 6, 37b), the cup used by Ong Qan to drink mare’s milk, i.e. kumis. Cf. SWCCL¹, 45a; SL², I/2, 130; Mu, II, 181, n. 1. Whereas the SH puts the reference to Ong Qan’s cup in Činggis’ message to Ĵamuqa, both the SWCCL and SL introduce it in the message to Töril (To’oril, Toyoril) of the Söge’en tribe (on whom see above, n. 166) – one of the many differences between the SH and the other two sources in the account of this episode. There is no mention in any of the sources, including the SH, to the fact that Činggis Qan and Ĵamuqa had at any time lived together with Ong Qan. The reference to the blue cup of Ong Qan must, therefore, be taken as a literary device within the context of Činggis’ threat to Ĵamuqa implied in the rhetorical question ‘How much more will you be able to consume?’ Čung is, probably, ch. *chung* 鍾 ‘cup, goblet.’ See TMEN, no. 186; Oz¹, IV, 148-149, n. 3. Blue ware

of Chinese manufacture was used by the Mongols, as evident from archaeological finds at Qara Qorum. See TMo, 99. Large blue chinaware (kh. *šaazan bar*) is still used today in Mongolia for kumis ready to be served.

On Altan and Qučar see above, n. 166. The passage ‘When you rejected me ... after you had consulted *only* among yourselves?’ is translated and discussed in Mo, 101-102. Mostaert’s interpretation, which I follow here, is at variance with Pelliot’s rendering (Pe, 192) which is followed by Ligeti (Li, 71; 163, n. 179). ‘After you had consulted *only* among yourselves’, i.e. ‘by scheming against me in secret.’ Cf. El-Ar, 537, n. 9.

With regard to Činggis’ claim that he had urged Altan and Qučar to assume the leadership of the Mongols, we must remember that Nekün Taiši was an elder brother of Činggis’ father Yisügei, and that Qučar was, therefore, a senior cousin of Činggis Qan. Altan was the son of Qutula Qan and was thus a cousin of Yisügei. That is why Činggis calls him also ‘uncle Altan.’ See § 122 and com. When these reproaches were made, Sača and Taiču had been dead for some time, their execution going back to 1196-1197 (see § 136 and com.). Here they are called ‘the sons of Bartan Ba’atur’ which is a mistake for ‘the sons of Barqaq Ba’atur.’ The same error occurs in SL², I/2, 130, which indicates that in this particular instance both accounts follow the same tradition, which is at variance with the statements in the SH, §§ 49 and 122. Barqaq is, of course, Ökin Barqaq, who in § 140 is called simply Barqaq, but Barqa(q) Bādu(r) in the parallel account in SWCCL¹, 43a, which confirms the erroneous form in our passage. Ökin Barqaq was the eldest son of Qabul Qan, and Sača and Taiču were actually the grandsons of Ökin Barqaq, hence the word ‘sons’ (*kö’ün*) must be taken here *sensu lato* as meaning ‘offspring’ (mmo. *hači kö’ün*), as also in the SWCCL¹, loc. cit., where they are called *tsu* 子 (for *sun* 孫 ‘grandsons’?). It should be noted that in the corresponding section of the YS² (1, 11), Sača and Taiču are called ‘the descendants (*i* 裔) of the elder brother of my (i.e.

Činggis Qan's) grandfather Barqa(q)', thus clearly indicating that the term used in connection with Barqaq (Ba'atur) is one meaning 'offspring', not 'sons.' In any event, they belonged to the senior line vis-à-vis Činggis Qan – what the SWCCL¹, loc. cit., calls 'the generation above (= earlier, antecedent)' (*shang-pei* 上輩), and the SH *de'ere-eče* 'from a generation above.' This is because Ökin Barqaq was the elder brother of Bartan Ba'atur, the second son of Qabul Qan, and Činggis Qan was the grandson of Bartan Ba'atur. Therefore, I have rendered *de'ere-eče* as 'from the senior line.' Mostaert (*apud* Cl, 108, n. 44) proposed a somewhat different restoration of the passage in question, but he did not take into account the parallel version of the SWCCL which gives the correct reading Barqaq Bādur. Cf. Oz¹, IV, 151-152, n. 6; MJK, 10. This whole section down to 'I was unable to obtain their consent' has been translated rather freely. For a more literal translation, see Cl, 107. Cf. also Street 1986a, 19-21.

'Because my urging you to become *qan* had no effect, when I was told by you to be the *qan* I governed the people', lit. 'saying to you, "Become *qans!*", I was unable to convince you, and being said by you, "You become *qan!*", I have been governing the people.' Cf. *Lettres*, 82.

'With Heaven's protection', lit. 'if I had been protected by Heaven.'

The poetic passage in this section repeats in the first person some of the commitments made by Altan, Qučar and Sača Beki at the time of Temüjin's election as reported in § 123, using by and large the same wording. These commitments, focussed on the duties towards one's chief in a hunt, are a clear expression of allegiance and loyalty towards the *qan*. Cf. Ratchnevsky 1987, 68.

'Now, be the good companions of my father the Qan.' Cf. the same words addressed by Ĵamuqa to Altan and Qučar with regard to his 'sworn friend Temüjin' in § 127.

'You grow easily tired of your friends' (*uyidangqa*). Cf. § 118, where the same expression is used by Börte with reference to Ĵamuqa. In both cases, the meaning is that the loyalty of the person(s) in question cannot be counted upon. In the next sentence, Činggis Qan refers to himself as the *ča'ut quri*, a variant, and probably incorrect, reading of *ja'ut quri*, the title that he had been given by Wan-yen Hsiang of Chin. See § 134 and com. My interpretation of this passage which reads, literally, 'Do not make one say, "It was only the support (*turuq*) of the *ča'ut quri*,"' is based on the paraphrase in the sectional summary (Y² 6, 38a; cf. Wa, 269) and on the parallel passage in SL², I/2, 130, which is at variance with that in SWCCL¹, 45b. What Činggis Qan means is that Altan and Qučar must not, through their behaviour, confirm the rumour that their past achievements were due to the help of Činggis Qan, on whom they entirely depended, and that without him they would be worthless fellows. Cf. Cl, 109; Street 1986, 26. For the term *turuq* 'support', see above, n. 167; and Oz¹, IV, 155-156, n. 12. However, in the parallel accounts of the SWCCL¹ (loc. cit.) and SL² (loc. cit.), it is Ong Qan who is accused by Činggis Qan of being 'easily tired of his friends', and 'irritable and unsteady', i.e. fickle. And, in the corresponding section of the YS² 1, 11, Činggis refers to Ong Qan as 'unstable by nature', thus confirming the other two sources from which the report ultimately derives. In view of this, I wonder whether originally the *uyidangqa* of our passage could refer to Ong Qan, who has just been mentioned, rather than to Altan and Qučar, who in the present text are indicated by the pronoun *ta* 'you' following *ke'ekde'üjei* 'I fear people might say' (lit. 'I fear it is said') and thus joined to it by the connecting bracket (see Y² 6, 37a, line 3). I think it is possible that *ta* 'you' is the subject of the following sentence, i.e. *ta ča'ut quri-yin ... ke'e'ülükün*, in which case the sentence with *uyidangqa* should read: 'I fear he is said to grow easily tired of his friends.' 'Don't let it be said ... *ča'ut quri*', i.e. 'Don't act in such a way that one says, "If they have

achieved something, they owe it to the support of the *ča'ut qur'*.' [A.M.]

In spite of their differences, the SH, Rašīd al-Dīn and the SWCCL all contain the reference to the *ča'ut quri*. It is not clear, however, why Činggis Qan should refer to himself by this title on this particular occasion; Pelliot has nothing to say on the subject in HCG, nor in his notice in NMP, I, 291-295. The only explanation (admittedly not very satisfactory) is that, although this title in itself was rather insignificant, it may have meant much to Činggis Qan, just as that of *ong qan* (= *wang* 王 *qan*) meant so much to To'oril that he had actually adopted it as an epithet-name and used it in preference to his real name. It is also possible that among the people who had not recognized his claim to leadership and his election as *qan*, Činggis was generally known as 'the *ča'ut* (or *ja'ut*) *quri*', i.e. by the only title he had and one given to him by a foreign nation traditionally hostile to the Mongols. There is, perhaps, a subtle irony in his remark which would not have been lost on Altan and Qučar. Cf. On, 86, n. 221.

'Do not let anyone settle at the source of the Three Rivers!' – i.e. in the ancestral territory of the Mongols. This is a reminder to Altan and Qučar that, although they now sided with Ong Qan of the Kereyit, they were still Mongol tribesmen of royal lineage, duty-bound to protect and preserve the ancestral land in the region where the 'three rivers' (*qurban müret*), viz. the Onon, the Tūla and the Kerulen, have their source, the region in question being the Khentei area with Burqan Qaldun/Khentei Khan as its centre. Cf. SL², I/2, 130; SWCCL¹, 44a; and YS² I, 11.

§ 180. The To'oril (w.f. Toyoril; see above, n. 96) to whom Činggis Qan addresses his reproaches is To'oril of the Söge'en tribe (Söge'etei To'oril) of § 166. He was a descendant of domestic slaves of Činggis' family, and, being born in the family, he had received the affectionate designation of 'younger brother' (*de'ü*). Cf. Kałużyński 1978, 124. These 'slaves'

(*bo'ol* = *ötögü* ~ *ötegü bo'ol*) were hereditary slaves whose status was rather that of vassals. See above, n. 137. Cf. HCG, 85-86; Li, 163, n. 180; and, for the passage in question, also Vlad.², 81.

On Tumbinai and Čaraqai Lingqu see §§ 47 and 48. Tumbinai Sečen was the father of Qabul Qan and, therefore, Činggis' great-grandfather. As for Čaraqai Lingqu, he was the second son of Qaidu and father of Ambaqai Qan. Činggis must refer to a raid or campaign carried out jointly by his great-grandfather and Čaraqai Lingqu in which Oqda (w.f. Oγda), the ancestor of To'oril, was taken prisoner and whose descendants then became the hereditary slaves of Qabul Qan's descendants. Cf. Hambis 1975, 39, n. 61. Thus, both Oqda and his son Sübegei are called *bo'ol*; however, this designation must be regarded as an epithet, and hence as part of their names, as indicated by Pelliot and Ligeti (Pe, 192-193; L², 138 – but strangely not in Li, 72!) – on the basis of Rašīd al-Dīn (SL², I/2, 130: Noqta Bool *pro* Oqta Bool) and the SWCCL (SWCCL³, 105b: No[q]ta = Oqta; cf. HCG, 332-333). Besides being used as an epithet, *Bo'ol* (> *Böl*) was also used as a proper name by the Mongols, as in the case of Muqali's famous son. See ISK, 8-9. Cf. also *Chapitre CVII*, 54 (19), and *Chapitre CVIII*, 179a (Index). A name combination like Oqda *Bo'ol* and Sübegei *Bo'ol* is comparable to combinations like Buqa Güregen ('Son-in-Law Buqa'), Temüge Odčigin ('Youngest Son Temüge'), Alčiq Ba'urči ('Steward Alčiq'), Toqto'a Bö'e ('Shaman Toqto'a'), etc., where the person is described by the position he or she occupies in the family or in society.

Sübegei B'ol's son Kököčü Kirsā'an is mentioned only in § 180 of the SH, whereas the latter's son Yegei Qongtaqar's name appears in § 120 in the variant form Jegei Qongdaqor. In the SWCCL¹, 44b, these two names appear in the forms Kököčü Kirsān and Jegei Qongtoqar, whereas Rašīd al-Dīn (SL², I/2, 130) writes Kōkečü Kirsā(n) and Yege Qongtaqar (the form of the latter is rather corrupt in the mss.).

‘The threshold slave (*bosoqa-yin bo’ol*)/Of my great-great-grandfather (*borqai*)/The personal door slave (*e’üden emčü bo’ol*)/Of my great-grandfather (*elinčüg*).’ Cf. §§ 137 and 211; and Li, 163, n. 180. For the obsolete term *borqai* (~ *borqa*, pl. *borqan*) ‘great-great-grandfather’, and for *elinčüg* (~ *elinčig*; mo. *elinčeg*, *elenčeg*, *elünče*), see Oz¹, IV, 161-162, n. 3; TMEN, no. 29; Cleaves 1949, 104-105, n. 56; DO, 532b.

‘Such is my message for you’, lit. ‘Such I send, saying.’

§ 181. ‘A son born clothed ... a son born naked’, i.e. an adopted son (who, when adopted, was already wearing clothes), and a natural son. In this idiom, the first *döröksen* (= mo. *törögsen*) ‘born’, although literally incorrect, is used for parallelism. Cf. Če, 399, n. 338.

‘Because you were jealous that I might come between *you and our father*’ (*ja’ura oroqdaqui-ača ... naidaju* [= *nayidaju*]). *Ja’ura oroqdaqui-ača* means literally ‘from (= because of) I might come in between’, with the passive of the nomen futuri expressing necessity or, as here, strong probability. Cf. Poppe 1964, 375. The interlinear gloss has, in fact, 其間恐入行 (the character 行 is here a mere case indicator = *-ača*), where *k’ung* 恐 = *k’ung-p’a* 恐怕 ‘probably, perhaps’ – a meaning confirmed by the sectional summary which renders these words as ‘You thought that I would probably (恐怕) rise before (= take precedence over) you’ (Y² 6, 43a). Cf. Wa, 270. However, the sectional summary’s rendering of *ja’ura oro-* as ‘to rise before’ (攬...先) is too free, for it disregards *ja’ura* ‘between.’ Cleaves’ translation ‘From the fact that thou [wast afraid that thou] mightest be supplanted [by me]’ (Cl, 109-110) is, strictly speaking, also not quite accurate for the same reason. In the passage under discussion, Senggüm is called ‘sworn friend’ (*anda*) by Činggis Qan. This may mean that on the occasion when Ong Qan and Činggis Qan had declared themselves father and son respectively (§ 164), Činggis had also sworn an oath of *anda*-ship with Ong Qan’s son Senggüm – an event which is, however, not recorded in the SH. In the parallel passage in SL²,

I/2, 131, and SWCCL¹, 46b, Senggüm is likewise called *anda*. It should be noted in this connection that, according to Rašid al-Dīn, Činggis Qan was also in an *anda* relationship with Ong Qan’s younger brother Jaqa Gambu. Cf. HCG, 236. This fact is equally ignored by the SH. However, from Senggüm’s remarks a few lines down, it seems that Činggis uses the term *anda* with regard to him for the first time in this message and is, therefore, behaving hypocritically. On *naidaju* for *nayidaju*, cf. ‘Quelques problèmes’, 265-266.

‘Always be of comfort to him’, lit. ‘go on comforting *him*’ (*sergü’ejü yabu*). Cf. Mo, 237, n. 221.

Bilge Beki has already been mentioned in § 142. Tödö’en’s identity is uncertain: he does not seem to be related to any of the known personages by the same name, which was a fairly common one at the time. For its meaning, see above, n. 46. The Mongol text literally reads: ‘Send the companions of Bilge Beki and Tödö’en’ (*Bilge Beki Tödö’en qoyar-un nököd-i ile*), which is odd: who are the ‘companions’ of Bilge Beki and Tödö’en? Pe, 193, renders this passage as follows: ‘Ceci dit, *anda* Sänggüm, [envoie-moi] les deux, Bilgä-bäki et Tödö’en; [si tu n’envoies pas les deux], envoie [du moins] le second.’ Note 1 on the same page reads: ‘Faire note sur correction.’ Pelliot’s emendation has no doubt been prompted by the parallel text of Rašid al-Dīn (SL², I/2, 131), and the SWCCL¹, 46a. The manuscript of the SH used by the Ming translators was almost certainly corrupt at this point and the word *nököji* ‘the second one’ was misread by them as *nököd-i*. Cf. the identical phrase at the end of § 177, which, in my view, is conclusive (in the sectional summary [Y² 6, 43a] our passage is not translated). I have, therefore, amended the passage in question in my translation. As Ligeti points out (Li, 163, n. 181), according to the rules of the exchange of envoys, Činggis Qan sends his two envoys Arqai Qasar and Sügegei Je’ün and expects in return two envoys from each of the people to whom he has sent his verbal message.

In this section Altan and Qučar are mentioned for the last time as being alive. Concerning their fate, the SH, § 246, makes Činggis say to Mōnglik that had he known his (Mōnglik's) nature was like that, i.e. that he wanted to compete with Činggis Qan, he would have dealt with him as he had dealt with 'Jamuqa, Altan, Qučar and the others' – implying, of course, that he would have killed him. Cf. also § 255. That Činggis eventually disposed of 'uncle' Altan is also confirmed by Rašīd al-Dīn, who states that he was executed together with Dāritai and Qučar after the defeat of Tayang of the Naiman in 1204. See SL², I/1, 135; I/2, 47, 48. Cf. HCG, 68. However, the SH piously avoids any direct mention of Činggis' murder of his uncles and in § 242 says that Dāritai was actually pardoned. (Cf. the 'sanitized' version of Jamuqa's execution in § 201.) See Hambis 1975, 16, nn. 26, 27; 19, n. 34. Ačiq Širun already appeared in § 170 as the leader of the Tūmen Tūbegen; and Qači'un is probably the Qači'un Beki of §§ 141 and 166, a chief of the Dörben. See HCG, 402.

'And he had these messages conveyed by word of mouth', lit. 'sent such words (= messages), making them deliver by voice.' 'When the messages', lit. 'when those words.'

For *keli* 'when?', cf. Mo, 174, n. 157.

For *kidu'ači* (= mo. *kidu'ači* < *kidu-* 'to kill' + dev. noun suff. *-ači*, mmo. *-'ači*) 'murderer, assassin', cf. Ligeti 1970, 303-304 and n. 65; Mostaert *apud* Cleaves 1954a, 448-449, n. 23.

The text literally says 'Shaman (*bö'e*) Toqto'a goes on (*yabuyu*) attaching to himself the tail of a Sartaq sheep.' This must have been a popular saying or proverb, the meaning of which was no longer understood at the end of the 14th century, at least not by the Ming translators of the SH, as evident from the sectional summary which does not provide an explanation, merely saying: 'Old Master Toqto'a joining to himself the tail of a Hui-hui (= Central Asian) sheep' (Y² 6, 43a). The parallel passage in SL², I/2, 131, is unfortunately also of no help. However, in SH, § 275, there is another reference to a tail being attached to a human being. There we read that Harqasun, the

son of Eljigidei, speaking contemptuously of Batu, said, 'Let's attach a wooden tail to them!' (*modun se'ül jübčiya* [= *jübčiyē*] *teden-i*) – 'them' referring to the 'old women with beards' and the 'old women with quivers' to whom Batu had been compared. This was said in mockery. The words that Senggüm puts into Činggis' mouth are probably along the same line, i.e. something laughable, to poke fun at, like a shaman wearing a large sheep's tail. 'Shaman Toqto'a' was in all likelihood a character in a popular story, possibly existing also as a toy or plaything for children. This interpretation is also supported by the corresponding passage in one of the manuscripts of the SWCCL (quoted by Wang Kuo-wei in SWCCL¹, 47a; cf. SWCCL³, 113a) which reads: 'He (i.e. Činggis Qan) regarded me merely as a toy (玩物)', viz., as something amusing, not serious, but the reference to a 'toy' may be significant. Cf. Ong Qan's words in § 164: 'There is only Senggüm, my one son, but it is as if he did not exist', implying that he was a nonentity. Nevertheless, my interpretation remains speculative and other interpretations are indeed possible. See, e.g., Mu, II, 180, nn. 192-193, where the author provides an ingenious explanation of these derogatory words by relating them to the Uriangqai custom described in SL², I/1, 123. Cf. also Wa, 270; Ja, 240 (§ 181), n. 1; Cl, 110, n. 51; Do¹, 165, n. 12; On, 87 and n. 225; Γa, 353-354, n. 539; Ev-Pop, 139, and 284, n. 46. (With regard to the latter, I doubt whether Toqto'a Bö'e can be identified with Toqto'a Beki, as there is no evidence to support the claim that the Merkit leader was a shaman.) For Pelliot (Pe, 193, n. 3), Senggüm's words refer to a shamanistic ritual, but he does not elaborate; and his statement 'Je crois qu'il existe une deuxième mention plus loin à propos de Tāb-tāngri' is incorrect. Pelliot was probably thinking of Eljigidei's words about Batu cited above. The term *bö'e* (= mo. *böge*) 'shaman, sorcerer' appears here for the first time, and it occurs only five other times in the SH (in the plural *bö'es*, and all in § 272), i.e. very seldom considering the importance of these personages in Mongolian society. For this term and the role of the shaman, see TMEN,

no. 112 (also for further references to Mongolian and Turkish shamanism); IBČ, 198-200; CA, 142-143, 506; ASTJ, 122-134; and G. Kara in *Shaman* 5:1997, 178. The ‘Sartaq sheep’ (*sartaqčīn qonin*) refers to the fat-tailed *dumba* of Uzbekistan and the Kirghiz steppe, whose young is the source of the astrakhan fur. For these sheep with spectacular tails, already mentioned by Marco Polo (see MP¹, I, 120-121; MP², I, 97, 100, n. 2; hence the specific name *Ovis Poli* given to it), see also GPS, 75. For the fat-tailed sheep of Inner Mongolia and north China, cf. SSWI, 19 et passim; fig. 3 on p. 40. For *sartaq* ‘Muslim; any native of Central and Western Asia’, see above, n. 152. For the form *Sartaqčīn* (= pmo. *Sartaqčīn*), i.e. *Sartaq* + the denominal noun suffix *-čīn* on which cf. HCG, 253, see *ibid.*; Cleaves 1949, 101, n. 33; MŪIT, 2822b, no. 459; Poppe 1975, 164; and above, n. 152. For its later usage, see, e.g., TBGC, 39. See below, n. 182, for the form *Sartaqtai*. The verb *jūbčī-* ‘to attach, join, put on’ (§§ 171, 210, 275; cf. HW, 93) is obsolete. On it, cf. TH, 305 (= JYT, 530); Oz¹, IV, 171-172, n. 8. *Yabu-* is merely an auxiliary verb of continuity. Cf. above, n. 15.

‘They are the words that precede a fight’, lit. ‘they are the first words of fighting.’

It is not clear which To’oril is the one with whom Sügegei’s family was staying at the time, To’oril Ong Qan (who in the SH is very seldom referred to simply as To’oril), or To’oril the former domestic slave of Činggis Qan (see § 180), who was now with Ong Qan. Cl, 266b, is of the opinion that Ong Qan is meant here, but since both Sügegei Je’ün and To’oril the domestic slave are the sons of Jegei Qongdaqor (~ Yegei Qongtaqar; see §§ 120, 180), it follows that our To’oril is indeed Činggis’ domestic slave and ‘younger brother’ mentioned in the previous section. Cf. HCG, 129; Ev-Pop, 139.

‘Sügegei Je’ün did not have the courage to go with Arqai and stayed behind’, lit. ‘The heart (= courage) to go failing *him*, Sügegei Je’ün fell behind from Arqai.’

§ 182. The situation of Lake Baljuna, which is called a river (河) in YS² 1, 11, and SWCCL¹, 47b, and is simply designated as a ‘place’ (*mevza* ʾ) in SL², I/2, 126, 131 (but one with springs and scanty water, see *ibid.*, 132, 251; cf. also I/1, 215a), has been the object of much investigation owing to the famous ‘covenant’ which, however, is not mentioned in the SH. See HCG, 37-39 (esp. pp. 42-49); Poppe 1956, 39-41; Pèrlèè², 6 (= Pèrlèè⁴, 86: Balžuna Nuur); Hung 1956, 20-24, n. 4; Mu, II, 200-202; IEDGMT, 27; and CKMKS, 168-169 (4). Cf. CW, 134-136; GK, 82; ISK, 14, 98, 114, 381; and, especially, Cleaves 1955a, and Stang 1985, for the so-called ‘Baljuna covenant’; and TMEN, no. 59, for the ‘Baljuna companions’ (*Baljūnatu*). Pelliot does not give a definite identification and says that it was located ‘vers le cours inférieur du Kerulen’ (HCG, 47). For Poppe (*loc. cit.*), Lake Baljuna corresponds to Lake Belezino (51° N 113°/114° E), from which originates the Tura River in the Buriat Republic, thus agreeing with earlier investigators (cf. HCG, 45-46; SL², I/1, 135, n. 3). According to Pèrlèè (*loc. cit.*), it is probably present-day Balž Bulag (‘Balž Spring’), formerly known as Baltun Naur, which empties into the Mogoit River, an affluent of the Khalkha, at 48° N 119° E. In the light of the reconstruction of events by Cleaves (1955a, esp. pp. 391-392), the Baljuna – stream or lake – must have been in the proximity of the Qalaqaljīt Sands south of the Khalkha River (see above, n. 170), which makes Pèrlèè’s identification geographically the most plausible. Regarding the sequence of events, I agree with Kao Pao-ch’üan (*apud* Cleaves, *loc. cit.*) and Cleaves (*loc. cit.*) that Činggis’ stay at Baljuna must be placed after the timely warning of Badai and Kišiliq; and with Pelliot (HCG, 46-47), that it occurred very soon *after* the encounter with Ong Qan’s forces at the Qalaqaljīt Sands, which amounted to an actual reverse for Činggis and his followers. Cf. ČK¹, 67 (= ČK², 73). For a further discussion of this problem, see below, n. 183.

The chief of the Qorulas is called here Čo’os Čaqan (= Čaqān), whereas the same personage is called Čonaq Čaqa’an in § 141. The correct reading is either Čo’oq Čaqa’an or Čo’os

Čaqa'an (> Čaqān), most probably the former. See above, n. 141.

Digit Quri = Tigit Quri. *Tigit* is the (honorific) plural of *tu.tigin* (< *tegin*) 'prince', and *quri* is a title of unknown origin. See HCG, 205-206; NMP, I, 294-295. Cf. above, n. 134. For *tigin* ~ *tegin* (SH *digin*, see § 239), cf. also TMEN, no. 922; CLC, 317; Rybatzki 2000, 215. Together they form the hybrid title borne by Alaquš (= *tu. ala quš* 'mottled bird'), the leader of the Önggüt. Cf. Cleaves 1949a, 527-528. On Alaquš see Pelliot 1914, 631; HCG, 378-379; *Chapitre CVIII*, 25, n. 8; Li, 165-166, n. 190; RCAC, 261-263; Chou CS 1979, 150-153. For *t* ~ *d* in the SH, see 'Quelques problèmes', 243-244. The Önggüt, mentioned here for the first time, occupied a vast territory in and beyond the Ordos region of Inner Mongolia, along the present Great Wall line and as far as Kalgan (Changchia k'ou), and even further east. With regard to the extension of their territory, in 1890 a Nestorian cemetery was discovered at Shih-chu-tzu-liang 石柱子梁, some 60 km north of Kalgan. 'Rough brown stone "columns" with lotuses and crosses roughly hewn, many also without crosses, were found there. The cemetery, which was never excavated, was undoubtedly from the Önggüt.' [H.S.p.c.] See NDRC, 426 and pl. xv. They were a Turkish tribe that had been settled near the great bend of the Yellow River by the T'ang court in the 9th century. They had been converted to the Nestorian faith, but in the 13th century they were already very much sinicized. In 1204 Alaquš pledged his support to Činggis Qan and sealed the alliance by giving his younger son Po-yao-ho 孛要合 (*Boyoqa) in marriage to Činggis' daughter Alaqai Begi. This marriage alliance between the Mongol and Önggüt courts continued under subsequent reigns, the Önggüt ruler being thus regularly called 'imperial son-in-law' (ch. *fu-ma* 駙馬 = *mmo. güregen*, *mo. kürgen*; see above, n. 66). See YS² 118, 2923-2928; Pelliot 1914, 629ff.; RCAC, 261-267; NCHK, 62-64; Dauvillier 1948, 303-305; CC, 93 et passim; NDRC, 423-427; WCAC, 319; Buell 1978; idem 1994, 168-169 and n. 2; ISK, 788b (Index); the quite important

contribution Chou CS 1979 (cf. also CKMKSC, 227-240); YShi, 107-108; Bese 1988, 31; and numerous other studies which have appeared in China since 1980, for which see the short notices in *CKSYCTT* and *CKYSYC* (1980-). One must also take into account the interesting archaeological discoveries made in the last decades in Inner Mongolia, the results of which have been published in Chinese archaeological journals such as *KG*, and other academic publications from Inner Mongolia. An analysis and evaluation of this great mass of information is now imperative.

The passage concerning the meeting of Asan with Činggis Qan at Lake Baljuna has been translated and discussed by Pelliot in HCG, 46-47. The merchant Asan (= pers., arab. Ḥasan) 'the Sartaq' (see below) was one of the many central and western Asian Muslims that engaged in trade along the ancient caravan routes of Inner Asia. See Pelliot 1927a, 264-268; Boyle 1956, 150, n. 25; Hambis 1975, 7, n. 11, 18, n. 31; Serruys 1982a, 127; CEME, passim. For the name Ḥasan, cf. BT, II, 369c. Barthold suggested that he is probably to be identified with the trader Ḥasan Ḥājjī mentioned by Juvainī, who became a trusted friend and follower of Činggis Qan. He was slain by the inhabitants of Suqnaq or Siqnaq near Uṭrār (i.e. Otrar, about 10 km north of Tumen-Aryk in Kazakhstan). See HWC, 86-87 and nn. 2, 3; TDMI, 414. Cf. SL², I/2, 199 and n. 5. Cleaves, on the other hand, identifies him with Ha-san-na 哈散納, one of the nineteen participants in the Baljuna covenant, who has a biography in the YS² 122, 3016. See Cleaves 1955a, 399 and 403. However, the latter was a Kereyit and from his biography it is quite clear that he and Ḥasan Ḥājjī are two separate individuals. Cf. CEME, 41-42. Pelliot (1927a, 264-268) does not, in fact, relate the Ha-san-na of the YS with either the Asan of the SH, or with Juvainī's Ḥasan Ḥājjī, suggesting as possible reconstructions of his original name *Qasana or *Qasanaq, *Hasana ('Asana) or *Hasanaq ('Asanaq). I also think that we are dealing with two individuals, viz. the Muslim trader Asan (=Ḥasan) of the SH who *may* be identified with Ḥasan Ḥājjī, and

the Kereyit Ha-san-na who took part in the Baljuna covenant. The similarity of their names is purely coincidental. Our Asan met Činggis for the first time at Lake Baljuna and it is most unlikely that he would have joined there and then Činggis' old companions in drinking the muddy water of the lake to seal their friendship. The participants in the covenant, people like Sübe'etei, Čingqai, the Yeh-lü brothers, Süge, etc., were all Činggis' companions who had fought Ong Qan and 'who had shared his joys and sorrows', as we learn from their respective biographies (Cleaves 1955a, 397-402); this fact alone would automatically exclude the prosperous Muslim trader, who is probably mentioned at this juncture because he helped Činggis and his followers by supplying them with food in the form of the sheep he had with him, thereby earning Činggis' gratitude and eventual employment. As noted by Serruys (1982a, 127), '(H)asan must have imported something from the Western Asian countries, but: one does not import sheep into Mongolia! Whatever Hasan had imported in the first place, he had already exchanged for sheep which he now wanted to trade for pelts. Furthermore one must also keep in mind that sheep cannot travel long distances without deteriorating fast. Hasan may well have imported a variety of manufactured goods including textiles, to be exchanged for Mongol products, which by the time he reached the extreme northeastern corner of Mongolia, had been exchanged for sheep, to be bartered for pelts. Pelts are a product easy to transport, and one may guess, they constituted Hasan's final acquisition to be taken back to the west.' Cf. also ČK¹, 66 (= ČK², 72).

The form Sartaqtai (= pmo. Sartaytai) appears here for the first time. Like Sarta'ul and Sartaqčın, it is formed on Sartaq. See above, nn. 152 and 181. For the denominal noun 'suffix d'appartenance' *-tai*, see GWM, 44, § 138; Bese 1974, 92 (3.1.3: Qori.lar.tai); MÜIT, 2766a, no. 385 (3). Cf. pmo. *silamtai* 'Christian' ('Trois documents', 459-460).

§ 183. Činggis' brother Joči Qasar's eldest son was called Yekü, but Yegü in this section as well as in §§ 269, 280, because of the frequent passage of the voiceless velar stop *k* to its voiced counterpart *g* in the SH, as in the case of words like *gürdiin* for *kürdiin*, *gü'ün* for *kü'ün*, *jirüge* for *jirüke*, etc. Cf. 'Quelques problèmes', 240. On him see HWC, 184; SL², I/2, 52, 277; *Successors*, 204; *Chapitre CVII*, 24 and n. 1 (also for references to the Chinese sources).

My reason for reading Yisüngge rather than the usually accepted form Yesüngge (cf. NMP, I, 309; *Chapitre CVII*, 178b [Index]; Pe, 62, 194; Ha, 71; Ko, 139; Da¹, 153 [Yesünggei]; Mu, II, 194; Oz¹, IV, 178; Ir, 160; El-Ar, 547; Ta, 107; Če, 148; Cl, 111; Ev-Pop, 345b; see also Rybatzki 2000, 221) is not only because this name is formed on the word *yisiin* 'nine', like Yisügei and Yisüi, but also because Yisüngge is the reading found in the text in Uighur-Mongol script of the famous stele in his honour, the so-called 'Stone of Chingis.' See de Rachewiltz 1976, 489, 500, n. 24. The Chinese character *yeh* 也 (like its homophone 耶) in initial position can transcribe either mmo. *ye-* or *yi-*. Cf. HCG, 2; *Chapitre CVII*, 24-25, n. 3. I think we may be dealing also with some dialect variation (Yisüngge ~ Yesüngge), which then allows for either reading. The reading Yisüngge has been adopted by Ligeti (Li, 73), Bese (in Bese 1974, 92, 93), and, more recently, Gaadamba (Γa, 108). For Yisüngge, besides de Rachewiltz 1976 and *Chapitre CVII*, loc. cit., see also HWC, 184 and n. 22; SL², I/2, 52, 231, 277; *Successors*, 372b (Index); Farquhar 1966, 362-368; and X. Nyambuu et al. in *Mongolica* 10 (31):2000, 197. He is mentioned again in § 269, where his name is incorrectly transcribed as Yisünge. For *n > ng*, cf. above, n. 1; for the denominal noun suffix *-ge*, cf. Poppe 1975, 167.

As for Qasar's third son Tuqu, who appears only once in the SH and whose name alternates with Toqu in the Chinese sources, see SL², I/2, 52, 277; *Chapitre CVII*, 24, and 25, n. 4.

For the passage 'Qasar ... Činggis Qan', cf. Mo, 41-42 and 176. It should be noted that, in this passage, the names of

Qasar's three sons are followed by the 'enclitic' *-tan*, on which see above, n. 72. In this particular case, *-tan(-ten)*, just as its Chinese counterpart *teng* 等, usually meaning 'and others, and the like, etcetera', plays merely the role of the conjunction 'and', as evident from the context. One wonders whether *mmo-tan/-ten* and *ch. teng* (**təng*) may originally be related – a question deserving further investigation. Cf. Oz¹, III, 209, n. 1.

'The ridges of Qara'un Jidun.' In the early 13th century, Qara'un Jidun ('Dark [or Black] Ridge') designated a mountainous area at the easternmost limit of Mongolia, to be identified with the western ridges of the southern Great Khingan Range, possibly the western slopes of Mount Soyolji (Soyolž Uul) at 46° 31' N 119° 20' E. It was definitely not further west in the Onon and Khentei area, as suggested by other investigators (e.g. Boyle 1973, 75). I have discussed the problem of the identification of Qara'un Jidun in considerable detail in Ra, VI, 60-63. It is not necessary, therefore, to repeat my argument here, except to mention that the above identification has also been adopted in the CKA, 24, 55a. For Mount Soyolji, cf. Franke W 1945, 11, n.35; idem 1949, 15. Our text says that, in his search for Činggis, Qasar climbed 'the ridges' (*niru'ut*) of Qara'un Jidun, a pleonasm similar to our 'crossing the Gobi desert.' We do not know which of the many ridges of the Khingan system east of the Buir Nör these were, and I think we should not take the reference too literally, as the author is dramatizing in this passage Qasar's anxious search for his elder brother. In fact, according to Rašid al-Dīn, Qasar had been living separately from Činggis Qan at Qara'un Jidun when Ong Qan carried out a raid there and seized his wife and children. Only then did Qasar leave Qara'un Jidun and go in search of his brother. See SL², I/2, 132. The parallel account in the SWCCL¹, 48b, says that when Ong Qan captured Qasar's wife and children at Qara'un Jidun, Qasar managed to escape with his son Toqu (the Tuqu of the SH); they had nothing to eat except birds' eggs, and in this way they joined Činggis Qan 'on the

bank of the river (i.e. the Baljuni).' The YS² 1, 11, gives a virtually identical account. Cf. Cleaves 1955a, 370-371. The problem of Qasar's movements and his uneasy relationship with Činggis is a very complex one and, with but a single exception (§ 244), is glossed over in the SH. See Hambis 1975, 8ff. (esp. nn. 13, 15), 27-28, n. 46; HCG, 172-173; Nacagdorž 1958; and, by the same author, ČXC, 112-120.

For the 'hides (= raw skins) and sinews' (*širi širbusun*), cf. Khomonov 1970, 33-34. In view of the alliteration of these two words, we may assume that it is a cliché, not to be taken literally. Cf. the above-mentioned reference to 'birds' eggs' in the SWCCL and YS.

'Činggis Qa'an received Qasar', lit. 'Činggis Qa'an let Qasar come.' For Qali'udar and his clan, the Je'üret (? = Je'ürēt here written Je'üriyet [Cl, 111: Je'üri'ed]; cf. above, n. 44), see HCG, 147; Poppe 1975, 163. Čačurqan of the Uriangqai is the same Ča'urqan of §§ 120, 124, and 127, who is called again Čačurqan in §§ 184 and 185, and Ča'urqai in § 243. Čačurqan = pmo. Čayurqan (> Ča'urqan; cf. AT¹, 31b: Č[a]urqan; 33b: Čayurqan); therefore, the form 'Čačurqan' in Cl, 111 et passim, is incorrect. He was the 'younger brother' (= cousin) of Jelme, and had earlier been appointed a special envoy/courier by Činggis Qan. See § 124. Cf. HCG, 164.

'I watched for my elder brother/....' In this passage, which is mostly in alliteration (hence presented here in poetic form) so that the messengers could commit it to memory more easily, the astute Činggis Qan makes Qasar speak as if he, having failed to trace and join him (Činggis Qan), has now decided to return to Ong Qan's camp provided Ong Qan sends a trusted messenger to him to guarantee that no harm would be done to his person and to his family. For this passage, cf. A. Mostaert in TOO, xv, 581, no. 436; and Cérénsonom 1986, 83-84. As shown by these scholars, Činggis employs a familiar saying or proverb. Such use of familiar quotations is predominant in dramatic or quasi-dramatic situations, when important decisions must be taken.

'Gazing at the stars' (*hot qaraju*). In L¹, 117, and L², 140, the word *hot* has been inadvertently left out. *Hot* (= *hod*, pmo. *od*) is the plural of *hodun* (= pmo. *odun*) 'star.' Cf. *mod*, an ancient plural of *modun* 'tree.' See Street 1990, 360. For *hodun*, see also HCWLYTT, 190-192, no. 54; Kara 1990, 299, s.v. 'hudo.'

For *urbang* 'a lump or clod of earth', cf. mo. *orbon* 'hillock, knoll' (Gol., I, 211c; Les., 616b; cf. SMT, 21); bur. *orbon(g)* 'rhizome of a tree; a pointed stump projecting from the base of a tree.' Cf. the meanings of this word in other modern dialects as given in TH, 122 (= JYT, 214). See also Cl, 111, n. 55; and Oz¹, IV, 182-183, n. 5. Poppe 1969, 274, renders it with 'knoll.' What is meant is the lump of earth at the base of a tree formed by the root. Cf. On, 88: 'a lump of earth (under a tree).' For *deretü*, lit. 'one having a pillow', cf. Khomonov 1970, 33. The last two lines of the poetic passage are, literally, 'I lie, looking at the stars, being (= as) one having (= with) a pillow made of an earth-lump at the base of a tree.'

It is worth noting that in the present passage, Qasar calls Ong Qan 'my father the Qan', using the same form of address employed by Činggis Qan. Since Ong Qan had become Činggis' adopted father, by the same token he had also become the adopted father of all the other children of Yisügei. Cf. above, § 177 and com.

'If, hopefully, I get from you someone I can trust' renders *itegemji ere'en olu'asu*, lit. 'If I find trust and hope.' Cf. Cl, 111: 'If I obtain trust and expectation.' The Chinese sectional summary (Y² 6, 47b) correctly paraphrases: 'If you send someone trustworthy to me.' The formula used by Činggis was no doubt a conventional one in cases in which a guarantor or hostage was required, as confirmed by Ong Qan's reply in § 184. Cf. Ev-Pop, 285, n. 56.

'We shall follow close behind you', lit. 'we shall move immediately after you.'

Arqal (= mo. Aryal) Geügi ('Dry Dung Hook') on the Kerulen River corresponds, according to Pêrlée², 7 (= Pêrlée⁴,

91, but incomplete rendering!), to the present-day Aaruult (Doloon) Xüxt, at the northwestern tip of the Bayan Uul (= Bayan Ula), at 49° N 109° E. From § 185 we learn that, at that time, Ong Qan's encampment was at Ĵer Qabčiqai Pass in the Ĵeje'er Heights (Ĵeje'er Ündür), which Pêrlée has identified with the southern Bayan Ula. See above, n. 166. Since Činggis' forces were obviously in the same region and not far from the Kerulen (where the meeting with Qali'udar and Čačurqan had been arranged), Pêrlée's identification of Arqal Geügi with a place on the upper reaches of the Kerulen in the northwestern Bayan Ula would be plausible. However, as Pêrlée refers to 'the northwestern tip' of the Bayan Ula, the locality must be closer to 48° than 49° N. On the other hand, there is no doubt that the Baljuna episode and the events described in the previous sections took place in the region of the Buir Nör and the lower course of the Kerulen in eastern Mongolia, i.e. a long way from the Bayan Ula. Since the Ĵeje'er Heights were in the Bayan Ula region, what is stated at the end of § 183 about Činggis setting out from Lake Baljuna cannot be implicitly accepted. There must have been a time-lag between the events at the Baljuna and Činggis' return to his camping grounds further west which is not accounted for in the SH. In fact, the entire sequence of events is not clear. In the SL², I/2, 132, we read: 'In the autumn of this year (1203), moving from there (i.e. the Baljuna), he (i.e. Činggis Qan) gathered his followers and subjects at the sources of the Onon River and set out on a campaign against Ong Qan.' The SWCCL¹, 50b, writes: 'In the autumn there was a great assembly at the sources of the Onan River and he (= the Emperor, i.e. Činggis Qan) set out to attack Ong Qa'an.' This is repeated in YS² 1, 11: 'The Emperor moved his army to the sources of the Onan River and made plans to attack Ong Qan.' Thus, according to these sources, prior to his attack on the Kereyit camp Činggis Qan was by the Onon. According to the SH, he was near the Kerulen. This confusion is understandable, since it was in this very region between the two great rivers – the 'Onankerule' of William of Rubruck, the 'Onan-Kelüren' of

Ĵuvainī and Rašīd al-Dīn – that Činggis had his main camp, which (as we know) shifted frequently within a certain area because of pasture requirements, so that at times it would be closer to the Kerulen, and at times closer to the Onon. See NMP, I, 330; HCG, 269; Hambis 1975, 29, n. 47. Cf. also Mo, 261, n. 250. Evidently, Činggis Qan had returned to his *ordos*, where he held a council of war to work out the best plan to crush Ong Qan and the Kereyit people once and for all. His decision to carry out this expedition may have been prompted not only by the rallying of his estranged brother Ĵoči Qasar, but also by the fact that a number of other chiefs had deserted Ong Qan at about the same time and had joined Činggis Qan. This fact is not mentioned in the SH, but is recorded in SL², I/2, 132. Cf. D’Ohsson, I, 79-80; ČK¹, 78. I think that from Lake Baljuna Činggis and his followers had gradually moved westwards, following for much of the way the course of the Kerulen upstream; Ong Qan had independently also moved westwards, presumably on his way back to his camp in the Black Forest on the Tūla River. Having gained the Bayan Ula and the Khentei region, and the relative safety of his own territory, Činggis decided to attack the Kereyit who had, in the meantime, encamped in one of the valleys on the southern fringes of the Bayan Ula (see § 186). The decision to use a ruse and fall on the enemy by surprise shows that, in spite of the increase of his forces, Činggis was not yet strong enough for another open confrontation. Cf. Cleaves 1955a, 389-391; Yūan KF 1959. The common word *arqal* (= mo. *aryal*), ‘argal, dry dung of animal used as fuel’, occurs here for the first time, but as part of a place-name. On it, cf. TMEN, no. 12. See also above, n. 174. As for *geügi* ‘hook’ (cf. § 75), one is tempted to take it as a geographical term for the sharp bend of a river, but at present I find no evidence to support such an interpretation.

§ 184. ‘Golden tent of thin woollen cloth’ (*altan terme*). For ‘golden’ = ‘royal’, see above, n. 21. The word *terme* is of Tibetan origin (< tib. *ther-ma*) and properly designates a ‘thin

woollen textile, flannel-like fabric’, as well as ‘the wooden grate of the walls of a felt tent’ (Les., 806). Cf. Kow., 1774b: ‘stamade, stamette, étoffe de laine’; DO, 661a: ‘tissu de laine, flanelle (de provenance tibétaine)’; RH, 251, no. 10: ‘tent.’ Cf. HCG, 181; VWTD, III, 1080; KoW, 243; Róna-Tas 1963, 49-50; Khomonov 1970, 37; TMEN, no. 1340; Rassadin 1995, 114. On the golden fixtures of the royal tents in the 13th century, see the HTSL, 4a (cf. CG, 104, 106, n. 11); MM, 63; BDK, 11, 39 et passim; and, lately, CEME, 62, 75.

For *genet* (pl. of *genen*) ‘not suspecting anything, unawares, “qui n’est pas sur ses gardes” [A.M.], etc.’, see above, §§ 104 and 170, and Mo, 87-88. This whole passage is translated and discussed in Mo, 103-104.

‘I shall give Itürgen in trust’, lit. ‘I shall send Itürgen in trust’, i.e. as one that can be trusted and as guarantor of the accord. See above, n. 183.

‘Seeing the signs of a multitude’, or ‘of a great display’ (*yeke baru’a*: ‘grand déploiement’ [A.M.]) of people and tents, i.e. of a much larger camp than he expected, made him realize that Činggis Qan was assembling his forces in preparation for an attack on Ong Qan. For the connotations of the word *baru’a(n)*, see below, n. 195 ad fin.

‘Instead, going now in front of him, now behind him, he kept on obstructing his way’, lit. ‘as he went on cutting across the way before and behind him.’

‘At an arrow’s shot from the rear.’ I have borrowed Cleaves’ felicitous paraphrase of the Mongolian phrase *qoyinača sumun-u gürküi üjü’ür-e*, lit. ‘from the extremity (= furthest point) an arrow would reach from behind.’ See CI, 112, n. 58.

‘He hit Itürgen’s gold-saddled black gelding on the tip of its rump, so that it sat on its haunches (*sa’utala*).’ This is how the Chinese sectional summary understands this phrase, and how Haenisch, Ligeti and Ozawa among others have also interpreted it. See Y² 6, 50a (cf. Pa, 97; Wa, 272). However, Naka, Pelliot and other translators take *sa’utala*, lit. ‘till (or so that) it sat’, as meaning ‘until (or so that) it (= the arrow) sat (= lodged)’, i.e. in

the tip of the rump of the black gelding. I favour the first for the reason that that is how the Ming translators of the SH understood it. See Ha, 72; Li, 74; Oz², I, 243; On, 89 (2001 ed., 159: '[thus] bringing it down'); Na², 216-217; Pe, 195; Cl, 112; Ev-Pop, 141.

'Cut Itürgen down and cast away *his body* there and then': cf. § 136 ad fin. This was harsh treatment for an official envoy (Itürgen is called *elčün* in this very section) as well as a guarantor-hostage of his 'father the Qan', but it was all part of Činggis' devious plan and his ruthless determination to dispose once and for all of Ong Qan, hence his total disregard for the accepted rules of conduct concerning envoys. It should be noted that the account of Itürgen's mission and capture is told differently in SL², I/2, 133 (cf. SWCCL¹, 51a-b), and the YS² 1, 11. See D'Ohsson, I, 81; CW, 137-138; ČK¹, 72 (= ČK², 79).

§ 185. 'Let us quickly move *forward from here*' renders *öterlen igülgüjü*. The word *igülgüjü* is not glossed in the text, nor is it translated in the sectional summary (Y² 6, 53a); however, being preceded by *öterlen* 'quickly, fast (lit. "hastening")', it must be a verb of action or movement. I think that Pelliot is correct in suggesting that this word, which is otherwise unattested in Mongolian, should be amended to *ne'ülgejü*, converbum imperfecti of *ne'ülge-* (= mo. *negülge-*) 'to cause to move, to transmigrate.' See Pe, 63, n. 1. As a matter of fact, the expression *öterlen ne'ü-* 'to move fast', is already found in § 101 of the SH. The factitive form is used with reference to the men, i.e. the soldiers, who must also be made to travel through the night (*sönit düli düliłgejü* – again a conv. imp. of the fact.). It seems, then, that the manuscript of the SH used by the Ming translators had a corrupt form which they read as *igülgüjü*, and which they left untranslated because they did not know what to make of it. (In the Uighur-Mongol script, a badly written word like *negülgejü* could be easily read as *igülgüjü*; for the regular confusion between *i-* and *ni-*, cf. HCG, 332-333.) Other interpretations suggested or adopted by modern translators are

yegülegül- 'to change (horses)' (Cè, 355; cf. On, 89); *güyülge-* 'to cause to run or gallop' (Če, 150; cf. Ev-Pop, 141); and **čigül-* (< *čiyul-*) 'to assemble' (Oz¹, IV, 198-200, n. 1, and Oz², I, 243; but in his translation in Oz¹, IV, 197, Ozawa adopted the rendering 'to move'); however, I regard them as less plausible. Jagchid's *qayıyulγu-* 'to reconnoitre' (Ja, 245 and n. 1), and Gaadamba's *yügülgü-* = *güyilge-*, *güyülge-* 'to cause to run or gallop' (Γa, 110, 356, n. 544) are in my view untenable on linguistic grounds.

The Ĵer Gorge (Ĵer Qabčiqai) pass (*amasar*) of the Ĵeje'er Heights has been identified by Pèrlée², 8, with the present-day Xabčil Am (Amsar) at 47° N 109° E. This is, apparently, the only passage leading into an area rich in camping grounds in the southern Bayan Ula region. Cf. Pèrlée⁴, 97. See also above, n. 166, for the Ĵeje'er Heights. According to the CKA, 54a, the Ĵeje'er Heights correspond to the Argun Nuruu (Argun Range), and Ĵer Qabčiqai Amasar to Khabtsgaytyn (Xabčgaityn) Am (cf. *ibid.*, 32, A-5). This would place the latter at 50° N 119° E, which is too far to the north-east. In view of what has been said earlier concerning the respective itineraries of Ong Qan and Činggis Qan after the encounter at Qalaqaljit Sands, Pèrlée's identification of the Ĵeje'er Heights and of Ĵer Gorge appears to be the correct one (see above, n. 182). There is no doubt that we are dealing with a mountain pass (for *amasar* = 'pass', cf. above, n. 136); the very term *qabčiqai* (= mo. *qabčiyai*) means 'gorge, ravine.' See TMEN, no. 265. Although the Ĵeje'er Heights are mentioned in the corresponding passage in SL², I/2, 133, and the SWCCL¹, 51b, as well as in YS² 1, 11, these sources do not mention the Ĵer Gorge, and this locality does not reappear in the SH.

'One who fought *longer than the others*', lit. 'This *man* who fought' Cf. Street 1990, 193.

Qadaq Ba'atur was the leader of the 'brave Ĵirgin', the main crack unit of Ong Qan's army. See § 170 and note.

For *tebcī-* ‘to forsake, abandon’ → ‘to kill’, see above, n. 77. Here the meaning is ‘to abandon him and let him be killed.’ Cf. BGĖG, 166.

‘I will serve him’, lit. ‘I shall give *him my strength*.’ See above, n. 149. For the rallying of Qadaq Ba’atur, see the remarks in Vlad.², 105.

‘Because Quyildar *lost his life*’, lit. ‘Because of the life of Quyildar’, i.e. the life he gave to Činggis Qan. See § 175.

The expression *eme kö’ün*, lit. ‘wife – child (or children)’, is ambiguous; like ch. *ch’i-tzu* 妻子 it can mean ‘wife and children’, or simply ‘wife.’ Cf. Mo, 41-42; and above, n. 104.

‘Must not betroth them’ (*bu qudalatuqai*). For *qudala-* ‘to betroth’ (< *quda*, see above, n. 62), cf. BGĖG, 180.

For the expression ‘according to their own wishes’ (*ö’erün dura’ar*, mo. *öberün durabar*), cf. Cleaves 1953, 72, n. 9.

‘Must be servants and attend to’, lit. ‘let them serve in front and behind.’ For this expression, cf. Cleaves 1952, 101-102, n. 122.

It will be remembered that in § 171 it is related how Quyildar of the Mangqut had spoken before Uncle Jürčedei of the Uru’ut offering to fight in front (i.e. as vanguard) of his *anda* Činggis Qan. In the knowledge that this may cost him his life, he had entrusted his ‘orphaned children’ to the care of his *anda*. After his death (§ 175), Činggis kept his word and rewarded Quyildar’s loyalty and sacrifice ‘to the offspring of the offspring’ (*uruq-un uruq-a*), i.e. *in perpetuum*. For ‘the bounty granted to orphans’ (Cl, 119: ‘grant of orphans’), cf. Aubin 1975, 562, n. 88.

Chapter Six of the SH ends, appropriately, with the end of the Kereyit ‘people’ (*irge*, see § 186) i.e. of their tribal unity, and the defeat at the battle of Jer Qabčiqai of their leader, Ong Qan, the person who, more than anyone else, had helped Činggis to achieve the prominence he attained in Mongolia. The organization of Ong Qan’s army served as the blueprint for that of Činggis Qan’s formidable fighting force with which he overran China and Central Asia. Ong Qan’s heritage and

memory continued in several ways largely through later legends which, by confusing him with the ruler of the Önggüt (who, like the Kereyit, were both of Turkish origin and Nestorian faith), related Ong Qan by marriage to Činggis Qan’s family and identified him with the mythical Prester John. See MP³, 375-376; MP⁴, 22; MPA, 321-323; de Rachewiltz 1996a, 71. As Yisügei Ba’atur’s *anda* and Činggis Qan’s adopted father, Ong Qan exerted great influence on the conqueror, more than he is usually credited with; this fact transpires from the pages of Rašid al-Dīn’s account, which tends to balance the more negatively biased account of the SH.

§ 186. A transcription in *uyiγurjin*, i.e. in Uighur-Mongol script, of the entire Chapter Seven is found in MUJ, 15-19, followed by a translation into modern literary Mongolian, also in *uyiγurjin*, taken from Da¹, 159-180. Cf. Da⁵, 135-152.

For Taqai Ba’atur, see above, n. 120; Vlad.², 124-125; and Cleaves 1955a, 400 and n. 261. For the Suldus, a former subtribe of the Tayiči’ut, cf. above, n. 82; and, in particular, Li, 164, n. 186, also with regard to Taqai Ba’atur.

For the Jirgin, a subtribe of the Kereyit, see above, n. 170.

‘Ordered as follows’ (*jarliq bolurun*). Cl, 114, leaves a lacuna immediately after, explaining in note 1 on the same page: ‘There seems to be a lacuna, because what follows is not the text of the decree. This passage is not found in the *Altan tobči (nova)*. The words *basa Činggis qahan jarliγ bolurun* are not rendered in the continuous Chinese translation (*YCPS*, 7. 2v4).’ I think that what follows is, in fact, the gist of Činggis’ order with regard to Ong Qan’s daughters and Jaqa Gambu. Cf. El-Ar, 561; Oz¹, IV, 210; Če, 152.

On Ibaqa Beki (? read Begi, cf. above, n. 49), see HCG, 236, 243; NMP, I, 303-304; Rybatzki [2003], s.v. Činggis later gave Ibaqa Beki as wife to Jürčedei, the chief of the Uru’ut.

As for Sorqaqtani Beki (w.f. Sorγaytani Beki or Begi; ?-1252), there is a vast literature on her, as she was the Christian (Nestorian) wife of Tolui and the mother of Möngke,

Qubilai, Hülegü and Ariq Bökö. She played an important part in Mongol court politics, as well as in policies which affected China, and her name, in the form 'Seroctan', became known in the West through John of Pian di Carpine's *Historia Mongalorum*. On her see *Successors*, 168-171 et passim; SF, 66, 287, 288, 289; SDM, 266, 358, 446; MWR, 311a (Index); Pelliot 1914, 628; idem 1932; NHHO, 33-34; NMP, I, 342; RCAC, 66-67 (also for the date of her death, and concerning her sister Ibaqa Beki); Ratchnevsky 1976, 510-511, 521-522; ČK¹, 21, 73, 115 (= ČK², 22, 80, 128); KK, 11-14, 18-19, 108; Rossabi 1979, 158-166; MJK, 27, 119; Szerb 1989, 374-375; and Rybatzki [2003], s.v. There are also several biographies of this famous princess in Chinese. See, in particular, YS¹ 116, 1a-b (= YS² 116, 2897-2898); HYS 104, 9a-b; MWESC 19, 6b-7a.

Tolui, the fourth and youngest son of Činggis Qan, is mentioned here for the first time. He was born between 1186 and 1190, and died in 1231 or 1232. He briefly held the regency of the empire between Činggis' death in 1227 and the enthronement of Ögödei in 1229, his posthumous Chinese appellation being Jui-tsung 睿宗. His posthumous title among the Mongols was Uluy Noyan, a Turco-Mongolian hybrid meaning 'The Great Chief.' On him see HCG, 375-376; *Chapitre CVII*, 88-89; Cleaves 1948, 318, n. 18; NHHO, 11, n. 2; NMP, I, 252, 335, II, 785; Boyle 1956, 146-148; Szerb 1989. According to RC, 102, Tolui died in September-October 1232. Chou Liang-hsiao 周良霄 says in YShi, 106, that Tolui died in 1233 at the age of over forty. The dates given for Tolui in On, 91, n. 231 (and 2001 ed., 163, n. 420), are 1193-1232. Cf. below, n. 272, for a further discussion on this point.

For the forms *egečimet* (< *egeči* + den. noun suff. *-met*) 'elder sister', and *döyimet* (< *döyi* + den. noun suff. *-met*) 'younger sister', see LSHM, 54, § 4.1111; JŠ, 35, § 37; GWM, 43, § 129a, 70, § 263. Cf. also Oz¹, IV, 211-212, n. 2.

For *qariyatan*, plural of *qariyatu* 'belonging (to), subject (of), dependant', see TMEN, no. 273.

For the *emčü irge(n)* 'personal subjects', cf. above, nn. 137 and 139. The sentence literally reads: 'The personal subjects belonging to him be a "whole" (*tumda'a*) and like the second shaft of a cart', i.e. they should be kept united as a group and, together with Jaqa Gambu as their chief, they should assist Činggis Qan. For the expression 'to be (or become) the second (or the other) shaft of a cart' meaning 'to work together, to assist', cf. § 177. *Tumda'a* is glossed in the Chinese interlinear translation as *yüan-ch'üan* 圓全 'whole, complete.' Cf. the forms *tumdaqqa* in § 198 which is glossed *ch'üan* 全 id., and *tumtaqa* in § 208, glossed *wan-ch'üan* 完全 id. The written form was evidently **tumdaya*, a word unattested elsewhere in the written language. However, it has apparently survived in the Torgut dialect of Sinkiang in the form *tumdaqqa* ~ *tumtay* meaning 'a complete thing', which TH, 265 (= JYT, 459) relates to osm. *tüm* 'thick, well-rounded, convex' (VWTD, III, 1601). Cf. tu. *tüm* 'thick, clean' (DTS, 596b). I think that **tumdaya* is the nomen imperfecti in *-ya* of **tumda-* 'to unite under one head (or into one)', a verb probably derived from ch. *t'ung* 統 'whole, all, entirely; to gather into one, unite' with the denominal verbal suffix *-da-* (GWM, 64, § 242). **Tumdaya* (> *tumda'a*) would then mean 'that which has been and still is united under one head.' It should be noted that the concept of *t'ung* implies continuity, and that the nomen imperfecti in Mongolian expresses also the idea of uninterrupted continuity. My etymology remains, however, hypothetical.

§ 187. 'Just as it stands', lit. 'as it is sitting', i.e. with all its contents. Cf. Cl, 114, n. 2: 'The meaning is "such as it is with all its appurtenances."' The Chinese interlinear version glosses *sa'uqsa'ar*, converbum abtemporale of *sa'u-* 'to sit, dwell, be', as *ch'üan-chü* 全具 (俱) 'all complete', viz. 'intact' – the term used in On, 91. Cf. Mostaert's 'la tente telle quelle' [A.M.].

'His golden bowls and vessels' (*altan güriü'e ayaqa saba*). The Chinese gloss renders *güriü'e* as *chiu-chü* 酒局, the usual meaning of which is 'wine shop' or 'depot.' The term *güriü'e*

occurs only once in the SH. Mo. *gürüğe* is an alternative form of *gürege* 'arteries of the neck' (Kow., 2644a). There is also a word transcribed in Les., 392b, as *gürüğe* meaning 'wicker-work' (a nom. imp. of *gürü-* 'to braid, plait'; cf. Kow., 2645b, id.). According to Poppe, these words should be read as *göröge* and *görö-*. See TDB, 48: F38v, 13 (*görögsen*). Cf., however, MKT, 791b: *gürü-*; MĴBT, 1045b, id. Neither of these two terms fits the context. As is often the case in the SH, initial *g* = mo. *k* (thus *gü'ün* = mo. *kümün*, *gürdün* = mo. *kürdün*, etc.; see 'Quelques problèmes', 240). In this instance, too, *gürü'e* = *kürüğe*, a term corresponding to čag. *körägä* 'a container for wine'. crim. 'cup, bowl'; cf. VWTD, II, 1251a [N.P. p.c.]; TH, 208 (where the spoken Urat form *görö* designating a particular type of leather bag for kumis [*ayıraγ*] is also cited; cf. JYT, 361) In view of this, I think that the Chinese gloss must be understood as meaning 'wine service', i.e. all the objects (cups, bowls, etc.) pertaining to the serving and drinking of wine, *chū* 局 meaning here 'disposition des parties d'un tout, ensemble de circonstances' (DCLC, 244b). Cf. below, n. 213. On *gürü'e*, cf. also CLC, 140; Khomonov 1970, 31. For *ayaqa* (= mo. *ayaγu*) 'cup, bowl, beaker, vessel', cf. tu. *ayaq* id. See TMEN, no. 629; RH, 279, no. 16; Khomonov, loc. cit.

'Ongqojit Kereyit' is explained by Pelliot as Ongqojit = *Ongqajit, plural of *Ongqajin, the ethnicon of Ong Qan, hence 'the Kereyit of Ong Qan' (HCG, 128). These Ongqojit Kereyit would then be Ong Qan's own clansmen.

Kešikten (= pmo. *kešigten*) 'bodyguards' is a possessive noun formed on *kešik* 'the bodyguard (or Guard)'. See GWM, 44, § 139. For this important term, see below, n. 191.

To carry quivers and participate in formal drinking (*ötök*) were privileges not enjoyed by household serfs and grooms like Badai and Kišiliq, but they became entitled to them when they were raised to the status of *darqat* (pl. of *darqan*) or freemen. See above, n. 51, and the interesting remarks on this question in Li, 164, n. 187. Cf. also §§ 51, 169. For *darqala-* 'to enjoy the privilege of being freemen', cf. above, n. 121.

On the short alliterative passage (ignored as such in L², 144), cf. the words spoken to Altan, Qučar and Sača Beki in § 123, and in § 219 where the passage in question is repeated with almost identical words. Cf. also Ozawa 1972, 581ff.

'When swiftly pursuing', lit. 'when hastening after.'

'What you get .../What you slaughter ...', lit. 'As much as you get .../As many as you slaughter ...' (fr. 'autant que ...' [A.M.]).

'Because of the vital service performed by Badai and Kišiliq', lit. 'Because Badai and Kišiliq caused a service to arrive between my life and death', i.e. 'they performed a service that saved (or protected) my life.'

'The high throne', lit. 'the place (= seat) of height' (*ündür-ün oron*). For this use of *oron* ('place' > 'throne'), cf. TMEN, no. 43. Cf. also the expression *yeke oron* 'great throne.' See *Matériel II*, 12 (2v, 1).

For *ulam ulam* 'successively, one after the other', cf. TMEN, no. 522; de Rachewiltz 1982, 73, n. 189; and Cleaves 1982, 83, n. 41. Although *ulam* can mean 'still further, more and more', the expression *ulam ulam* in the present context can only mean 'successively' (= *ulamjilan*). See Oz, IV, 225, n. 8. 'Remember' (*uqatuqai*). *Uqa-* means 'to perceive, understand, think of, consider, keep in mind', hence also 'to remember', but this extended meaning is usually not given in the dictionaries.

'They distributed the Tümen Tübe'en and they all took of them until they had plenty', lit. 'Distributing the Tümen Tübe'en among themselves, they together took them until they had finished distributing them.' Tümen Tübe'en = Tümen Tübege. See above, n. 150. For the expression *tügetele*, cf. above, n. 92.

For the Olon Dongqayit, see above, n. 150.

For the expression *oquqa* (= mo. *oγuγa*) *üdür-e ülü gürge*, lit. 'without reaching a full day', i.e. 'in less than a day', cf. 'Trois documents', 476.

The 'brave' (*ba'atut*) Ĵirgin were Ong Qan's crack troops (see § 170); after a battle they had the right to strip the fallen enemies and take as trophies (and booty!) their blood-stained

clothing and possessions (*čisutu tonog*). According to a later source, the victors hung these gory trophies on the right side of their saddles, while at the same time leading the dead enemy's horse on the left side. This symbolized also the victory over the honour of the horse. See Šagdarsüren 1970. Cf. MNTSZA, 60-70; Sampildëndev 1977. Serruys 1982a, 126, writes: 'Prof. I. de Rachewiltz makes the observation that the Mongols kept the clothes of vanquished enemies as trophies.⁶ Perhaps, this is so to a certain extent. But given the overwhelming evidence, as we shall see, of the need for textiles in general, I am rather inclined to think that most of the time clothes taken from the enemy were used again. The Mongols could not be too choosy, and certainly they did not share our modern squeamishness in this regard.' Serruys is certainly right; however, the two considerations are not mutually exclusive. The enemy's clothing would first be displayed as trophy and then, undoubtedly, used again. Cf. CEME, 27. As for *tonog*, cf. tu. *ton* 'garment, clothing' (ED, 512b); this term seems to have included also other personal possessions carried by a warrior on his person. The interlinear gloss renders it as *po-t'o* 剥脫 'the stripping off' = 'spoils.' *Tonog* is, in fact, a deverbal noun in *-γ* (mmo. *-q*; see GWM, 45, § 146; JŠ, 41-42, § 54) from *tono-* 'to strip off, rob, plunder.' See above, n. 136. *Tonog* means now 'goods, utensils, harness, equipment, etc.' (Les., 825a; DO, 668b; MMED, 500b). On these etymologies, cf. TMEN, no. 990; Oz, IV, 227-229, n. 11. With regard to the reference in this section to the Ĵirgin taking 'the blood-stained clothing', Cleaves (Cl, 115, n. 7) writes: 'Is this an allusion to the episode in § 136? If so, *Ĵirgin* is an error for *Ĵürkin*.' Cf. also Cleaves 1955, 37, n. 25. Since the ethnic origin of the Ĵirgin is not clear, it is possible that they were related to the Ĵürkin (Yürkin), which is certainly suggested by their names, although the former were apparently a subtribe of the Kereyit, whereas the latter were Mongols proper. See HCG, 56-57, 398. It should be noted, however, that the Ĵirgin in our passage are given the epithet of *ba'atut* 'brave (pl.)' as in § 170 (twice), whereas this epithet is never applied to the Ĵürkin in the

SH. We are probably dealing with two separate subtribes. Cf. Vlad.², 74, 89 and n. 5; 117, n. 5.

'They divided and apportioned them, but could not give some to everybody', lit. 'they split and apportioned them, but were unable to deliver them for each other (= for everybody)', i.e. they were unable to divide them in such a way as to give everybody some.

Abĵi'a (w.f. Abĵiya) Ködeger (~ Köteger, see § 191), or '? Shrunken Height (or Elevation)', where Činggis Qan spent the winter of 1203 after the destruction of the Kereyit tribe, was a hilly place situated somewhere near the sources of the Khalkha River east-south-east of the Buir Nör. See HCG, 409; and Mu, II, 224-225, n. 7. Pèrlée², 4, gives its situation as 'south-east of the city of Choibalsan.' Cf. Boyle 1973a, 109. As noted by Pelliot, it was here too that the Qonggirat had their winter encampment. For *köteger* 'height, elevation', cf. TMEN, no. 338.

§ 188. 'Went away, unwilling to submit to Činggis Qa'an' (*dayijiju qarču odu'at*). Cf. Mo, 177, n. 158: 's'échappant en révoltés et s'en étant allés ...'; Cl, 115: 'revolting⁹ and going out, being departed.' In note 9 on p. 115 Cleaves writes: 'I.e., not wishing to submit themselves to Činggis Qahan.' The verb *dayiji-* means 'se révolter, abandonner le parti de quelqu'un' (Mo, 45) and is, therefore, more or less synonymous with the expression *bulqa bol-*. Cf. HW, 31 and 21. As is known, anyone who did not wish to submit was *ipso facto* regarded as a rebel (*il v. bulqa*). Cf. 'Trois documents', 493. The other interpretations of these words of the SH (including mine in Ra, VII, 45, and On, 92), are incorrect.

The 'Nekün Usun of (= at, by) Didik Saqal' has not been identified. Nekün Usun ('Slave Water') was the name of a spring or a watercourse. The first element of Didik Saqal is tu. *titik* 'mud, clay' (ED, 455b; DTS, 564a); the second is tu. and mo. *saqal* 'beard' (cf. Ligeti 1965, 276, no. 11), hence 'Mud Beard' – an unusual name for a locality. It is, thus, either a

Turkic or a hybrid Turco-Mongolian name, which is very much in accord with the Turco-Mongolian culture of the Naiman (see above, n. 141), this site being undoubtedly on the fringe of the Naiman territory in western Mongolia and just north of the Gobi (see below). I suspect that the word *saqal* ‘beard’ may have been used also as a topographical term, the meaning of which is lost. (Cf. the *geügi* ‘hook’ of § 183.) However, one cannot exclude the possibility, suggested long ago by Pelliot, that Didik Saqal is the name of the (Naiman ?) chief in whose territory Nekün Usun was situated, but I think this is unlikely because Nekün Usun occurs twice in this section, both times preceded by the qualifying expression ‘of Didik Saqal’, as is very often the case with place-names in the SH. Cf. Pelliot 1920, 177-178; and Li, 165, n. 188 (where the corresponding passage in the SWCCL and Rašīd al-Dīn’s work is also discussed). Onon (On, 92, n. 232; 2001 ed., 164, n. 421), following TH, 283 (= JYT, 491), renders Didik Saqal as ‘clump of sedge’ – a speculative and unreliable interpretation. It appears that after leaving the Bayan Ula region, both father and son had made their way to the south-west. Ong Qan was waylaid further west in search of water and fell victim to the Naiman chief Qori Sübeči who was then patrolling the area. Qori Sübeči is, indeed, called ‘a high official who held command under Tayang Qan (of the Naiman)’ in § 194 – a fact confirmed by Rašīd al-Dīn (SL², I/1, 132, 137; I/2, 132, 134) and the SWCCL¹, 52a. (For further references to this chief, see *ibid.*, 55a; SL², I/2, 148; on him cf. also Būrinbatu 1991, 529-534.)

As for Senggüm, he bypassed (lit. ‘went outside’) the area of Nekün Usun and, continuing his southward journey, crossed the Gobi (Čöl). For Čöl = the Gobi, see Pelliot, *op. cit.*, 178-179. Both Pelliot and Ligeti, *loc. cit.*, have pointed out that in the SH this word is always glossed as ‘place-name’ (Y² 7, 5b; Sup. 2, 48b). I may add that it is likewise mentioned as a locality in the HIIY (IIb, 13a). See *Matériel I*, 28, 47; *Matériel II*, 90, 96. However, in the present context Čöl almost certainly designates the desert region between the Naiman territory and

the Tangu/Qašin (Hsi Hsia) country. On the term/name *čöl* (‘desert’/Gobi), cf. also Pelliot 1930b, 19, n.1; Cleaves 1949, 113, n. 105; Poppe 1955, 39; de Rachewiltz 1985, 217, n. 29; and below, n. 279. Čöl is also glossed as ‘desert’ in MA, 136a; and as ‘dry land’ in IM, 435a.

‘Plagued by gadflies’ (*hilu’atuju*). For *hilu’atu-* (w.f. *iluyatu-*) ‘to be plagued (or bitten) by gadflies’, cf. mo. *ilaya(n)* ‘fly, gadfly’; ord. *ilō* ‘gadfly’ (DO, 384a). Cf. also Pelliot 1925, 217, no. 28; Oz, IV, 239, n. 9.

Concerning the equerry Kōkōčü, Mostaert has already pointed out that he was not a simple groom, in which case his condition would have merely been that of a serf, but that he was a comrade (*nökör*) of Senggüm, which explains why he was given costly clothes and tasty dishes. Hence, ‘equerry’ is here a better rendering of *aqtači* than ‘groom.’ See Mo, 106. Cf. CEME, 53.

For a discussion and translation of the passage beginning ‘His wife said’, and ending ‘let him at least draw water and drink’, see Mo, 104-109. A still unresolved ambiguity is the subject of the two alliterated verses uttered by Kōkōčü’s wife, viz. whether it was her husband or his master to wear ‘gold-embroidered clothes’ and eat ‘tasty dishes’ (lit. ‘When wearing clothes having gold,/When eating food having taste’). Translators are very much divided on this issue. Cf., e.g., Mo, 105-106; Li, 76; Mu, II, 226-227; Oz¹, IV, 234 (cf. Oz², II, 13-14); Cl, 116; Da⁵, 137; Do¹, 172; Če, 154; On, 92; Ev-Pop, 146. I follow the interpretation of the Chinese sectional summary (Y² 7, 8a-b), also adopted by Mostaert and Cleaves, indicating that it was for Kōkōčü to wear those garments and eat that food (given to him by Senggüm). On these verses, cf. Cērēnsodnom 1986, 80.

‘Your lord Senggüm’, lit. ‘your *qan* Senggüm.’ Cf. above, n. 149.

‘You call me’, lit. ‘I am said’ (*ke’egdeyi*), i.e. ‘You apply to me the saying.’ For the idiomatic expression ‘a woman (= wife) with a dog’s face (lit. “has a dog’s face”’, i.e. a woman who

cannot blush, hence a shameless, unfaithful one, cf. Mo, 107-109. Onon's interpretation (On, 92, n. 234): 'They [i.e. women - I.R.] are two-faced; they may be both honest and dishonest' missed the point. The statement in the 2001 ed., 165, n. 423, that 'This sentence means that women are loyal to their husbands, but men are not always loyal to their masters' is also inaccurate.

Janta'u, the word for 'cup' in this passage, seems to be of Chinese origin like the term *čung* 'cup' of § 179; the second element is not clear (*ta'u* < ch. *t'ao* 套 'a wrapper, container'?). Cf. the MKIY, 9a: *yü-tzu* 盂子 (the text has incorrectly *meng-tzu* 孟子) 'large cup, basin' = *chan-tao* (**jandau*). Cf. bur. *zantuu* 'iron bucket; tin teapot.' See TH, 288-289 (= JYT, 500); Ligeti 1990, 266, no. 181; Kara 1990, 300; Khomonov 1970, 31. For the particle *ber* 'at least', cf. Street 1981, 155.

'Threw the golden cup back at him', i.e. he threw the golden cup behind Senggüm. For *oru'at* read *öru'at* (< *o'oru'at*), converbum perfecti of *öru-* (< *o'oru-*; mo. *oyor-*) 'to throw, cast' (R, 97, line 6511, and 282a, s.v. 'oru'at', must be amended accordingly).

'From beginning to end' renders *tegüs* 'fully, completely.' For this word, cf. TMEN, no. 916.

'Činggis Qa'an then ordered, "To his wife I will show favour ..."' Cl, 116, translates: 'When Činggis Qahan made a decree, favouring his wife, saying, "...'" Oz¹, IV, 235, understands the text in the same way. My rendering is the generally accepted one by western and Mongol translators alike. However, Cleaves and Ozawa may be right. The sectional summary (Y² 7, 8b) says, in fact, that *Kököčü*, after leaving Senggüm, went to Činggis Qan together with his wife, something that is not stated in the Mongol text. As for Senggüm, his subsequent movements are not related in the SH, but we know them from Rašid al-Dīn (SL², I/2, 134), the SWCCL (SWCCL¹, 52a) and the YS (YS² 1, 12). He crossed the Gobi (Čöl), reaching the region of the Etsin Gol in the Hsi Hsia kingdom of north-west China. There he lived for a while

as a marauder. Driven away by the local people, he fled to northeastern Tibet (or, more precisely, to the area of Hsi-ning or Tsaidam), then to the region of Kucha in Uighur territory, always engaging in banditry. He was eventually killed by a local emir. See Pelliot 1920, 180-185. As pointed out by Pelliot, the SH account is somewhat legendary in character, and there is no doubt that Senggüm was not alone when he left Mongolia, but must have had a band of followers with him.

'And take him for a companion' (*nököče'esü*), lit. 'when (or if) he becomes (or joins as) a companion.' This is another example of the value Činggis placed on the loyalty of a *nökör* and his dependants (such as his wife) towards the leader. Cf. above, § 149. See also Vlad.², 114, 121; Ratchnevsky 1976, 530, n. 57.

'He cut him down and cast away his body.' Cf. § 184 ad fin. (*tende čabčifu gēbe*). From the text it appears that Činggis Qan himself carried out the execution - an unusual occurrence.

§ 189. Tayang Qan, the ruler of the Naiman tribe, was briefly mentioned in § 166. He was the son of Inanča Qan, i.e. Inanč Bilgä Bügü Qan (see above, n. 151) and, according to the SH, of Gürbesü (= mo. *gürbel* 'lizard'?) who in this section (189) is called Tayang's 'mother' (*eke*). However, there seems to be some confusion on this point, as Gürbesü, according to other sources, was actually Tayang's wife. She may indeed have been another younger wife of Tayang's father Inanča Qan later (i.e. after Inanča's death) married by Tayang Qan, in which case the epithet 'mother' of the SH must not be taken literally, but generically. See the discussion in HCG, 308-309. Eventually, she became Činggis Qan's concubine. Cf. *ibid.*, 308; Hung 1956, 31-32, n. 7. On Gürbesü's name, cf. Rybatzki [2003], s.v. For a discussion of §§ 189-196 in which the SH account of the 1204 Mongol campaign against the Naiman is presented as a fictional narrative woven around a historical event, i.e. as an epic piece, see Kahn 1996.

For *tayi-* 'to offer a sacrifice; to worship', cf. TMEN, no. 849; 'Trois documents', 453; Oz¹, IV, 247-248, n. 1. The use of the head for the purpose of worship is, as pointed out by Ligeti, an example of *pars pro toto*, the head representing the whole being. Cf. in § 198 the case of Toqto'a's head being severed by his sons. See Li, 165, n. 189.

'Placed it on a large white felt rug (*čaqañ toloq*).' This is the first reference in the SH to the white felt rug (*toloq*) which, since the remotest times, plays such an important part in Mongol enthronement, marriage and, as here, funeral ceremonies. See *ibid.*; and de Rachewiltz 1960, 247-252, n. 116. Cf. also MF, 21ff. On the term *toloq* (= pmo. *toloy*), see AT¹, 147b (ATI, 103, line 4511, reads 'tuluy'); cf. DO, 666b; Oz¹, IV, 248-249, n. 2; MKeT, 2372a, s.v. 'tolug.' The qualifier 'large' applied to the carpet in question comes from the Chinese gloss (Y² 7, 9a; cf. HW, 151).

The rites (or duties) of a daughter-in-law on this particular occasion are not known, and one can only speculate, as Onon (On, 93, n. 236) does when he writes that 'perhaps in this instance they [i.e. the daughters-in-law – I.R.] offered filled pipes to the head of the Ong Qan.' Cf. the 2001 ed., 166, n. 425. For details of other domestic obligations involving the daughter-in-law, see Mu, II, 240-241, n. 5; Išzanc 1974, 79-80. Cf. also Cleaves 1977, 69, concerning the role of the daughters and daughters-in-law in the old Uighur mourning regulations.

'The ceremonial wine', i.e. the formal 'toasting' or *ötök*, on which see above, n. 154.

'The horse fiddle', i.e. the Mongolian fiddle or *qu'ur* (= mo. *quyur*), the ancestor of our violin. Cf. TMEN, nos. 314, 1546; and the relevant entries in BM, 116; and MAM, 331ff.

'Laughed' is the literal meaning of *inejü'ü* (= *ine'ejü'ü*, w.f. *inegejügü*); however, the author(s) perhaps meant that it grinned, as has been understood by some translators (e.g. Li, 77); others translate it as 'smiled' (e.g. On, 93; Ev-Pop, 147), which is not quite accurate. The 'grinning' effect after death is a

common phenomenon, and I think that this is exactly what happened in the case of Ong Qan's head.

'He stamped on it and crushed it to pieces' renders *kemkerü gečkilejü'üi*. Bese 1969, 124, translated these two words as 'trod [the skull] asunder', which strictly speaking is accurate, but fails to render the full force of the expression, since the verb *gečkile-* implies a reiterative action with the foot or feet. Cf. DO, 263a.

On the Naiman chief Kökse'ü Sabraq, see § 159 and com.

'The next thing you do is to crush it to pieces', lit 'it is you who, for the second time (*nökö'ete* = "next"), crush it to pieces.' Cf. Street 1982, 624.

'This is not right', lit. 'How can it be proper?' – a rhetorical question.

'The sound of our dogs' barking has turned nasty', i.e. the dogs' barking bodes ill after Tayang Qan's sacrilegious act. For other historical references to dogs' barking as an ill omen, see Li, 165, n. 189. For the plural form *noqan* of *noqai* 'dog', see Street 1990a, 361 (D) and n. 119.

'I begot only through magic (*elbesü'er*)', i.e. by means of prayers, incantations and other shamanistic practices. Cf. above § 174 and com. (on *elbesün*).

'Born a weakling' renders *torluq töreksen* (= mo. *torluq töregsen*). *Torluq*, not glossed in the text, corresponds to tu. *toruq, turlaq* 'lean, emaciated.' See GOT, 384b; DTS, 587b; ED, 546b. Cf. tu. *tor-, tur-* 'to be(come) weak or emaciated; to be exhausted'; osm. *torlak* 'a lazy, untrained horse, an unbroken colt.' See GOT, 384a; VEWT, 589b, 490b; ED, 530b. This is confirmed by the sectional summary which says, 'My son Tayang is still weak (or soft)' (Y² 7, 12b). The word *torluq* (*torlog, t'orloq*, etc.) still survives in Mongolian, usually in combination with *modun* 'tree', with the meaning of 'twig, switch', and as the name of a plant. See Les., 826b; DO, 671a; MKT, 1066c; MKeT, 2391b; TH, 262 (= JYT, 454). This word has also been variously rendered as 'a puppet (i.e. a nobody)'

(Oz¹, IV, 246, 251-252, n. 7), ‘lazy’ (On, 93), ‘stupid’ (id., 2001 ed., 166), ‘béjaune’ (Ev-Pop, 148), and similar expressions, all ultimately deriving from the meaning(s) of the Turkic word.

‘Has grown weak and emaciated’ (*torulmiši*). The puzzling word *torulmiši* (= tu. *torulmiš*) is also not glossed in the text and has, therefore, been variously read and interpreted. See Ra, VII, 64; TH, 270, s.v. ‘törülmiši’ (= JYT, 467-468); CI, 117, n. 20; Oz¹, IV, 252-253, n. 8; Ev-Pop, 286, n. 16. I am now of the opinion that, as already surmised by Pelliot (Pe, 65, n. 2; cf. Ir, 167, 168, n. 3), the word in question is back-vocalic, not front-vocalic as generally supposed. *Torulmiš* is the verbal noun in *-miš* (*/-miš*) of the passive form in *-l-* of tu. *tor-* ‘to be(come) weak, emaciated’ (see above), used here in a predicative function. See AG, 80-81, § 156; 114, § 219. In this I also diverge from most other translators (including Ir) who take this word as a verbal noun qualifying ‘my numerous ... people.’ Inanča Qan is clearly concerned about the capability of his son to assume the leadership of the Naiman tribe, a concern reinforced by the use of the word *torluq* as an epithet or appellation of Tayang in the same section, where he is called *Torluq Tayang*, i.e. ‘Weakling Tayang’, and in § 190, where he is called *Torluq Qan*, i.e. ‘Weakling Qan.’ It is noteworthy that Inanča Qan is using purely Turkic words in describing his son, a further indication of the mixed Turco-Mongolian culture of the Naiman tribe. See above, n. 141; cf. Ratchnevsky 1968a, 131, n. 1; and Doerfer 1996, 85-87, also for the interpretation of the passage in question. One can also draw an interesting parallel between the birth of Ong Qan’s son Senggüm, also allegedly achieved through magic (§ 174), and Ong Qan’s poor opinion of Senggüm (§ 164) on the one hand, and Tayang’s birth and Inanča Qan’s opinion of him on the other.

‘Now the dogs are barking and this barking sounds as if a calamity is fast approaching (*idüreküi*)’, lit. ‘Now, as to the sound of the dogs, they bark a bark of fast approaching calamity.’ The word *idüreküi* is the nomen futuri of *idüre-*, a verb which appears in the SH with the meaning of ‘to catch up,

overtake; to fast approach.’ See HW, 80. Cf. above, nn. 145 and 146. This verb is not Mongolian but, like other words in this section, of Turkic origin: *yitür-* (*yetür-*) ‘to cause to arrive, to accomplish.’ See DTS, 260a; ED, 893a. It is not related to mo. *üdere-*, *ügdere-* (kh. *üdrëx*, *ügdrëx*) ‘to have a relapse’, which occurs in the SH (§ 175) in the form *hükdere-*. Cf. Oz¹, IV, 253, n. 9. However, the general meaning here, as the paraphrase in the sectional summary (Y² 7, 12b) indicates, is ‘(to foretell) an impending calamity’ – much as we would say ‘something (bad) is going to happen.’ There is also an element of haste implied in it, as evident in the use of the verb *idüre-* in §§ 145 and 146.

‘The rule of our queen Gürbesü has become harsh’ (*qadun-u bidan-u Gürbesü-yin jasaq qurča bolbi*). For the word *jasaq* meaning ‘rule, government’, see de Rachewiltz 1993, 97; Ratchnevsky 1974, 472. Cf. eng. ‘rule’ = ‘norm’ and ‘government.’ For *qurča*, lit. ‘sharp’, cf. TMEN, no. 1455.

For falconry, cf. above, nn. 27 and 54 (esp. Katayama 1982).

‘I hear’, lit. ‘I am told (or it is said)’ (*ke’ekdemüi*).

‘With their quivers’, meaning, of course, the arrows contained in their quivers. For other references to quivers (rattling, moving) in a similar context, cf. §§ 105 and 230.

‘Causing him to desert his own companions’ renders *dayiji’ulju*. See above, n. 105. Cf. also above, n. 188.

‘Do they now want to be rulers themselves?’, lit. ‘Now are those same people going to say, “We shall be *qan*?”’ Cf. Street 1990, 191 (69).

‘Even if there are two shining lights, the sun and the moon, in the sky above – both sun and moon are indeed there – yet how can there be two rulers on earth?’, lit. ‘Saying, “Let there be two shining lights, the sun and the moon, in the sky above” is all right: both sun and moon are indeed there, yet’ Cf. the ancient Chinese saying ‘There are not two suns in the sky, nor two rulers on the land’ (天無二日, 土無二王). See DKJ, III, 5833.1641. Whereas the version found in the Mongolian text of

the SH is supported by the SWCCL¹, 53a, and SL², I/2, 146, the author of the sectional summary renders the Mongolian text as follows: 'In the sky there is only one sun and one moon; how can there be two masters on earth?' (Y² 7, 13a). Cf. Wa, 274. The same interpretation is found in YS² 1, 12. This rendering, however, does not correspond to the original. Ko, 142, has likewise misunderstood the text, and so, more recently, have Bira and Khomonov by following him. See Bira 1974, 68; Khomonov 1981, 61. Cf. Oz¹, IV, 253-256, n. 10. For the historical and political implications of this passage, see Bira, op. cit.; and Smith 1994, 208.

'Those few Mongols' (*tedeket Mongqol-i* [acc.]). Several translators have either rendered *tedeket* (pl. of *tedeken*) simply as 'those' (see, e.g., Na², 228; Oz¹, IV, 247; Do¹, 175; On, 93; Ev-Pop, 148), or have misunderstood its meaning (Ko, 142). The word *tedeket* 'those few' must be contextually related to the earlier *čö'eket* 'a few', as correctly seen by Haenisch, Ligeti and others.

'Have ... worn grimy clothes', lit. 'have clothes that are dark (*baratutan*).' For 'dark', i.e. more or less near black, meaning 'grimy, dirty', cf. Poppe 1977, 121.

'At that ... our cows and sheep.' For this section, cf. Street 1986, 19-20 (33); Mo, 109-110 (for *qar köl* 'hands – feet' = 'hands', see *ibid.*, 43, 167). For the form *qonint* for *qonit* 'sheep', see above, n. 118.

'What do they have for us to worry about?' (*ya'utan aqun tede*). For this expression, cf. Cl, 118, n. 23.

To take away somebody's quiver, i.e. arrows and bow, obviously meant to carry out a successful raid. See also § 190. Cf. the corresponding passage in YS² 1, 12, where the expression used is 'to snatch his (i.e. the self-styled emperor's) bow and arrows.'

For *maqa* 'perhaps, surely, etc.', see above, n. 31.

§ 190. 'How boastfully you speak! O Torluq Qan, is this proper? You had better stop *talking!*', lit. 'Oh! You speak big words!

Oh! Torluq Qan, are they (i.e. your words) proper? You should conceal them (i.e. keep quiet)!' Cf. Cl, 118. This interpretation (against those of Kozin, Haenisch, Ligeti, etc.) is confirmed by the Chinese sectional summary (Y² 7, 17a). Cf. Wa, 274; Wei, 131.

'Despite Kökse'ü Sabraq's warning', lit. 'Having been warned by Kökse'ü Sabraq.'

For the first element of the envoy's name Torbi Taš (written Taši in the SH), cf. tu. *torpī* or *turbī* 'follower, assistant' (ED, 533a-b; DTS, 587a); Taš is tu. *taš* 'stone', on which see TMEN, no. 855.

On Alaquš Digit Quri and the Önggüt, see above, n. 182. Tayang Qan sought an alliance with the Önggüt probably on the strength of former marriage links between the two people (see HCG, 319), and the fact that both tribes were of Turkish stock and Nestorian faith. On the 'Turkishness' of the Naiman, see above, nn. 141 and 189. Whereas in his translation of § 182, Ozawa reads the name of the Önggüt leader correctly as Alaquši-digid-quri (Oz¹, IV, 174, 175), in § 190 he inexplicably reads it as Alaqu-šigid-quri (*ibid.*, 259, 260, 263). Cf. Oz², I, 240 (§ 182): Ala-quši-digid-quri; II, 17 (§ 190): id.

'The right wing' (*bara'un qar*), lit. 'the right hand.' As the Naiman would proceed to the north-east against the Mongols, the Önggüt who lived in north China and, therefore, south-east of the Naiman, were 'to the right' in relation to the latter; hence they would form the right wing of the joint army.

'I shall join you from here' (*bi endeče qamsaju*). For *qamsa-* 'to join with an ally attacking the enemy from another side', see above, n. 133.

Yuqunan is the Turkic-Mongolian form of syr. Yōhannān, i.e. Johannes, John, a very common name among the Nestorian Christians. See Pelliot 1914, 631; RCAC, 306c-307b (Index); Lewicki 1939/49, 247-251; Dauvillier 1948, 303; Hambis 1953; Li, 157, n. 150. The statement in the SH about the identity of the two envoys Torbi Taš and Yuqunan is at variance with the accounts in the SWCCL, SL, and with other Chinese sources.

See RCAC, 275-276, n. 4. For the relevant passages, cf. SWCCL¹, 53a; SL², I/2, 146; and YS² 1, 12.

The area where, according to the SH, Činggis was hunting at the time is called Teme'en Ke'er, i.e. the Camel Steppe (or Plain), which corresponds to the Temegei Valley (III) of the SWCCL¹, 52a and 53b, and the YS² 1, 12; and to the Temeen (= Teme'en) Keher (= Ke'er) of SL², I/2, 135 and 146. (For *ee* = *e'e*, and *ehe* = *e'e*, cf. above, nn. 1 and 170.) This is the locality where, according to these sources, Činggis Qan had gone after the defeat of the Kereyit, either in the winter of 1202-1203 (SL), or in 1203 (YS). However, according to the SH, § 187, he had spent the winter of 1203 (following Ong Qan's defeat) at Abji'a Ködeger at the sources of the Khalkha River. These two localities – Abji'a Ködeger and Teme'en Ke'er – were near each other, as is indeed confirmed in § 191. Pèrlée², 11 (= Pèrlée⁴, 101), says that it was undoubtedly situated north-west of the Khalkha. The location of the Teme'en Steppe has been discussed by various scholars (in particular, Wang Kuo-wei and Yanai Watari), the consensus being that it was north-east of Dalai Nör (or Dar Nör; the Chinese Ta-li po or Ta-erh ho; see NMP, I, 355) at about 44° N 117° E. Their argument, based on other references to Teme'en Ke'er in the YS, is summarized in Mu, II, 246, n. 15. On the other hand, the Teme'en Ke'er of the SH was beyond doubt near the Khalkha River. Does that mean then that there were two areas having the same name, as is often the case in Mongolia? In the present instance I do not think so. I believe it quite possible that the whole region extending for about 500 km southwestwards from the Buir Nör and Khalkha River to the Dalai Nör was loosely known in Činggis Qan's time as the 'Camel Steppe.' Thus, the place where he was hunting in the spring of 1204 would have been the northern end of Teme'en Ke'er, whereas the Temēn Kēr (= Teme'en Ke'er) of YS² 118, 2919, where he was encamped in the year 1214, must have been the southern end of it. The term *ke'er* 'steppe, vast grass plain' could, in fact, apply to a wide area, as was the case

with the other famous steppe, the Sa'ari Ke'er west of the Kerulen (cf. HCG, 389). See Ra, VII, 65-66; and above, n. 128.

Tülkin Če'üt ('[?] Tülkin Hills') was obviously a group of two or more hills in the same area. On this name see Mo, 260. On the basis of the transcription found in Rašīd al-Dīn's work, the name of this locality should be read Tülkül or Tülkil Če'üt. Cf. SL², I/2, 146 and n. 10; Pe, 66, n. 8. However, neither Tülkin nor Tülkül or Tülkil yield a satisfactory meaning for the name of a hill or hills in Mongolian. Prof. H. Franke (p.c.) has suggested a possible relationship with tu. *tülki* 'fox' ('place where foxes abound?') – in this case perhaps 'Fox Hills'?

For *qomor-* (mo. id.) 'to encircle', cf. TMEN, no. 285.

For *aba* 'hunt', lit. 'a circular battue', see above, n. 115. For the expression *aba de'ere bö'et*, see Cleaves 1952, 104, n. 147 (but cf. Cl, 118, where *bö'et* is rendered as 'then'). For *bö'et*, cf. above, n. 110.

'There is nothing we can do now', lit. 'what shall (= can) we do now?' – a rhetorical question: the geldings being lean, they would be unfit for battle.

Otčigin Noyan is Činggis Qan's younger brother Temüge Otčigin, already mentioned in §§ 60 and 79 as Temüge, and in § 99 as Temüge Otčigin. See above, n. 60. This is the first time in the SH that (Temüge) Otčigin is given the additional title of *noyan* – a title often bestowed on the *qan*'s brothers and male offspring as high-ranking personages, in this case equivalent to 'prince' (*kö'ün*). Cf. HCG, 178; Vlad.², 145 et passim; Boyle 1956, 153 (4). The same applies to Činggis' half-brother Belgütei, who in the same passage is referred to as Belgütei Noyan (as also in § 112).

For the expressions *yekin šiltaqdaqu* 'how can one make the excuse?', lit. 'how is one to use as pretence?', and *yekin sa'uqdaqu* 'how can we stay put?', lit. 'how is one to sit?', see Poppe 1964, 371.

For a translation and discussion of Belgütei's words up to 'difficult', see Mo, 111-113. For 'bones' (*yasun*) = 'body', cf. above, n. 175. 'Are boastful, bragging that ...', lit. 'saying ...

are speaking big words.’ For *olotu* ‘numerous’, lit. ‘having many’, cf. DO, 511a. For certain grammatical features of this section, see also Cleaves 1953, 78, n. 7; and ‘Trois documents’, 466.

‘Burdened with their palatial tents, won’t they abandon them?’ (*ordo ger anu e’ürejü üliü-’ü qoçoru’ufai*), lit. ‘Carrying their palatial tents (*ordo ger*; see above, n. 123) on their backs, won’t they (i.e. the palatial tents) stay behind?’ The word *e’ürejü*, *converbium imperfecti* of *e’üre-*, is not glossed in the text and is a *hapax legomenon*. The sectional summary paraphrases the whole sentence as ‘their homes (= tents) will be left empty’ (Y² 7, 17b), hence the rendering ‘Would their *ordo* tents, becoming empty, perhaps, not remain behind?’ in Cl, 119 (cf. Li, 78; Ev-Pop, 149). Murakami (Mu, II, 247, n. 18) suggests that *e’üre-* may correspond to mo. *egürle-* ‘to stay always in the same place’ (see Les., 302b; DO, 762b), hence the renderings ‘be as usual’ (如常) and ‘intact’ in Do¹, 176, and On, 94, respectively. However, in principle *e’üre-* should rather correspond to mo. *egür-* (kh. *üürëx*) ‘to carry on one’s back.’ See Les., 301b; Cév., 629a; MED, 410a. Damdinsürën in fact translates: ‘They cannot carry their palatial tents on their backs; surely they will abandon them and flee!’ (Da⁵, 140; cf. Ja, 256). Γa, 117, and Oz¹, IV, 264, 271, render this sentence as ‘Will their palatial tents, being smashed, not be left behind?’ on the basis of TH, 98-99 (= JYT, 174), which makes *e’üre-* correspond to kh. *üürëx*, *üürëx* (= mo. *yegüre-*; see Cév., 629a, 619a; Les., 431a), ‘to break, crumble, etc.’ I follow Damdinsürën’s interpretation and take *e’üre-* to mean ‘to carry a burden, to be burdened with’, but with some reservation in view of the fact that in the SH the verb ‘to carry on one’s back, to carry off’ (mo. *egür-*, *ügür-*) appears in the forms *ü’ür-*, *ür-*. See HW, 165, 167. However, the alternation *e ~ ü* does occur in the SH (see ‘Quelques problèmes’, 268) and, in any event, the verb in question occurs in Written Mongolian in both forms. Nevertheless, it seems that the Ming translator(s) also had some difficulty in understanding the word *e’ürejü* since they left it

untranslated. This problem deserves further investigation. What Belgütei means is that, should the Mongols attack the Naiman by surprise, the Naiman would flee leaving behind all their possessions – horses and cattle, the chiefs’ tents, etc.

‘In high places’, i.e. in mountain forests.

‘Allow such *people* to keep boasting in this way?’ lit. ‘let the same speak such big words as these?’

§ 191. ‘Returning from the hunt’ (*aba ba’u’at*). For the expression *aba ba’u-* (= pmo. *aba bayu-*) ‘to return from the hunt’, lit. ‘to come down from the battue’, see ‘Trois documents’, 444, n. 31.

The Abjiqa Köteger of § 191 is the same locality called Abji’a Ködeger in § 187, the reading Abjiqa (= Abjiya > Abji’a) reflecting the written form – a further indication that the text used by the Ming transcribers was in Uighur-Mongol script. For *t ~ d* in Köteger ~ Ködeger, see ‘Quelques problèmes’, 243-244.

For Keltegei Qada at the Or Bend of the river Khalkha, see above, n. 175.

Before the dramatic confrontation with the Naiman in May 1204, Činggis begins the reorganization of the army that will be continued and completed in the Year of the Tiger 1206 (see § 202ff.). He starts by counting his forces (*to’a-ban to’olalduju*, lit. ‘counting his number’; cf. § 265) and dividing them into units of a thousand (*minqa[n] = mingqa[n]*), sometimes referred to as chiliarchies, a hundred (*ja’un*) and ten (*harban*) men, appointing a leader or commander (*noyan*) in charge of each unit. The system of decimal classification of military forces among the nomadic tribes of Inner Asia is very old; it existed in the Hsiung-nu empire well before our era. See Li, 166, n. 191. On Činggis Qan’s introduction of this system, see Vlad.², 131-132; MJK, 43; and MEYD, 9-10. Further references are given below, nn. 202 and 224. It should be noted that already at the time of Činggis’ break with Jamuqa, Činggis refers to his future organization of the army along these lines by saying to Qorči: ‘I will make you a commander of ten thousand (*tümen-ü noyan*)’

(§ 121); and that, earlier on, Ong Qan of the Kereyit had divided his army into units of ten thousand (*tümet*, pl. of *tümen*) before the joint campaign against the Merkit to rescue Börte (§ 104). As stated above (n. 104), it was almost certainly the Kereyit that provided the model for Činggis' reorganization of his own army in 1204 and 1206. The expressions *minqan* (*ja'un*, *harban*) *minqala-* (*ja'ula-*, *harbala-*) are technical expressions meaning 'to form units of a thousand (a hundred, ten) men each.' On the expression *minqan-u* (*ja'un-u*, *harban-u*) *noyan*, see Cleaves 1953, 46, n. 7. Henceforth, in the translation and the commentary, a *minqan* will be rendered as 'a unit of a thousand' (= 'a one-thousand-man unit'), or simply 'a thousand', as in Cl. For *minqa[n]*, cf. also above, n. 170.

At the same time Činggis appointed *čerbin* (pl. of *čerbi*), i.e. chamberlains (Cl, 119: 'stewards'; On, 95: 'commanders'), and organized his personal bodyguard, which will also be enlarged and restructured in 1206. These chamberlains, who are already mentioned in § 120, were important officials whose main function was, apparently, the management of the *qan's* household and property, including the serving of food and control of the domestic staff, and the safety of the *qan*, i.e. with security in general. See HCG, 348; TMEN, no. 176; Hambis 1975, 42-45, n. 64; Mu, I, 261-262, n. 1. Cf. also §§ 124 and 234 for the *čerbi's* duties. *Her mabalin no usor...*

Of the six chamberlains appointed on this occasion, four have already been mentioned: Dödei (or Dodai) Čerbi in § 124; Doqolqu Čerbi in § 120; Ögele (~ Ögölen ~ Ögölei) Čerbi in §§ 120 and 124; and Söyiketü Čerbi in § 120. See above, nn. 120 and 124. Tolun Čerbi of the Qongqotan is a famous personage who distinguished himself in Činggis Qan's Western Campaign and took part in the final expedition against the Tangut state of Hsi Hsia. There is still some confusion about his blood relationship with Söyiketü and Kököčü Teb Tenggeri, who are usually assumed to be his younger brothers, being all offspring of Father Mönqlik. See HWC, 476-477, n. 2, 91, n. 2; Hambis 1975, 42-45; Mu, II, 252-253, n. 4; and Boyle 1963, 240, no. 12.

Bučaran Čerbi has been identified with another military commander mentioned in various Chinese sources and, possibly, also by Rašid al-Dīn. See Mu, II, 253-254, n. 5. Since we know that Dödei, Doqolqu, Ögele (~ Ögölen ~ Ögölei) and Söyiketü were made chamberlains at the time of Činggis Qan's election as tribal chief (see above, §§ 120, 124; for the dating of these events, see § 123), it seems that the 'appointment' of 1204 was merely a confirmation of these four personages in their position, with the addition of two more *čerbin* as part of the reorganization. However, in view of the considerable lag of time between the original appointment and the later confirmation, it is possible (and, perhaps, more likely) that those four personages are called *čerbi* retrospectively in §§ 120 and 124, the appointment of 1204 being the original one.

'He formed', lit. 'having finished forming.' Cf. Cl, 119: 'Making an end of dividing.'

The *qan's* bodyguard or, simply, the Guard (*kešik* = pmo. *kešig*, *kesig*), divided into dayguards (*turqa'ut* [pl. of *turqaq* = pmo. *turyaq*]) and nightguards (*kebte'ül* = pmo. *kebttegül*), was the most important military institution. On these terms, see CY, III, 57; NHHO, 116, n. 1; Chavannes 1904, 429-432, n. 3; Pelliot 1930b, 27-31; Cleaves 1951a, 517-521; Mo, 244-249; Haenisch 1961, 144-149; LST, 175; Poppe 1967, 515-517, no. 10; idem 1975, 166; ED, 749b-750a; Blaskovics 1973, 195; MKSLT, II, 797; MTG, 159; MNTK, 56; Kyčanov 1993; and especially TMEN, nos. 322, 331, 332, 333, 334, 882, 1633, 1634. (For the interpretation, and misinterpretation, of the term *turqaq*, see Ra, IX, 140-141, n. 224.) On the organization of the Guard see, in particular, the important studies in MSK, 211-262; MEYD, 14 et passim; YTSHT, 59-111, as well as other numerous contributions by Chinese and Japanese scholars, such as Katayama 1977, and those cited in AA 24:1973, 114 (s.v. 'Masugi'); Sugita 1979, 43-45; CKSYCTT, 1984.8, 2; and YShi, 78-80. See also above, nn. 70 and 170, and below, nn. 192 and 224. The expression *kešikten ilqaju oro'ul-* means 'to choose

and recruit *men* who serve on roster (i.e. the guards).' See Mo, 247.

For the recruitment of bodyguards from the sons of military leaders as well as of ordinary people, cf. § 224, where these instructions are repeated and expanded. The relevant passage in § 224 has been translated and discussed in Mo, 250-257, where expressions such as *dürü(dürü* in § 191)-*yin gü'ün* 'ordinary people,' *erdemüt(t)en* 'who have talents, who are able', and *šil sayit* (= *beye šil sayitan* of § 191) 'of good appearance (i.e. well-built)' are discussed. For *dürü-yin gü'ün* cf. also ÖMNSÜ, 1989.1, 12; and MEYD, 36. These 'ordinary people', i.e. people of ordinary status, must be distinguished as a class of individuals from the *qaračus*, a term usually rendered as 'commoners' (fr. 'roturiers'; see Mo, 52), who were *le menu peuple* or plebs of Mongol society, just above the slaves and servants. However, the connotations of these terms varied in time with the internal changes of society and are not clearly definable. See Vlad.², 99, 154 and n. 4. In the interlinear version, the word *ütü* before *dürü-yin gü'ün* is glossed 'only that way, only as far as that' (只那般). Cf. HIIY, IIa, 22b: 只 ('only'). See *Matériel I*, 109; *Matériel II*, 40 (14v, 1). The expression in question refers to ordinary tribesmen who were not in the *qan*'s service. Cf. Cl, 119, n. 29; Oz¹, IV, 278-279, n. 5.

On Činggis' trusted envoy Arqai Qasar, see above, n. 177. He is listed as a commander of a thousand in SL², I/2, 268.

For the term *ba'atut* (pl. of *ba'atur*) 'brave (or valiant) men (= warriors)', see above, n. 50. Here this term is applied to the élite warriors especially selected by Arqai Qasar to form the thousand-man unit under him.

'To fight before me in time of battle', lit. 'On the day of battle, let them fight standing before me.'

Olon üdür literally means 'many (or most) days'; however, the sectional summary (Y² 7, 20a) renders this expression 'in peace time' (平時), no doubt because, as pointed out by N. Poppe (p.c.), 'most days' are not spent at war.

'Acting in consultation with Qudus Qalčan', lit. 'You be consulting with Qudus Qalčan on the command!' (*eyetüldiüjü atqun*). The verb *eyetüldii-*, on which see above, n. 36, is employed here as a technical term meaning 'to share command, to command jointly', as evident from the sectional summary's rendering 'Ögöle Čerbi and Qudus Qalčan shall together (一同 = jointly) command the seventy dayguards' (ibid.). Cf. also §§ 209, 223. For the use of the auxiliary verb *a-* (*atuqai*, *atqun*, etc.) in these sentences, see VG, 62, 63.

§ 192. For an annotated translation of the entire passage dealing with Činggis Qan's order concerning the duties of the Guard, etc., cf. Cleaves 1951a, 520-521 (slightly different from that in Cl, 120). For further translations and commentaries on difficult passages in this section, see Mo, 77, 139-141 and n. 140, 248 and nn. 234, 235. This passage must be read in conjunction with the ordinance concerning the same guard duties recorded in § 229.

In the present section, the word *kešik tout court* appears for the first time. On it see above, nn. 70 and 191. For a detailed description of service regulations for the quiverbearers (*qorči*), stewards (*ba'urči*), guards, etc., as set out in 1206, see §§ 224-229. For the further development of these institutions in Ögödei's time, see § 278. The term for 'doorkeeper(s)' appears in this section in the two forms *e'ütenči* and *e'üdečin*. For *t ~ d*, cf. 'Quelques problèmes', 243-244; for *e'ütenči ~ e'üdeči*, cf. *qoninči ~ qoniči(n)*, see above, n. 118. For the term itself, see TMEN, no. 74; RH, 203, no. 6.

'Shall see that *those of their men whose duty it is* to lie all around *Our* tent do so', lit. 'shall make to lie *those of their men* who are to lie all around the tent.' Cf. Cl, 121.

'The following morning' (*manaqari*). For *manaqari ~ manaqaru*, see above, n. 159. The *manaGar-i* in Oz¹, IV, 280 (id. in V, 303) reflects the error in the Chinese transcription where the final *i* of *manaqari* is erroneously taken for the accusative suffix. See Mo, 17-18, n. 12. Cf. Lewicki 1938,

17ff. With regard to the 'morning soup' and the steward's duties concerning it, cf. above, § 124.

'Their respective tasks' (*mün mün mör mör-dür-iyen*): cf. below, n. 229.

'And take their *appointed* places', lit. 'let them sit upon their seats.'

Regarding Arqai Qasar, there is an apparent contradiction between §§ 191 and 192. In § 191, Činggis Qan orders Arqai Qasar to choose the 'brave men' (*ba'atut*), i.e. the élite warriors, himself, and appoints him their leader. In § 192, on the other hand, we read that Činggis Qan *Arqai Qasar-a ba'atut ilqaju*, a sentence which has usually been understood as 'chose (lit. "choosing") brave men for Arqai Qasar.' Cf. Ha, 78; Ko, 144; Li, 79; Cl, 120; On, 95-96; Ev-Pop, 151. However, this sentence should be read *Arqai Qasar-a ba'atut ilqaju* (< *ilqa'aju*) 'let (lit. "letting") Arqai Qasar choose the brave men.' Cf. Damdinsürén's rephrasing: '(Činggis Qayan) selected Arqai Qasar and making him the chief (*daruγa*) of the brave men ...' (Da¹, 167); Jagchid's rendering: '(after) causing Arqai Qasar to choose the brave men ...' (Ja, 261); and Ozawa's rendering 'making Arqai Qasar choose the brave men' (Oz¹, IV, 282). Unfortunately, the sectional summary of § 192 omits the final passage concerning Arqai Qasar, but that of § 191 confirms that Činggis Qan ordered him to select the *ba'atut*. See Y² 7, 20a and 22a. There is, therefore, no doubt that *ilqaju* = *ilqaju* < *ilqa'aju*, converbum imperfecti of the factitive of *ilqa-* (= mo. *ilya-*) 'to choose, select.' Cf. SH *tüge-* 'to complete', fact. *tüge'e-* ~ *tüke'e-* 'to distribute, allot' > *tükē-* (MA, 358a: *tügē-*) id. See JŚ, 67, § 110; HW, 153-154. For the dative-locative (instead of the accusative) of the person performing the action, see GWM, 170-171, § 614.

§ 193. Here we have another precise date for the actual beginning of the campaign against the Naiman tribe led by Tayang Qan, i.e. 17 May 1204, a day of the 'Red Circle' (*hula'an tergel*) and, therefore, an auspicious day. See above, n. 81. The custom of

sacrificing to the standard (lit. 'sprinkling the standard *with kumis*') has been mentioned before, in § 106. See above, n. 106, for several references to this well-known practice. Cf. also Li, 166, n. 193; above, n. 63, and below, n. 202.

Jebe and Qubilai (of the Barulas tribe) had been sent out together on previous missions. Cf. § 153 and com.

For the Sa'ari Steppe see above, n. 128. It is possible that Qangqarqan should be read Qangqar Qan, *qan* 'lord' being often used (but in more modern usage) as an honorific designation of a mountain. Cf. NMP, I, 341; Li, loc. cit. It has been suggested that Qangqar is another name of the Qangqai, i.e. the Khangai range (see Li, 166, n. 193); however, in my view, this is unlikely since this mountain range is mentioned at the very beginning of § 194 in its regular form (Qangqai = Qangyai, see below). According to N. Poppe (p.c.), Qangqarqan could also be a diminutive form in *-qan* of *qangqar* (= *qangqār*, mo. *qangqa-γar*), i.e. 'rather large.' The Qangqarqan has been identified by Pêrlée², 7, with a mountain in the eastern Khangai called Xanxar Uul at 47° N 101° E. Cf. Pêrlée⁴, 90. This mountain is not marked on the maps available to me, but from its situation as given by Pêrlée it seems to be close to the Tanui River and the place where Tayang Qan was encamping at the time (see below); this would place it too far west, as the Qangqarqan was a mountain near enough to the Sa'ari Steppe to permit the Naiman scouts to watch the Mongol encampment. It is tempting to identify it with the Qangqarqai mentioned in the *Pei-cheng hou-lu* 北征後錄 of Chin Yu-tzu (see NMP, I, 324), called in Chinese San-hsia k'ou or 'Three Defile Entrance (or Pass)' – probably identical with San-kuan k'ou 三關口 – situated in the mountains to the north-west of the Sa'ari Steppe and which, I think, corresponds to the present-day Dasaiin Ama south of Ulan Bator, but this is evidently too far to the north-east. The Sa'ari Steppe embraced a vast area (about 400 km) from the Kerulen in the east to the plain south and south-west of the Tūla, probably as far as Xögsiniī Tal at 47° N 103° E, the 'classical' portion being, as we know, between the southern bend of the

Tūla and the southern bend of the Kerulen. It seems that in 1204, Činggis Qan's army was deployed in the western portion of the Sa'ari Steppe, in an area somewhere between the Tūla and the Doloon Uul. It must have been in the region between the Doloon Uul and the Orkhon that the encounter with Tayang Qan took place (see § 195 and com.). In that case, Mount Qangqarqan was probably in the northern part of the Doloon Uul. For *teri'ün*, lit. 'head', meaning 'top of a mountain', cf. Dogsürén 1977, 184.

'Our patrolmen *and theirs* went in pursuit of one another' (*bidanu qara'ul-a hüldeldüjü*), lit. 'A mutual chase by our patrolmen *and theirs* took place.' However, according to Mostaert, the dative-locative suffix ought not to be there [A.M.: '-a fautif']. Cf. Oz¹, IV, 291, n. 2.

'The Naiman patrol seized one of (lit. "from") our patrolmen who had a white horse with a rather poor (lit. "bad") saddle.' This sentence is rather ambiguous in the original, and several translators understood it to mean (as I myself did in 1978) that only the white horse with the bad saddle was seized by the Naiman scouts. Cf., Na², 238; Ko, 144; Li, 79; Da⁵, 143; Ja, 262; Do¹, 183; Ra, VII, 50; Oz¹, IV, 289; On, 96 (and the 2001 ed., 170). However, the correct rendering in Ha, 79, and Cl, 120-121, is supported by the Chinese sectional summary. See Y² 7, 25b. Cf. Wa, 275; Wei, 133.

For Dödei Čerbi see above, n. 124. For *duratqa-* 'to suggest, give advice', cf. 'Trois documents', 472.

'It is we who are few *in number* ... exhausted.' For this sentence, cf. Street 1986a, 16-17.

'Each light fires in five different places', lit. 'light fires in five different places per man (= per head).' As noted by Cleaves and by Ligeti, Haenisch's interpretation of this passage (in Ha, 79; 158, n. 193) is off the mark. See Cleaves 1949a, 528-529; Li, 166, n. 193. The verb 'to frighten' is *oqjatqa-* (w.f. *oqjatqa-*), factitive of *oqjat-* (w.f. *oqjad-*) 'to be frightened'; cf. mo. *oqjam*, *oqjom* (kh. *ogcom*) 'abrupt, sudden', and *oqjomla-* 'to be abrupt; to flare up.' See below, n. 199.

'While we keep them in doubt' (*hülürige'ültele*). For the verb *hülürige'ül-* (fact. of *hülürige-*, w.f. *ülürige-*) 'to cause to be in doubt, to confuse', cf. kh. *gölröx* 'to be absent-minded, to forget oneself.' See Pelliot 1925, 239, no. 76; Oz¹, IV, 293-294, n. 8. This verb is a *hapax legomenon*.

'When our geldings are satiated', lit. 'When we have satiated our geldings.'

'Won't we get the better of them?', lit. 'Will it *not* do (= succeed)?' – a rhetorical question.

'Činggis Qa'an gave the following order: "Things being so, let them light the fires!", and he proclaimed *it as law* (*jasaq*) to the soldiers', lit. 'at the moment when Činggis Qan gave the order, saying, "...", he proclaimed the *jasaq* to the soldiers.' As I stated in de Rachewiltz 1993, 97, 'What Činggis did, then, was to issue the order and proclaim it as *jasay*, i.e. as if it were a law, or with the full force of the law, meaning that in view of the critical situation facing the Mongols, any breach of this order would be dealt with extreme severity as prescribed by the *jasay*. In my opinion, this passage has been misunderstood by previous translators, who have incorrectly assumed that *jasay* here means simply "order." Now, the rather loose usage of the term *yāsā* when an 'order' or 'decree' (*firmān*) is meant in the Islamic sources is well documented, but the Chinese and Mongol sources clearly distinguish between the two, as shown by the consistency of the Chinese renderings (*fa-ling* 法令/*fa-tu* [法度] for *jasay* and *sheng-chih* 聖旨 for *jarliy*), and by their regular usage in all Mongol documents (epigraphies, edicts) of the Yüan in Uighur and 'Phags-pa scripts. In our passage, *jarliy* is also glossed as *fa-tu* "law" in the Chinese interlinear version [Y² 7, 24b].' Cf. Ratchnevsky 1974, 472, 478. For the *jasaq* (= mo. *jasay*), cf. above, n. 153.

For the simile of the stars, cf. Cl, 121, n. 34.

'They seem to increase daily', lit. 'are they increasing by the day?' (*üdüür-tür undurun aqun-ü*). For the verb *undur-* 'to rise, increase', cf. Les., 876a. The reading *ündür-ün* in L², 152, and

R, 101, line 6822, 333a (s.v. 'ündür-un'), is incorrect. Cf. Ozawa in DBS, 469-475; Oz¹, IV, 295-296, n. 12.

§ 194. According to Pêrlée², 7, Qaçir Usun ('Mule Water [= River]) probably corresponds to the present-day Xoromsgo Gorxi, i.e. Xoromsgo (= mo. Qormosoyā) Stream (cf. Pêrlée¹, 70; the 'Khoromogo' of Ra, VII, 70, n. 194, is a mistake for 'Khoromsgo') in the Khangai range at 47° N 102° E (Pêrlée²'s '112°' is an obvious error for '102°' carried over from Pêrlée¹ – id. in Pêrlée⁴, 90). This stream is not found on our maps, but the position given by Pêrlée seems to be correct. We know from § 195 that, when Tayang Qan left his camp at Qaçir Usun, he went downstream along the Tamir River, i.e. the Urd (or Urida) Tamir Gol of our maps, and crossed the Orkhon. Therefore, his camp must have been in one of the valleys crossed by the tributary streams of the Tamir just south of Tsetserleg, and Qaçir Usun was almost certainly one of them. I doubt, however, whether one can identify Qaçir Usun with a particular stream in that region. In the SWCCL¹, 54b, the place in question is given as 'the river Qajir Usun of the Qangqai Mountain(s).' In his commentary to this passage, Wang Kuo-wei (loc. cit.) says that this is the present-day Ha-jui 哈瑞 River, i.e. the Hanuy (Xanuī) Gol, or Khanuy River of our maps, between the Hoyt (Xoīt) Tamir and Chuluut (Čuluut) rivers, an identification proposed also by T'u Chi (MWESC 2, 28a) and recently adopted by Bazargūr and Enkhbayar (CKA, 54b). Unfortunately, this identification is based on wrong phonetic grounds, i.e. the similarity in sound between Ha-jui and Ha-chih-erh (Qajir). In my view, it is also unacceptable because it would place the Naiman camp too far to the west. The parallel account by Rašīd al-Dīn (SL², I/2, 147) says that Tayang Qan was 'in the river valley of the Altai at the boundary of the territory of Kankai.' (For the Persian text see SL¹, 15 [1888], 4, line 4.) The name 'Altai' is puzzling. This passage seems to be corrupt: the original text of Rašīd al-Dīn, or the source he used, probably said that Tayang 'had come from the Altai' and was then 'in a

river valley in the Qangqai.' Cf. D'Ohsson, I, 86, and Grousset's remarks in EM, 160, n. 2. In the corresponding passage of the SWCCL there is no mention of the Altai Mountains. N. Poppe (p.c.) indicated that the term 'Altai' does not always mean 'the Altai Mountains', but simply 'snow-covered mountains' (ger. *Hochgebirge*); thus, it could refer to any mountain range. For *qačir* (< tu.) 'mule', cf. Poppe 1955, 40. As for the Khangai range, mentioned in this section of the SH (and nowhere else in the work) in the form Qangqai (= Qangyai; cf. AT¹, 123a, 125b, id.), see Hambis, 36-38; cf. also MGYMC, 332-335, for numerous references to these mountains in the Chinese and Persian sources.

Güčülük (= Küčülüg) is the Turkic word *küčlüg* 'strong' (cf. TMEN, no. 1676), used here as the name of the Naiman prince. On this name/epithet borne by members of the Naiman royal family, see HCG, 305. Güčülük had an adventurous life. After the defeat of his people by Činggis in 1204, he fled to Central Asia and sought asylum in the Qara Kitai capital Balāsāyūn (see above, n. 151). In 1211 he succeeded in deposing the *giür qan* of the Qara Kitai and seized the throne for himself. However, he governed badly and alienated his subjects. In 1218, just before setting out on his campaign against Muḥammad of Khwārazm, Činggis sent Ĵebe to crush him and the Naiman prince was eventually killed by Mongol horsemen on the Pamir. On this personage, see HCSL, 710c, s.v. 'Ch'ü-ch'u-lu'; and below, nn. 202 and 237.

For the passage 'The geldings of the Mongols are lean ... gushes forth?', see Mostaert's discussion and translation in Mo, 113-115.

'To disengage ourselves', lit. 'to separate from one another.'

For the 'preverb' *hirnes* (< *hirne-*, mo. *irme-* 'to blink, wink') in the expression *hirnes ülü ki-* 'not to blink', cf. Bese 1969, 126, n. 5.

'Is it advisable for us/To fight ...?', lit. 'If we fight ... will it do?'

'The southern slopes of the Altai' (*Altai-yin ölkes*). *Ölkes* (pl. of *ölke*) is glossed as *shan-hsia* 山下 'the foot of a mountain', and in § 196 (Y² 7, 43b) as *shan-ch'ien* 山前 'the front (side) of a mountain', i.e. the southern side. Cf. mo. *ölke* 'sunny side of a mountain' (Les., 633b).

'Fighting a dog's fight' (*noqai kerel kerejü*) is a technical expression for the well-known military tactics consisting of withdrawing one's soldiers, inducing the enemy to pursue them, suddenly turn back and attack the by then exhausted pursuers – hence the image of fighting, i.e. biting back, like a dog. See Li, 167, n. 194; MNTSZA, 83-85; Oz¹, IV, 305-306, n. 6; Kahn 1996, 101.

'When we have made their bellies leaner', lit. 'making their bellies stretch up', i.e. reducing the volume of their bellies and, therefore, making them fitter for combat. Cf. Mo, 115.

'We shall *turn back and* smash into their faces' lit. 'we shall pour out *our troops* over their faces' – a rather graphic image. Cf. Mo, 115-116.

'Again *that* woman Tayang!' (*ana'ai-yin eme Tayang*). For *ana'ai* (= pmo. *anayai*, mo. *anai*), cf. kh. *aanaï* 'again (impatiently)' (MMED, 2b); Les., 42a. Ozawa reads *ana'āi eyin, eme Tayang ...* 'Once again like this. The woman (like) Tayang ...' (Oz¹, IV, 298, 302, 306-307, n. 8). This emendation is not warranted.

'Most Mongols' (*Mongqol-un olongkin*). For *olongkin*, lit. 'who are *the most* numerous', i.e. 'the majority, most', cf. Cleaves 1950, 111, n. 58. It is worth noting that from this remark of Güçülük it appears that a considerable number of Mongol clans, i.e. clans of the Mongqol tribe, were still rallied around their elected *gür qan* Jamuqa (cf. above, § 141). Jamuqa was last mentioned in § 181, when he was still with Ong Qan; when the latter was defeated, he escaped and joined Tayang Qan and the Naiman in their fight against Činggis Qan.

'Who *dares* not walk further than/A pregnant woman *goes* to urinate', lit. 'Who has not yet gone to the urinating place (*ši'eküi qajar-a*) of a pregnant woman', but *qajar* 'place', means

also 'distance'; hence, *qajar-a* should be rendered here, as in § 4 above, as 'for/at a distance', i.e. 'as far as, no further than.' In other words, Tayang Qan is so hesitant and weak-hearted that he does not dare go out of his tent and cover even the short distance a pregnant woman would go to urinate. The same idea is expressed in the next sentence (lit. 'Who does not *even* venture so far as/A wheel-tied calf *reaches* for its feed') which, however, is understood differently by different translators. *Gürdün-ü tuqul* is, literally, 'a wheel's calf.' This expression is understood by Haenisch to mean a calf as tall as a wheel (Ha, 80), by Kozin as a calf that turns around because it is sick (Ko, 146), by Ligeti as a calf which is as round as a wheel (Li, 80), by Damdinsürén as a small calf (Da⁵, 144), and by Murakami, Ozawa, Cleaves, Onon, Even and Pop, among others, as a calf tied or tethered to a (cart) wheel near the tent to prevent it from sucking its mother's milk, since she is milked every day (Mu, II, 262, 270, n. 13; Oz¹, IV, 302, 307-308, n. 11 [cf. Oz², II, 24, 42, n. 4]; Cl, 123 and n. 41; On, 97; Ev-Pop, 153, 287, n. 31), etc. I now believe that Murakami's interpretation (which is only a refinement on that in Na², 241) is the correct one. Güçülük's insolent words in alliterative form are no doubt an ancient saying. Cf. Cérénsodnom 1986, 72. For *tuqul* (= mo. *tuγul*) 'calf less than a year old', cf. TMEN, no. 909; RH, 217, no. 20. The high official, or great chief (*yeke noyan*), Qori Sübeçi **had** already appeared in § 188.

'Never showed a man's back or a gelding's rump to an enemy that was his match' – almost certainly an idiomatic phrase. The meaning is, of course, that he would never flee when facing an adversary of equal or superior strength. For *nökör* 'companion' meaning also 'enemy', cf. above, n. 153.

For the construction of the sentence *čimayi eyin ... bö'esü* 'Had we known ...', cf. *Lettres*, 68-69.

'Even though she is *only* a woman' (*qadun [= qatun] ber gü'ün bö'esü*), lit. 'even though she is *but* a lady person', or 'lady person (= woman) that she is.'

'What a pity, alas' (*čima qayiran*). For *čima*, an exclamation of pity and regret glossed as a 'sighing sound' (嘆聲), cf. Oz¹, IV, 310, n. 15.

On Kökse'ü Sabraq, an army leader of Tayang Qan last mentioned in § 190, see § 159 and com. This is the only reference to his advanced age.

'The discipline in our army' (*čerig-ün bidan-u jasal*). For *jasal* '(military) order, discipline', cf. tu. *yasal* 'army order' (MA, 408b); TMEN, no. 1791.

'This is, surely, the favourable time and destiny of the Mongols decreed by Heaven and Earth' (*Mongqol-un čaq jaya'an bui je*), i.e. the turn in favour of the Mongols as preordained by Heaven and Earth. Cf. § 248, where the same expression is used in its full form, i.e. with both Heaven and Earth specifically mentioned as the preordainers of the destiny (*jaya'an*; see above, n. 1), and the favourable time (*čaq*).

'We are finished!', lit. 'it has not become favourable for us' (*ese bolbi*). The interlinear gloss is *pu chung liao* 不中了 'it is of no avail (or it cannot be done, it's no good)', i.e. 'we are not going to succeed.' Cf. Če, 163: *bütükü ügei bolba* 'it has become not feasible (or impossible)'; and Da⁵, 145: *Bid diıldex bolno* 'We shall be defeated.'

'It looks as if you are quite powerless', lit. 'you are just (*ele*) as though unable.' Cf. Street 1986, 25.

'Having struck on his quiver', no doubt to emphasize his decision to leave and abandon Tayang Qan to his fate – much as a Chinese would have said 'having shaken his sleeve' (拂袖). Wa, 277 ('after giving his horse a tap with his quiver'), has misunderstood the text of the sectional summary (Y² 7, 31a). Cf. Wei, 135.

'He trotted off and went his separate way' (*buru'u qataraba*), lit. 'he trotted off separately', i.e. he went his own way, abandoning Tayang Qan.

§ 195. 'A life means to die, a body means to suffer: it is the same destiny for all!' This conception of life is at the very root of the

Weltanschauung of the ancient Turkish and Mongolian people. Cf., e.g., the Kül Tigin Inscription (AD 732), where we read: 'Human beings have all been created in order to die' (*kisī oγī qop ölgäli törūmis*). See GOT, 237, 271. Cf. MCPA, 43.

According to Grousset (CW, 151), 'Mount Naqu ... apparently corresponds to the Mount Namogo of our maps, or rather one of the neighbouring escarpments, north of Qaraqorum and Kosho-tsaydam', adding in a note 'Probably opposite the junction of the Tamir and the Orkhon. Cf. the map in Bouillane de Lacoste, *Au pays sacré des anciens Turcs*, p. 54.' Cf. EM, 163, 468. For Përlée², 5, 'Naku Gün' is the mountain now called Laxu Bayan (Uul) at 47° N 104° E in the Dašinčilën Sum of Bulgan Aïmag, (cf. Përlée⁴, 94, where '140' is a misprint for '104'). In Map¹ (Sheet NL 48), Dashinchiling Suma is marked at 47° 51' N 104° 03' E (cf. GM, 62b-63a), but Laxu (Lakhu) Bayan is not marked. Both the identifications of Grousset and Përlée are based on phonetic grounds. However, Grousset's 'Namogo' does not relate to Naqu, but to Nomoqan ('Peaceful'), one of the commonest names in Mongolian topography. Cf. GM, 165-166. Although Përlée's identification is probably correct, one would be inclined to identify the Naqu of the SH with the first mountainous area that Tayang Qan was likely to meet on his way from the Orkhon to the Sa'ari Steppe, i.e. the mountains south-east of the Ügey (Ügei) Nuur and north-west of the Doloon Uul at 47° 42' N 103° 07' E, among which rises the Yihe Berke Uula (Ix Bërx Uul), the 'Great Steep Mountain.' If so, the site of Čakirma'ut should be looked for east or south-east of these mountains, possibly in the valley of the Gashunii Gol and Taranaiin Gol, just north of Doloon Uul. Përlée², 9, identifies Čakirma'ut with present-day Caxirmoors at 47° N 104° E (in GM, 220b, a Tsakhirin Khural is listed at 47° 38' N 104° 25' E), which is certainly in the same general area. As for the name Čakirma'ut, according to N. Poppe (p.c.) it is a plural of *čakirmaγ, a word corresponding to kir. čayirmaq 'a 3-year-old deer.' See KiRS, II, 334a, s.v. 'čagyrmak I.'

'The more numerous, the greater damage (i.e. the loss); the less numerous, the lesser damage.' Cleaves translates differently: '[The issue] will be adversities [either which are] more than many or [which are] fewer than few', adding in a footnote, 'This seems to mean, "It is all or nothing", i.e., "We shall risk all."' See Cl, 124 and n. 48; and Cleaves 1986, 196, n. 26. Cf., however, Oz¹, IV, 322, 325-326, n. 2; On, 98; Će, 163; and Ev-Pop, 154. A contrast is clearly implied here between the large army of Tayang Qan and the less numerous forces of Činggis Qan. See Dödei Čerbi's remarks on the subject in § 193: 'It is we who are few *in number* ... They say the Naiman people are numerous ...'. Činggis indicates that by using the correct strategy in attacking the enemy, the smaller but more mobile army of the Mongols will be able to inflict substantial losses on the Naiman, who are hampered by their own size. The military tactics he employed on this occasion are mentioned immediately after.

Qaraqana, mo. *qar(a)γana*, *qarayuna*, kh. *xargana*, is the *Caragana* As. of which there are several species (*C. arborescens*, *C. jubata*, *C. spinosa*, etc.). See MOUNT, 24, where 'Karagana' *tout court* is given as *Caragana Lam.* Cf. Les., 933a; MED, 431a. Ours is, probably, the *Caragana arborescens*, also known as the Siberian (false) acacia, the Siberian pea-tree, etc. Cf. TMEN, no. 275; UNT, 118-119, no. 15196a; GSE, IX, 429b. This plant is a shrub or small tree, common in Siberia and northern Mongolia. According to Cleaves, the 'caragana marching-order' (*qaraqana yorčil*) meant 'to march with the troops massed in close order in the manner of the *qarayana*, a thorny shrub which grows in thick clumps on the steppe' (Cl, 124, n. 49). Onon, on the other hand, following Do¹, 193-195, says that it 'involved dividing the soldiers into many small groups which, although keeping contact with each other, maintained a low profile as they advanced' (On, 98, n. 244; 2001 ed., 173, n. 438). For Cleaves (loc. cit.), the 'lake battle-formation' (*na'ur bayildu'a*) meant 'to deploy with the troops widely scattered in the manner of the water of a lake

which spreads over a large area', whereas Onon (loc. cit.) says that it entailed sending 'waves of men' to surround and attack the enemy on all sides. For Cleaves (loc. cit.), to fight a 'chisel combat' (*ši'üči qatquldu'a*) meant to attack the enemy thrusting at his centre and penetrating straight into it like a chisel which is thrust into a piece of wood, whereas for Onon (2001 ed., *ibid.*), it entailed hand-to-hand combat by a line of soldiers driving straight through the middle of the enemy ranks. The word *ši'üči* 'chisel' corresponds to mo. *čüče* id. Cf. DO, 721a. For a further discussion of these tactics, cf. MNTSZA, 85-88; Nam 1994, 203. However, as pointed out by both Ligeti and Ozawa, we can only speculate on the exact meaning of these technical expressions. See Li, 167, n. 195; Oz¹, IV, 326, n. 3. In fact, N. Poppe (p.c.) suggested that there may never have been such battle-formations and that the text could be understood as follows: 'Moving (going, marching) through a caragana growth, fighting at the lake signpost (*bayi-du*, i.e. *bayi* [= Writ. Mong. *bai*] "signpost, milepost" + dat.-loc. suffix *-du*), let us fight with spears (*verbatim* let us sting, prick) a chisel-like spearfight.' None of the other sources mention specifically the type of battle-formation and attack chosen by Činggis Qan, but Rašid al-Dīn (SL², I/2, 147-148), describing these events, records how Ĵamuqa was so impressed by the battle-formation (*yāsāmīšī*) of his *anda* that he pointed it out to his companions (*nököt*) as being unlike any other, so much so that he promptly left the battlefield and abandoned Tayang Qan. Cf. the parallel passage in SWCCL¹, 55b, where Činggis Qan's movements are described (by Ĵamuqa) as 'extraordinary' (*ying-i* 英異). Therefore, we are almost certainly dealing here with tactical terminology.

It is worth noting that while Činggis led the vanguard (lit. 'became the vanguard': *alginčilaju*, here = *manglailaju*), he put his brother Joči Qasar in charge of the main body of the army (*qol jasa'ulba*), and his youngest brother Temüge Otčigin, called here Otčigin Noyan as in § 190, in charge of the reserve horses. The latter's appointment must be related to his remarks concerning the leanness or fatness of the geldings in § 190. For

this passage, cf. CLC, 114-115; Oz¹, IV, 327-328, n. 4; TMEN, nos. 324, 325 (on *kötöl*, pl. *kötöt*). Cf. above, n. 66.

'At that time Ĵamuqa had *also* set forth with his troops', lit. 'Then Ĵamuqa, *his* army setting forth.' For *čerik morila-*, cf. Cleaves 1996, 24, n. 162.

'Who are like wolves that come chasing a flock of sheep and pursuing them as far as the sheep-pen?', lit. 'who are like wolves chasing many sheep and come, chasing them to the sheep-pen?' For Tayang Qan's question to Ĵamuqa, and the wolf and sheep simile, cf. Poucha 1955, 166-168. With his question regarding the identity of Činggis Qan's companions (*nököt*) we are introduced to the poetic passage that follows which describes in epic imagery the characteristics of the 'four hounds' (*dörben noqas*), viz. Ĵebe (see § 146), Qubilai (see § 120), Ĵelme (see § 97), and Sübe'etei (see § 120 and below, n. 199). The question itself is couched in epic language, with the word *hüldeĵü* 'chasing, pursuing' repeated three times. Cf. Vlad.², 115-116. This is the first occurrence of the expression *dörben noqas* (written *noqais* in the text), analogous to the *dörben küliü üt*, or 'four steeds' (Bo'orču, Muqali, Boroqul and Čila'un) of § 163, the eight captains hand-picked by Činggis Qan as his 'stalwarts', i.e. as his chief lieutenants. On the symbolism of the number four, see above, n. 163. As in the case of the 'four steeds', the 'four hounds' became legendary figures in the later epic. See MNTSZA, 31-40. For the fusion of the two groups in the subsequent development of the legend, see HCG, 340-341. With the addition of Šigi Qutuqu (see § 135), the eight heroes in time became nine (the 'symbolic' number *par excellence*), thus forming the élite group of Činggis' companions celebrated in Mongolian literature as the *yisün örlüg* or 'Nine Paladins' (for the term *örlük*, pl. *örlü üt* 'valiant, hero', etc., see § 201 and com.). Throughout § 195, the word *noqas* (pl. of *noqai* 'dog, hound') is transcribed in Chinese with a redundant *-i-*: *noqais*. Cf. § 209: *dörben noqas*. On these forms, see Street 1990a, 352, 2.3 (D), 373, 8.3. For the plural form in *-s* v. that in *-t* (*noqot*, §

260), see Poppe 1975, 167. Cf. the remarks in Γa, 364-365, n. 571.

For the poetic passage on the 'four hounds', see Mo, 11-12, 194-195. *Širemün* originally meant 'hardened (pig) copper', as indicated by the glosses of the SH (cf. HW, 142) and the HIYY (cf. *Matériel I*, 98). In Written Mongolian and the modern languages and dialects it means 'cast (pig) iron.' Cf., e.g., Les., 716b; DO, 623b; MED, 544b; Khomonov 1970, 37. The word occurs also fairly frequently as a proper name, borne mainly by Nestorian Christians, in which case it renders the Biblical name Solomon. See MPa, 223-224, n. 4. Cf. also HCG, 377; NHHO, 46; and, more recently, Rybatzki 2002, 99-102. It is the foreheads (*manglai*) of the 'four hounds' that are made of cast copper, not their helmets as in Cl, 125. This solves one of the 'anachronisms' in the SH which have puzzled Reid 1992, 89.

Mina'atan 'having whips (pl.)': *mina'a* 'whip' = mo. *milaya* id. For *n > l*, see IMCS, 164, § 104 (B). See also above, n. 76, and below, n. 255.

'They advance feeding on (lit. "eating") dew/And riding on the wind', i.e. they are supernatural beings. The image is reminiscent of the Chinese (Taoist) 'immortals' (*hsien* 仙), and is rather incongruous when applied to bloodthirsty hounds. certainly insofar as their eating dew is concerned.

'On the day of killing .../On the day of battles ...', lit. 'The day(s) when one slays one another .../The day(s) when one meets on the battlefield (= one fights one another) ...'. Cf. Poppe 1969, 274.

'Which had surely restrained them!' renders the words *ese ü buqsaju aqsat*, lit. 'have (or had) they not been restrained?' – a rhetorical question implying an emphatic positive reply. The verb *buqsa-* is glossed in Chinese as *chü-shu* 拘束 'to hamper, restrain; to feel restrained', but mo. *buysa-* means only 'to be angry and sulk (for nothing)'. Clearly the Written Mongolian meaning is a semantic development of the earlier meaning of being, or feeling, restrained or hampered. However, Ozawa, followed by Even and Pop, has adopted the later acceptance of

the verb and translated accordingly ('being angry'). See Oz¹, IV, 323, 329, n. 6. Cf. Ev-Pop, 155: 'la rage au coeur'. The context also supports the rendering of the Chinese gloss.

For *šilemeljen* 'slavering at the mouth, drivelling', see Mo, 121; 'Trois documents', 459, n. 46; and above, n. 168.

'Let us then stay away from those vile creatures!', lit. 'Just (*ele*) let us stay far from those lowly ones!' For a discussion of the corroborative/limitative particle *ele* and this passage, see Street 1986, 44-45; Oz¹, IV, 330-331, n. 7. In this instance, however, I prefer to render *ele* with 'then', since – as evident from the Chinese summary (Y² 7, 40b: 似那般呵) and from subsequent passages – *ele* implies also the conditional 'if this is so; this being the case' in addition to its corroborative function. Cf. Street 1990, 194.

'Took up position astride (lit. "straddling") the mountain' (*a'ula asan bayiba*), i.e. with part of his troops on the plain and part on the mountain-side. Cf. Wa, 278; Cl, 125 ('straddling the mountain [and the plain]').

'Approaching from the rear', lit. 'Approaching from the back of that' (*te'unü qoyinača ... ayisuqun*), 'that' being the people/situation just referred to, viz. the 'four hounds' released by Činggis Qan. For this use of the pronoun *tere*, cf. Street 1990, 176-180, § 1.3.

'Encircling them ... encircling us': the text says only *to'oriqaju* and *to'oriqan*, both converbs of *to'oriqa-* 'to surround, encircle' (preceding the verb *ayis-* 'to approach'), a factitive form of *to'ori-* (= mo. *toyori-*) 'to turn about, make circles.' In § 170, the Uru'ut and the Mangqut are already mentioned, also in a short poetic passage, in connection with their ability to carry out military manoeuvres which involved 'turning about' (*to'ori-*) and 'wheeling round' (*derel-*) without breaking ranks (see above, n. 170). In our passage, however, there is no question of using such a tactic, i.e. turning around and feigning retreat; the verb used (*to'oriqa-*) can only mean 'to surround, encircle.' The objects of this factitive verb are obviously Tayang Qan and Jamuqa who, in the simile, are

likened to the foal's mother. The translations of Cleaves and Onon do not take this fact into account. See Cl, 125, and On, 2001 ed., 174 ('making circles'). The Chinese interlinear version renders the words *eke-yü'en horč'in torolun güyigü unuqat metü* as 'like foals that run without restraint (疾靈) circling round their mother.' The word *torolun* is the iterative or frequentative in *-l-* of *toro-*, a verb meaning in the modern Mongolian languages 'to run or bump into, to knock against, to stumble' (kh., bur.), 'to stick, to cling; to fall into or against, something' (kalm.). In Written Mongolian we find only *tor-* 'to get stuck' (Les., 825b) – corresponding to ord. *t'or-* 'to be stopped, to become tangled up in something' – which also occurs in the SH (further on in the same § 195) with the meaning of 'to get stuck.' Clearly, Preclassical Mongolian had two distinct verbs, viz. *toro-* 'to move or act in a free, unrestrained way', and *tor-* 'to get stuck', which in some modern languages have coalesced into *toro-*, whereas in others and in Written Mongolian only *tor-* has survived.

For the 'blood-stained clothing', see above, n. 187. For the verb *tono-* 'to strip off, remove the clothing', see *ibid.* and n. 136; and for the expression *üb tonaq* (= *tonoq*), cf. DO, 668a. See also CEME, 27 and n. 1.

For the poetic passage about the Uru'ut and the Mangqut, cf. Cleaves 1955, 37, n. 25; Poppe 1969, 274; Ratchnevsky 1966a, 183, n. 10.

'Retreating further up the mountain', lit. 'climbing (*abarin*) the mountain farther to the rear.'

'The one approaching from the rear', i.e. coming behind the Uru'ut and the Mangqut. Cf. above, and the sectional summary (Y² 7, 40b: 隨後 'following behind'). The interrogative pronoun 'who?' (*ken*) is in the singular.

On the poetic passage about Temüjin, see Mo, 117-121. Cf. also Street 1986a, 22-24.

'My sworn friend Temüjin is indeed (*lu*) ... him?' For these words, and the use of the particle *lu*, cf. *ibid.*, and Mo, 102. For the interrogative particle *-yu'u/-yü'ü* (= pmo. *-yuru/-yügü*), see

also Mo, 102. Cf. de Rachewiltz 1982, 52, n. 3; Cleaves 1982, 77, n. 13 (where, however, the reading *uqamuiu*[*γu*] proposed by Cleaves should, I think, be amended to *uqamuyu*[*γu*], i.e. *uqamu* + *-yuγu*, the praesens imperfecti suffix *-mu* (v. *-mui*) being the only one attested in the *Hsiao-ching*. Cf. *IVLMMT*, I/2, 82 (s.v. 'bol-'), 87 (s.v. 'čida-'). Here *šiba'un* 'bird' (cf. § 111) = 'falcon.' See HW, 139.

'You would not leave them even the skin of a kid's hoof.' Cf. § 277: 'you haven't yet acquired *as booty* even the hoof of a kid.' The hoof of a kid is a worthless thing and the skin of a kid's hoof even more so (if possible). What Ĵamuqa says is that the Naiman had boasted that in an encounter with the Mongols they would utterly despoil them, so great was their disregard, witness Tayang Qan's and Gürbesü's earlier contemptuous remarks (§ 189; cf. also § 190). A different interpretation, based indirectly on the sectional summary version of Ĵamuqa's words, is found in the YS² 1, 12-13. The sectional summary (Y² 7, 41a) says: 'You (Tayang Qan) said, "If I see a Ta-ta (= Mongol), it will be like (seeing) small *ku-li* (= goat) kids. Not even the skin of (their) hoofs will be left." Now, have a look!' The YS version runs as follows: 'At that time, Ĵamuqa ... said, "When the Naiman first took up arms, they regarded the Mongolian army as if it was (made of) goat kids." The meaning was that they would not leave even (their) hoofs' skins.' Commenting on this passage, Hung 1956, 28, n. 5, writes: 'Since pig's feet, when thoroughly cleaned and well cooked, are a well-known delicacy in China, one naturally draws the inference that Ĵamuya meant that the Naiman intended to devour the Mongolian army, leaving no remnant at all.' The same (incorrect) interpretation is followed by Waley in translating the sectional summary passage (Wa, 278): 'You people once said, "If we met the Mongols, we would gobble them down as one might the kid of a goat, not leaving so much as the skin of a hoof unswallowed.'" In the original text, however, there is no mention of gobbling down and swallowing. In the corresponding passages of the SWCCL (see SWCCL¹, 55b; but cf. SWCCL³, 139a-140a) and SL², I/2,

148, although the text of the former is corrupt, the meaning of Ĵamuqa's words is that the Naiman used to say that they would despoil the Mongols to the extent of not leaving them even the skin of their oxen's hoofs – evidently another variant of the same story. In my view, the correct interpretation of our passage is the one given by Cleaves: 'The goat (*imayan*) is the animal which, with the Mongols, has the least value. Of the five kinds of livestock (*tabun qosiyu mal*), i.e., the horse (*morin*), the camel (*temegen*), the ox (*üker*), the sheep (*qonin*), and the goat (*imayan*), it is the last in order. Consequently, the skin from the extremity of the foot of a kid (*esige*) is something which is almost less than nothing.' (Cl, 126-127, n. 51.)

'This is simply dreadful! (*ele amsa'ari*). The word *amsa'ari* (w.f. *amsayari*) is rendered as *k'o-chü* 可懼 'dreadful' in both the interlinear version and the sectional summary (Y² 7, 41a); its meaning is, therefore, assured and the recent reinterpretation of it on the basis of modern Buriat *amhagar* as 'fool' is unwarranted. See, e.g., Oz¹, IV, 324, 341-342, n. 15. So is the rendering 'awkward' in On, 100, 'implying something unplanned, a "gap" in one's strategy', which Onon relates to *amasar* 'opening' (see *ibid.*, n. 246; 2001 ed., 175, n. 442), likewise on the basis of the Buriat form (see TH, 90 [= ĴYT, 158]). Equally untenable is the interpretation in Če, 167. I think that *amsa'ari* is probably a deverbal noun in *-ri* of *amsa'a-* 'to cause to try (or test).' See 'Nominalsuff.', 107, § 3; MÜIT, 113b. Cf. eng. 'trying' = 'severely testing, hard to endure, etc.' With the particle *ele* preceding it, it would acquire the force of eng. 'simply dreadful!', 'just awful!', and the like. Only in this acceptance it could be translated also as 'very awkward' and 'most awkward', as in Onon's versions.

'As if in a compact mass' (*juja'an-a*), lit. 'thickly (or massively).' In the sectional summary (Y² 7, 41a), *juja'an-a* (dat.-loc. of *juja'an*, mo. *jujayan* 'thick, compact, massive') is rendered as 'a multitude of warriors' (多軍馬). Pa, 107; Wei, 136; and Wa, 278, all understand this rendering in the sense of 'leading' or 'with' the large force coming next, as I did in Ra,

VII, 74, under the influence of the interlinear gloss of *juja'an-a* (厚行) 'thickly.' However, I think that, in the present context, the dense mass or throng of warriors is simply an image referring to the physical appearance of Joči Qasar which is so graphically described in the poetic passage, and does not mean that he was 'together' with other people; therefore, the sectional summary rendering cannot be taken literally (as Onon and others have done) when translating the Mongolian original. See the discussion in Oz¹, IV, 342-343, n. 16. Cf. Ev-Pop, 156: 'd'une telle épaisseur', which succinctly renders the idea. Da⁵, 147, translates *juja'an-a* with *nüser am'tan* 'clumsy creature', possibly under the influence of Ko, 148, who renders this sentence as: 'And who is the one moving so heavily (*gruzno*) behind him?' Incidentally, I do not think that *tere* and *qoyinača* should be taken together ('behind him' or 'behind them') as most translators do (cf., e.g., Li, 82; Cl, 127), and I agree with Oz¹, IV, 324, that *tere* refers to Qasar, not to Temüjin or the preceding warriors described by Jamuqa, in which case we would have *te'ün-ü* (or *teden-ü*) *qoyinača*.

'Three-year old cattle' (*qunajin bodo*). The term *bodo* (= mo. *boda*) designates large domestic animals, such as horses, oxen and camels, as opposed to small ones (sheep and goats). See Les., 108b; MKeT, 1003b. Cf. above, n. 155.

'He is pulled along in his cart by three bulls', lit. 'He approaches, causing three bulls to drag his cart.' Several translators understand this line to mean that Qasar was so big and heavy that he needed three bulls to pull him – an interpretation that cannot be discounted. For the repetition of the number 'three' (fathoms, years of age of the animal and number of bulls) in these passages, see below.

'It does not fill his stomach', lit. 'It does not satisfy his heart (*öre*).' Cf. On, 100: 'It does not satisfy his desire ("craving" in the 2001 ed., 175).' However, in this case *öre* (= mo. *örö*) does not mean 'heart' or 'desire', but 'pit of the stomach.' See Oz¹, IV, 344, n. 18. Cf. above, n. 137.

'A forked-tip arrow (*angqu'a sumu*) .../A long-range thin arrow (*keyibür sumu*).' The *angqu'a* and *keyibür* arrows are two types of arrows used by the Mongols and, as pointed out by Ligeti, they must have been long-distance arrows of great strength. See Li, 167, n. 195. *Angqu'a* corresponds to mo. *angya*, the name of a two-pointed arrow. See Les., 43b. Cf. TH, 87 (= JYT, 154); Oz¹, IV, 346, n. 20. As for *keyibür*, described in Les., 444b, as 'A kind of arrow used for long distance', it was of the 'boring' javelin-type, hence long and thin. Its name survives in ma. *keifu* 'Durchbohrer, Name einer Pfeilart' (HM, 579), as also noted by Ligeti, loc. cit. See CMEL, 173b: 'the name of an arrow used for shooting tigers, bears, and buck deer.' Cf. also Oz¹, IV, 345, n. 20. Some additional data on the *keyibür* arrows can be gleaned from the Mongol glosses to the MA published by A.K. Borovkov, informing us that they were 'arrows with a long and broad head' (Borovkov 1964, 145, no. 9). The *keifu* arrow also had a broad head, as we learn from the WTCWC, I, 1054.4. A *keyibür* arrow is mentioned by Sayang Sečen (see ET³, 54r02; cf. GOM, 151), from whom we further learn that it had an 'iron (head).' See ET³, 54r09. Written Mongolian has *qayimuγur*, *qayimür*, which designates an arrow with a small head and a slender shaft used for shooting at distant targets. It corresponds to ma. *kalbikü*. See Les., 913a; CMEL, 170b. Ev-Pop, 157, 283, n. 35, following Če, 168, 422-423, n. 416, identifies our *keyibür* with *qayimür* and renders the expression *keyibür sumu* as 'flèche de fer', explaining in the note that it was 'une fine flèche de fer destinée à tirer loin.' This interpretation goes back (via Če) to Kow., 710b-711a, where *qayimuγur*, *qayimur* is glossed as 'espèce de flèches avec le fer triangulaire.' Kowalewski's source is QNTT, 292b, where *qayimuγur* is described as 'a long-range arrow with a rather small, thin iron shaft.' There is evidently a confusion in the glossary descriptions between the head and the shaft of the *qayimuγur* arrow; thus, the identification of the latter with the *keyibür* of the SH remains speculative. For a further, and even more speculative, discussion on the subject, see Γa, 367a-b, n.

577, where *keyibür* is related to mo. *keyisbüri* 'lightheaded, insubstantial, etc.', hence 'light and fast.' See Les., 445a; Cév., 676b; MKeT, 1277b. Cf. Da⁵, 148: *xišvēr sumaa*, rendered as 'flowing arrow' in Tserensodnom 1993, 198. Cf. Da², 180: 'a full-speed arrow.' As for its etymology, the word *keyibür* is formed on *kei* 'wind' + the denominal noun suffix *-bür* (*-bur*). See MÜTT, 2551a, no. 81. In translating this poem I have now preferred to render the arrow names in English, at the cost of being less accurate, rather than to leave them in the original Mongolian form as previously done. See Ra, VII, 55. I have also revised the translation of the passage concerning the *keyibür* arrow.

'He shoots and pierces through his enemies,/The ones he fights/Who are beyond the steppe', lit. 'He shoots to run through and pierce the "companions" (= enemies) with whom he has a fight and who are beyond (i.e. on the other side of) the steppe.'

'Drawing *his bow* to the full ... *only* a little', lit. 'drawing very much (Cl, 128: "in a great manner") ... restraining (or lessening: *tatan* = ger. *nachlassend*).' In this passage Qasar is described as a superhuman, monstrous being by a skilful use of a hyperbole in which the qualities of the hero are trebled in magnitude. I have discussed this passage in de Rachewiltz 1976, 490-491, and 503, n. 36. Some of my statements in that paper must be revised in the light of the present translation and in particular the one in note 36 on p. 503 to the effect that Qasar was 'strong enough to drag three bulls', which should now read: 'with three bulls drawing him (i.e. his cart).' The Mongol 'fathom' (*alda*) corresponded to 1.55-1.60 m. Like the term 'fathom' in old English usage (fr. *brasse*), the *alda* (pl. *aldas*), as the Mongol basic measure of length, is the distance between the fingertips of two outstretched arms. Qasar's three *aldas* of stature as given at the beginning of the poem would, therefore, correspond to a little less than 5 m. The 900 and 500 *aldas* of his long-distance shots would correspond to about 1,400 m. and a little less than 800 m. respectively. In the case of 'three' and '900' (a multiple of 3, 30 and 300), the triple hyperbole would

have to be reduced to 'one' and '300' *aldas* respectively in order to be realistic, i.e. to 1.55 – 1.60 m. in stature, and to about 470 m. for the long shot. We know from Rašīd al-Dīn that Qasar was, indeed, famous for his physical strength, not for his stature (see SL², I/2, 51), and that he was a superb archer, a fact that earned him the appellation of Qabutu ('Skilful Archer') in the later Mongol tradition. Cf. HCG, 173-174. His son Yisüngge was, possibly, an even better archer, having won an archery contest in Central Asia in 1225 at which he shot an arrow at the distance of 335 *aldas* (= ca. 530 m.), i.e. 35 *aldas* above the 300 which Qasar could achieve drawing his bow at full strength (if we reduce the hyperbole as suggested). Although the '500' of our poem is obviously not an ideal triple hyperbole, the choice of this figure was probably determined by the poetic requirements, with the alliteration *tatan* ... *tabun* (*ja'ut*). However, as I stated in my paper on the 'Stele of Yisüngge' (ibid., 503, n. 36), we are dealing here with an epic passage and cannot therefore expect strict consistency or, indeed, accuracy. To the literature on arrow-shooting in Mongol times one must add the interesting article by Hok-lam Chan, 'Siting by Bowshot: A Mongolian Custom and Its Sociopolitical and Cultural Implication' in *AM* (Third Series) 4.2:1991, 53-78.

'He covers nine hundred fathoms .../He covers five hundred fathoms', lit. 'He shoots a distance of nine hundred fathoms .../He shoots a distance of five hundred fathoms.'

'He was born a coiling dragon-snake', lit. 'a coiling *mangqus*' (*gürölgü mangqus*). In Ra, VII, 75-77, I have discussed at length the possible interpretations of the expression *gürölgü mangqus* which in my earlier translation I rendered 'a coiling dragon' (ibid., 55). I gave my reasons for taking *gürölgü* to mean 'coiling', i.e. writhing or twisting as a snake, on the basis of Ordos, as against the identification of this word with the Gürelgü (~ Gürölgü) Mountains of the SH (on which see above, n. 89). See Mu, II, 279, 294, n. 21; Oz², II, 29. I should add that the Ming translators and transcribers of the SH were well acquainted with the geographic name Gürelgü; however, in the

interlinear version they did not gloss *gürölgü* as ‘name of a mountain’ (山名; see Y² 2, 27a et passim, cf. GHMBKZ, 368a, 375a) as they would have done in that case, but glossed it as *mang ming* 蟒名 ‘name of a large snake (such as a python).’ The sectional summary (op. cit. 7, 41b) renders the expression *gürölgü mangqus* as ‘a kind of large *mang*’ (大蟒一般), thus confirming the interlinear gloss. While I do not share Murakami’s and Ozawa’s opinion that the *gürölgü* of our passage is the mountains’ name, I think that both words are, in fact, identical, i.e. the name of the mountains and the attribute of the *mangqus* in § 195 are the nomen futuri of *gürel-* ~ *güröl-* ‘to twist continuously’, the iterative form in *-l-* (see GWM, 64, § 236) of *güre-* ~ *gürö-* (= mo. *gürü-*, *görö-*, *güre-*) ‘to twist, braid, weave.’ Cf. ord. *gürelji-* (*Gureldži-*) ‘se mouvoir en faisant des replis (serpent)’ (DO, 278a). In the case of the Gürelgü Mountains, the verbal noun is the descriptive attribute of the mountain range, i.e. ‘The Twisting Mountains’, in contrast to a ‘straight’ range of mountains. As for *mangqus*, mo. *mangγus*, we encountered this term in the famous ‘Hö’elün’s Lament’ in § 78, where in both the interlinear version and the sectional summary it is rendered as *mang-she* ‘*mang*-snake’ = ‘a very large snake’ (Y² 2, 11b, 12b). There are good reasons for rendering *mangqus* with ‘dragon’ on the basis of a medieval Persian text definition, as I have shown in my earlier discussion. Cf. also Serruys 1982, 480, n. 35. The difference between a monstrous super-snake and a dragon is, indeed, blurred, hence the variations we find in the modern translations, e.g. Pe, 136 (§ 78: ‘boa’); Ha, 14 (§ 78: ‘boa constrictor’), 83 (§ 195: ‘Gurelgu Snake’); Ko, 91 (§ 78: ‘demon-snake’); Li, 22 (§ 78: ‘snake’), 83 (§ 195: ‘dragon-snake’); Lörincz 1971, 57, n. 17 (‘dragon’); CW, 153 (‘dragon’); Mo, 111, n. 105 (‘python’); Cl, 23, 128 (‘python’); Oz², I, 62 (‘a large snake’). As already noted, neither ‘boa’ nor ‘python’ are suitable definitions since the boa is an American snake, and the python is found only in tropical Asia and Australia. Clearly, before the *mangqus* developed

under Buddhist influence into the man-eating ogre and demon (skr. *rākṣasa*) of the later Mongol tradition (see Lörincz 1970), this already mythical animal was regarded as a monstrous snake- or dragon-like creature capable of swallowing its prey alive. Cf. § 78, where the prey is not specified, however, and our poetic passage which speaks of the ‘*gürölgü mangqus*’ Qasar swallowing a man complete with quiver who ‘does not get stuck in his throat.’ To explain the presence of this myth in ancient, pre-Buddhist Mongolian folklore, Gaadamba put forth the theory that *gürölgü mangqus* = mo. *gürbel mangγus* ‘lizard-*mangγus*’, i.e. a lizard-like monster whose existence may have been inferred by the ancient Mongols from the discovery of dinosaur remains. Although speculative, this theory is ingenious and has found favour among some contemporary translators. See Gaadamba 1972, 95-100; On, 101 and n. 249 (however, in the 2001 ed., 176, the ‘lizard-like monster’ has become ‘a huge monster’, following Do¹, 199-200, n. 14); Ev-Pop, 157. While Gaadamba’s interpretation cannot be discounted, it is certain from the scanty literary evidence we possess that the *mangqus* was regarded by the Mongols in Činggis Qan’s times as a large animal with dragon- and/or snake-like physical characteristics which cannot be exactly determined. (Similarly we find in the ancient Chinese dragon-lore instances of hybrid dragon/snake creatures like the *mang-lung* 蟒龍 and *she-lung* 蛇龍; and in later Buddhist texts, a ‘Mangγus, king of the dragons’, see BTD, 239, no. 3248.) For this reason in the present translation I have adopted for *mangqus* Ligeti’s compromise rendering ‘dragon-snake’ which reflects the ambiguity of the original. As for the origin of the word *mangqus* (= *mangγus*), I suspect that it is an early borrowing from ch. *mang* 蟒 (ach. **māng*) + the connective vowel *-u-* + the plural suffix *-s*. Cf. mo. *luus* ‘Dragon, the Dragon King, the God of Water (= skr. *nāgah*)’, plural of *lu(u)* ‘dragon’ << ch. *lung* 龍 id. See HCG, 50; BTD, 237, no. 3217. I would, therefore, illustrate the semantic development of mo. *mangγus* as follows: ch. *mang* ‘a (very) large snake (that is

sometimes associated with a dragon) > mmo. *mangqus* (= pmo. *mangγus*) 'a man-eating dragon-snake' > mo. *mangγus* 'a man-eating ogre or demon, a *rākṣasa*' > modern Mongolian languages and dialects 'a man-eating monster, an ogre.' For further investigation of this subject, cf. TDB, 86 (F17v, 11-12); Lörincz 1970; Serruys 1982; idem 1982b; MQ, 41, n. 96; as well as P. Dambipeljid in *ÖMYS*, 1988.3, 78-91; and Buyankhesig, *ibid.*, 1989.4, 62-68. A comprehensive study, which must be both historical and comparative, on the *mangγus* in Mongolian literature and folklore is still lacking, although much of the material (chronicles, written and oral epics and stories, etc.) is now available in translation thanks to the efforts of A. Mostaert, N. Poppe, W. Heissig and many others.

'Otčigin, the Easy-going (*Otčigin heligetü*)' – a reference to Temüge Otčigin's pleasant disposition which, as noted by Pelliot, made him get along well with his elder brother Činggis Qan. See HCG, 178; cf. HWC, 201ff.; *Successors*, 76. The term *heligetü*, lit. 'having liver', is not obvious, but it has some of the connotations of our 'phlegmatic' (cf. Ha, 83). Other translators have variously rendered this term as 'courageous', 'lazy', 'spoilt child', 'sluggard', 'friendly', 'kind-hearted' and 'unconcerned.' The Chinese sectional summary (Y² 7, 41b) says: 'His name is Otčigin, he is lazy (*or* indolent) by nature.' I think that ch. *lan* 懶 'lazy, indolent', must be understood here as meaning someone who takes life in a leisurely and carefree way. Cf. kh. *elēgtēi* 'good-natured', and mo. *eligeseg* 'amiable', both also deriving from (*h*)*elige(n)* 'liver.' Cf. Oz¹, IV, 347-348, n. 24. In this section, Temüge Otčigin is called Otčigin and Otčigin Noyan, as is the case in other sections of the SH as well as in other texts. Cf. HCG, 175-178.

'He does not lag behind ... in position', lit. 'Even (*ele*) he does not lag behind the *great* display (*baru'an*);/Even he does not lag behind the position (*bayidal*).' We have already encountered the term *baru'a(n)* (= mo. *baraya[n]*) in the sense of 'darkness' (§ 91), and 'multitude' (§ 184), with the connotation of 'a large display of people.' Cf. ord. *barā öG-* 'se

laisser voir de loin en grand nombre pour faire peur à l'ennemi' (DO, 50b). In view of the second line of the couplet and the usage of *baru'a(n)* in a military context, I think that the word does not refer simply to a 'multitude' (as CI, 128, and Oz¹, IV, 325 have it; but see Oz², II, 29), but to the full army array. This is confirmed by the sectional summary, which reads: 'Yet, he did not fall behind from among the multitude of the mounted troops' (Y² 7, 41b). I have tried to express the force of the particle *ele* by using a preposed 'yet' rather than repeating 'even' in two already long lines. Cf. Street 1981, 154, § 14. The word *baru'a(n)* occurs again in § 255 in the form *bara'a* (< *baru'a*). For *horgil* (= mo. *orgil*) 'top, summit (of a mountain)', cf. Mo, 147, n. 144; Pelliot 1925, 219-220, no. 34.

For some interesting remarks on the weaponry mentioned in this section, see Reid 1992.

§ 196. 'Ĵamuqa separated from the Naiman and went off on his own', lit. 'Ĵamuqa, separating from the Naiman, went out being alone (*böldeyitü*).' Cf. § 170, where a similar situation occurred with Ĵamuqa and Ong Qan. For the verb *böldeyit-* 'to be alone (= on one's own)', see also above, n. 156.

'And he said', lit. 'he sent saying.'

For a translation and discussion of Ĵamuqa's verbal message to Činggis in alliterative form, see Mo, 121-124; Gaadamba 1968, 98; and below, n. 200 ad fin. 'And have lost the will to resist', lit. 'They do not have the mien (*or* countenance, i.e. the daring) to oppose you.' By 'mien, countenance, appearance' (*čirai*) is meant here, as in other passages (cf. §§ 208, 246, 277) the self-confidence and will to fight as shown through one's countenance. For *bürün* (conv. praep. of *bü-* 'to be') = 'as for', cf. Cleaves 1951, 75, n. 23; VG, 92.

'Late in the day', lit. 'the sun becoming late (= evening).' Cf. Poppe 1964, 377; and above, n. 177.

'Tried to escape', lit. 'were about (*or* intended) to escape.' 'They piled on top of each other' (*de'ere de'ere-en qutaq-lalduju*). The word *qutaqlalduju*, which is not glossed in the

text, is the converbum imperfecti of *qutaqlaldu-*, the reciprocal form of *qutaqla-*, a *hapax legomenon*. I think that Kozin is right in equating it to mo. *qutaɣala-* 'to pile up, heap up' (Ko, 555). Cf. Cl, 129, n. 65; Oz¹, IV, 356, n. 5. The sectional summary (Y² 7, 47b) says: 'Those who died pressing (i.e. crushing) each other were many.' Also, *qutaqla-* cannot correspond to mo. *qudqula-* 'to mix, mingle', as suggested by some scholars (see Mu, II, 296, n. 25), because this verb occurs in the SH as *qutqula-*. See HW, 73.

'They fell breaking their bones', lit. 'their bones falling asunder (*kemkerü*, i.e. to pieces).' Cf. Bese 1969, 124-125. For *yasu hüsü*, a 'mot-couple' ('bone - hair') = 'bone(s)', see Mo, 43; DO, 398b, 765b.

'Rotten logs' renders the word *hünji'ü* which means 'dead tree, rotten wood.' See above, n. 27, where I have discussed this puzzling word. The expression *hünji'ü bayitala*, which occurs again in §§ 247, 251 and 272, means literally 'until they stood (= piled up; cf. the gloss 積 in § 251) like rotten logs.'

'Činggis Qa'an finished off Tayang Qan' (*Tayang Qan-i muqutqaju abubai*). For *muqutqaju abubai*, cf. the *moqutqaju abu'ai* of § 177 and com. However, this does not necessarily mean that Tayang Qan was killed outright, even though that is what is stated in so many words in the SWCCL¹, 55b. The corresponding passage in SL², I/2, 148, gives a much fuller account of Tayang Qan's end, indicating that he was mortally wounded when he was captured, and he may well have died of his wound(s) as, indeed, another source expressly states (see Wei, 136, n. 23). The sectional summary (Y² 7, 44b) merely says that Tayang Qan was captured, without any mention of his death. Cf. D'Ohsson, I, 87-88; CW, 41. On the other hand, the YS² 1, 12-13, which gives a full account of the battle, says: 'This day, the Emperor (= Činggis Qan) fought a great battle with the Naiman army. By sundown, he had captured and killed Tayang Qan.' At the beginning of § 154 the verb *muqutqa-* (which I rendered in English as 'to destroy') is used with reference to the defeated Tatars; however, it is clear from what

follows that most of the Tatar tribesmen were still alive, albeit not for long. Whatever the sequence of events, Tayang Qan lost the battle at Naqu Cliff and perished.

'Moved from there with a few men', lit. 'moved *being only* a few persons.' Cf. above, n. 177, and below, n. 197.

'A circular camp' (*güre'en*), i.e. a fortified camp, given the circumstances. See above, n. 90.

On the Tamir River see above, n. 194.

'Činggis Qa'an utterly defeated and conquered (lit. "gathered") the people of the Naiman tribe on the southern slopes of the Altai (*Altai-yin ölke-de*).' The sectional summary (Y² 7, 44b) says: 'He (Činggis) attacked as far as the southern side of the Altai Mountains. The situation became more and more desperate, and all his people were captured.' From the context, the object of Činggis' attack seems to be Güčülük, and 'his people' the latter's people. This is, in fact, how the passage has been understood by Palladii (Pa, 108), Waley (Wa, 279-280) and Wei Kwei Sun (Wei, 137). However, we know that Güčülük was virtually alone when he fled, and the summary is at variance with the Mongol text, which refers to 'the people of the Naiman tribe.' It would thus appear that Činggis Qan pursued the Naiman remnants to their territory south of the Altai; then, in the autumn (1204), he fought with Toqto'a Beki at the Qaradal Source (§ 197). After defeating Toqto'a, he pursued him, Qudu and Čila'un and, again, crossed the Altai (§ 198). I doubt that Činggis crossed the Altai twice and wonder whether the text in § 196 is corrupt (the differing version in the sectional summary seems to indicate this); and, if so, whether the author of this section means that the Naiman *who inhabited the southern Altai region* were defeated and conquered by Činggis Qan *together* with their subjects and allies. This is to distinguish them from the Naiman who inhabited the region *north* of the Altai, the Naiman tribe being distributed over both sides of the great mountain range. As Pelliot has pointed out, the Naiman south of the Altai reached as far as the Urungu; those north of the Altai (north-west of Kobdo) reached as far as

the western limit of the basin of the Kobdo River and into the basin of the Irtysh (the Erdiš of the SH; cf. § 198) along its affluent, the Bukhtarma River (the Buqdurma of the SH; cf. *ibid.*). See HCG, 304-308. However, we cannot exclude the possibility that, as stated earlier (n. 194), the word 'Altai' in the present context may not refer to the well-known mountain range, but to any snow-covered range. Another problem concerns the tribes allied to Ĵamuqa that submitted on this occasion, i.e. after Tayang Qan's defeat and Güčülük's flight. They are listed as the Ĵadaran, Qatagin, SalĴi'ut, Dörben, TayiĴi'ut and Onggirat. The Ĵadaran (= Ĵajirat) is, of course, Ĵamuqa's own tribe; the Qatagin or Qadagin had joined forces earlier with the SalĴi'ut, and had at the same time (1201) joined Ĵamuqa's coalition together with the Dörben and the Onggirat. See above, § 141; cf. HCG, 393. However, the Onggirat had subsequently submitted peacefully to ĴürĴedei and had been spared by Činggis Qan (§§ 176-177). As for the TayiĴi'ut, they had been destroyed as a tribe at Köyiten and in mopping up operations immediately after (§§ 143ff., 148ff.). As pointed out again by Pelliot (HCG, 378), the chronology of these campaigns (1201 and after) 'est flottante.' This applies, in particular, to the TayiĴi'ut. Neither the SWCCL and SL, nor the YS accounts of the events described in § 196 of the SH mention the TayiĴi'ut and the Onggirat, only the four Dörben, Tatar, Qatagin and SalĴi'ut (which, with the Onggirat, had been the main supporters of Ĵamuqa). See SWCCL¹, 56a; SL², I/2, 148; YS² 1, 13. The presence of the TayiĴi'ut in the SH account can be explained by the fact that part of this tribe under its chief Quril Ba'atur – Tarqutai Kiriltuq's brother – had escaped to the Naiman and had obviously joined Ĵamuqa. See HCG, 390. Apparently also some Onggirat and Tatar clans were still on Ĵamuqa's side at the time. The number of their tribesmen probably being small, the former are ignored by some sources, and the others by the SH. On the TayiĴi'ut, cf. also Grupper 1992/94, 22, n. 28. For the verb *quriya-* 'to gather, assemble' = 'to conquer, annex', cf. Cleaves 1952, 103, n. 141. See also Kow., 958b; Les., 989b. In

our passage, the latter meaning is confirmed by the sectional summary, hence in the present instance the rendering 'assembled' in Cl, 129, is not quite correct.

For the use of *ki'et* (= *mo. kiged*) 'and others', cf. above, nn. 130, 150.

'Took her *as wife*.' The text simply says that Činggis 'took her' (*abula'a*); however, although she is not listed among his wives in the table of YS² 106, 2693-2697, we know from Rašid al-Dīn (SL², I/2, 72) that she was one of his principal secondary wives and that he married her in accordance with the Mongol custom. According to the Persian historian, Gürbesü had been the wife, not the mother, of Tayang Qan. See above, n. 189.

This section concludes the account of Činggis Qan's campaign against Tayang Qan and the important Naiman tribe which had begun on 17 May 1204 (see § 193). According to the SH (§ 197), the campaign was concluded by the autumn of the same year (29 July-24 October 1204). As noted by Ligeti (Li, 167, n. 196), with the defeat of this tribe Činggis had removed the last great nomadic people from his path of conquest. The Naiman was first mentioned in the SH in § 141, s.a. 1201, i.e. quite late in the story, but, as stated earlier, the SH chronology for the events relating to the coalition of the tribes opposed to Činggis Qan and his allies is not reliable. There is no doubt, however, that the Naiman clans, although hostile to Ong Qan, did not play any direct role in Činggis' career before his confrontation with Ĵamuqa and the polarization of the tribes resulting from it. For bibliographical references to the Naiman and the problems associated with their origins and culture, see above, n. 141.

§ 197. The identification of the Qaradal Source (Qaradal HuĴa'ur) poses serious problems. In the SWCCL¹, 56a, this locality is called 'the Tieh-erh-e 迭兒惡 River source Pu-la-na-ai-hu 不刺納矮胡.' In SL², I/2, 149, it is called 'the sources of the river called Tar (or Ter) Müren.' The *e* 惡 of Tieh-erh-e is undoubtedly a dittography (double *erh* 兒) since the character 惡 is never used

in these transcriptions. We are left, therefore, with Tich-erh = *Der or *Ter (the alternation *d* ~ *t* is quite common; cf., e.g., Döregene ~ Töregene, Dersüt ~ Tersüt). Since the passages in the SWCCL and SL are parallel ones, the SWCCL reading *Der/*Ter = SL Tar/Ter, i.e. the Der/Dar or Ter/Tar River. Dar or Tar may perhaps correspond to the second element of Qaradal, i.e. Dal, in which case the name Qaradal should be read Qara Dal or 'Black Dal' (it is quite common for a river in Mongolia to have the epithet Qara 'Black'); alternatively, we may have two rivers called respectively Qara and Dal, but the reference in SL seems to preclude that. Pèrlèè², 7 (= Pèrlèè⁴, 91), claims that the river in question is the Xar Tal (= Kara Tal), an affluent of the Selenga, at 49° N 101° E. He quotes as his authority Radlov, *Sibirskie drevnosti*, vol. I, ch. 3, p. 80. This can only be AS. I cannot find the reference to the Kara Tal on page 80 of vol. I, but the river is mentioned in vol. I, pp. 9 and 116 as Karatal. However, this is the well-known Kara-Tal in east Kazakhstan which has its sources in the Dzungarian Alatau Mountains and empties into Lake Balkhash – too far to the south-west for our account. I cannot find any other river of the same name along the Selenga and I think that Pèrlèè's statement is incorrect. In On, 102, n. 250, we read: 'Although the use of the word "source" (*huja'ur*) in this name would usually imply a river source, in fact Qaradal is *qara dal* (or *tal*) which means "Black Steppe", a steppe that is located to the south-west of the city of Khovd (Qobd) in the MPR. See B.I: 171.' Cf. the 2001 ed., 177, n. 446, to the same effect. The reference for this identification is TH, 171 (= JYT, 298-299) and, ultimately the MKYMC. See MGYMC, 154. This area – a plain, not a river – is, according to the latter source, on the Köke Usu, in the westernmost region of Mongolia. Since, immediately after the confrontation with Činggis' army at Qaradal Huja'ur, Toqto'a Beki was chased by the Mongols to the Sa'ari Steppe, where he was totally defeated, it seems that a localization as that proposed in TH is also too far to the west. Moreover, our text, as well as the SWCCL and SL, describe the place as a spring or water-

course, not a plain. Unfortunately, the Pu-la-na-ai-hu of the SWCCL is, likewise, an unknown locality. I believe that a possible solution to the problem that would satisfy both the linguistic and geographical aspects of the identification is the following. If we read Tes instead of Ter (i.e. 迭思 *pro* 迭兒) we have the name of a well-known river in northwestern Mongolia, the Tes or Teshin Gol that originates in the Bolnai Mountains at 49° 05' N 98° 30' E. 'Ter' and 'Tes' can easily be confused in the Arabic-Persian script. The puzzling Pu-la-na-ai-hu of the SWCCL is, probably, a corruption of the name of these mountains (<*Bulnāi Qu[n], i.e. the 'Bulnāi Cliff or Mountain': for *hu* 胡 = *qu*[n], cf. HCG, 380; for *qun* = 'mountain', see *ibid.*, and above, n. 177, the reference to Jorqal Qun in SL). The area itself is near the Selenga and much closer to the Sa'ari Steppe than the region of Kobdo. This identification is, I think, more satisfactory than the ones proposed so far; I would, therefore, regard Qaradal as the locality on the northern side of the Bolnai Mountains where the Tes takes its source. The text says that on that occasion Činggis Qan dislodged Toqto'a from his position and eventually crushed him in the Sa'ari Steppe further west. This must have happened soon after the first encounter. From § 162 we know that in 1202 Toqto'a and his sons had retreated to the relative safety of their own territory in the lower Selenga, which they must have followed upstream in the summer-autumn of 1204 in order to reach Qaradal Huja'ur. Toqto'a was still with his sons at the time. They were Qutu (written here Qudu, but to be read as Qutu or Qodu; see above, n. 141) and Čila'un and, probably, also another son whose name is uncertain (Qal?) and who is mentioned in § 198.

For the passage 'Toqto'a with his sons ... got away by flight', cf. Mo, 177, n. 158, where *čö'en gü'ün beyes-iyen* is rendered '[et] un petit nombre de gens.' The literal meaning is 'being only a few persons.' Cf. the passages in §§ 109, 136, 183, 188 and 198 also translated by Mostaert (Mo, 176-177).

Dayir Usun of the 'Qo'as' Merkit is first mentioned in the SH, § 102, where the name of his tribe is correctly given as U'as

Merkit. This is the regular spelling throughout (see §§ 105, 109, 111, 117). Ligeti says that the form 'Qo'as' for Uwas (*read* U'as) cannot exclusively be traced back to the peculiarity of the Uighur script (Li, 167, n. 197). Cf. HCG, 137-138, 275. However, in my opinion the aberrant form Qo'as (the 'Ho'as' of HCG, CI, 130, and Oz¹, IV, 360, 366, n. 1, is a purely mechanical transcription of the Chinese transcription 豁阿思 *Ho'as *pro* 豁阿思 *Qo'as) is to be explained simply by the fact that in the early Uighur-Mongol script, the word U'as, written Uγas, is virtually identical with Qo'as, written Qoγas, as can also be observed in the AT¹, 24b, where the first word of line 19, Uγas, can be read Qoγas. There are other cases where this confusion has occurred in proper names. See HCG, 138.

'To offer her', lit. 'to show (*or* present) her', but in this case *üje'ül-* is actually rendered as 'to offer' (*hsien-yü* 獻與, *hsien* 獻) in both the interlinear version and the sectional summary (Y² 7, 45b, 49a).

For the episode of Dayir Usun's offer of his daughter Qulan, see also HCG, 275. For the name Qulan, see above, n. 48. She is called *qatun* (written *qatun* and *qadun* in this section) in view of her future rank as one of the principal wives of Činggis Qan. She is, in fact, listed as the first wife of the first rank of those belonging to the second *ordo* or 'Palace' in YS² 106, 2694. The later Mongol tradition made Qulan Qatun a Korean princess. See HCG, 275-276. She bore Činggis Qan a son, Kōlgen, who died in Russia. There are many references to both Qulan and her son in the Persian and Chinese sources, including Yüan literary, legal and administrative texts (see, e.g., RPN, I, 867; TCTK 2, 28a), which deserve study.

Naya'a Noyan of the Ba'arin (Ba'aridai) has his name variously transcribed in this section as Naya'a and Nayā (< Naya'a), the written form being Nayaya. The younger (?) son of Old Širgü'etü of the Ničügüt Ba'arin, he was mentioned in § 149 in connection with the seizure of Tarqutai Kiriltuq of the Tayiči'ut. There his name appears only in the form Naya'a. For the sake of uniformity, I have transcribed his name as Naya'a

throughout this section. Činggis Qan was angry with him because he thought that Naya'a had sexually used Qulan during the three days he delayed her progress – a most serious crime according to Mongol customary law, for Qulan as daughter of a chief and on her way to be given to Činggis, was already the *qan's* property and should have been conveyed to him immediately. It was, therefore, a case of *lèse majesté*. Cf. Vernadsky 1938, 350-351; Ratchnevsky 1987, 68; and below, nn. 208, 220, 252, concerning the expressions *yeke töre* (~ *törö*) and *yeke yosu*.

'Detained ... held': the verb is the same in Mongolian (*töritge-* = mo. *türidke-* 'to cause to hold, obstruct'). I have used two different words in English to avoid repeating the same verb three times.

'Rigorously and minutely questioned', lit. 'questioning observing carefully (*or* looking inquisitively) in a harsh manner' (*qatangqui-a mara'an asačü*). The use of harsh methods of interrogation, i.e. torture, is implied in the expression *qatangqui-a* (as in fr. [*peine*] *dure et forte*). As for *mara'an*, the Chinese interlinear version glosses this word as *tzu-hsi* 仔細 'in detail, carefully.' *Mara'an* is the converbum modale of *mara'a-* ~ *mariya-* 'to watch or observe carefully, pry; to spy' (HW, 108). Cf. mo. *mariya-*, *miriya-* 'to steal up, stalk.' See Oz¹, IV, 367-368, n. 6. For other interpretations, see Ra, VII, 80.

'Made this case a matter of law.' *Jasaq bolqa-* is, literally, 'to make into a *jasaq*', i.e. into a normative law or, in Cleaves' words 'a precedent which shall serve as law for the future' (CI, 130, n. 69). See de Rachewiltz 1993, 97-98.

'No doubt we would have been intercepted and would have got into difficulties', lit. 'would we have not ...?' – a rhetorical question.

'Perhaps ...' (*qai* ...). For *qai*, a word expressing doubt ('perhaps, who knows?'), cf. Vietze 1990, 384.

'To inspect my body', lit. 'to question the flesh (*mariyan*)', i.e. to test her virginity. For *mariya(n)* ~ *marā'a* 'flesh, body', cf. Cleaves 1982, 84, n. 46.

'Had this message conveyed', lit. 'she caused one to report (to the ruler: *öci'üljü'üi*).' For *öci'ül-* (= mo. *öcigül-*), factitive of *öci-* 'to report to, inform (the ruler)', cf. Cleaves 1953, 65, n. 14.

'I have no other face than that *known to* (Cl, 130: "than [that devoted unto]) the Qa'an', i.e. 'I am not double-faced (= insincere) in my behaviour towards the Qa'an.'

'If I come across maidens and ladies/Of foreign people with beautiful cheeks,/And geldings with fine croups...' – a reference to the oath of loyalty in § 123. For this passage, cf. Street 1982, 624.

'If *ever* I think differently from this, let me die!' For this expression, cf. Street 1990, 189.

'Showed favour to Qulan Qatun.' See above for the eminent position among his wives conferred on Qulan by Činggis Qan.

'As Naya'a's words had been confirmed', lit. 'having turned out to be *just* like Naya'a's words.'

'I shall entrust him with an important task!', lit. 'I shall entrust him with a great matter!' The appointment of Naya'a to the very important position of commander of the ten thousand of the centre in 1206 is recorded in § 220, where Činggis' statement made on this occasion is also recalled. See below, n. 220. Cf. also § 149 ad fin.

§ 198. Döregene (~ Töregene; cf. above, n. 197), the wife of Qudu (i.e. Qutu or Qodu; cf. above, n. 141) that Činggis Qan gave to Ögödei, is a well-known figure. It seems that she was originally a Naiman of possibly Nestorian Christian background. She gained great political power in the latter part of Ögödei's reign and became regent of the empire after his death (1241-46). She was the mother of Güyük (1206-48), for whose election as *qa'an* she was largely responsible. At the election, which took place on 24 August 1246 near Qara Qorum, the Franciscan envoy John of Pian di Carpine was present, and mentions her in the narrative of his journey. See MM, 61, 65 (cf. also the

account of Benedict the Pole, *ibid.*, 82); SDM, 390, 393. She died probably soon after the election. There are many references to her in the works of the Persian historians and in the Chinese sources. On her see MPa, 193-195; HCG, 90. She is known in the West as Turakina, and in China as Nai-ma-chen 乃馬真 (= Naimajin, 'The Naiman') and *Liu huang-hou* 六皇后 or 'The Sixth Empress.' The latter designation has not been satisfactorily explained, since both the Persian and Chinese sources list her as the second, not sixth, wife of Ögödei, belonging to the emperor's principal *ordo* (his first wife was Boraqčin). See *Successors*, 18; YS² 106, 2693-4. I have discussed this problem at length in de Rachewiltz 1981 and de Rachewiltz 1999a, where new source material is presented to support my earlier tentative explanation of this puzzling question. For the name Döregene/Töregene, cf. Rybatzki [2003], s.v.

For the form *qadunt* instead of *qatut* 'ladies (of rank), wives (of a chief or nobleman)', see above, n. 118; Mo, 109; *Matériel II*, 47 (17v, 5).

As pointed out in Li, 167, n. 198, Ögödei is called Qa'an in anticipation of his future status, just as in the preceding section (§ 197) Dayir Usun's daughter is called Qulan Qatun. Ögödei's title must have been added to the original text of the SH (which undoubtedly had Ögödei *tout court*) much later, presumably at the same time when Činggis' title of *qan* was changed to *qa'an*. See Section Four of the Introduction.

The Taiqal stronghold (Taiqal *qorqa*) presents some problems. The word *taiqal* is glossed in the interlinear version as 'mountain top' (*shan-ting* 山頂) and *qorqa* as 'stockade, stronghold, fortress' (*chai-tzu* 寨子); however, the sectional summary (Y² 8, 5a) calls this place 'the Taiqal mountain stronghold', with *taiqal* transcribed as a proper name. Cf. Cl, 132, n. 1. That Taiqal was a place-name is confirmed by Rašid al-Dīn (SL², I/2, 149: Daīqāl *qōryān*), the SWCCL¹ (56b: the Taiqan [= Taiqal] stronghold), and the YS² (1, 13: id.). The interlinear

gloss 'mountain top' seems to be a misinterpretation of the translator, due perhaps to his assuming the stronghold to be on a mountain. The location of Taiqal is not known. Pèrlée², 9 (= Pèrlée⁴, 95), is of the opinion that it corresponds to Qara Qorum, but his argument is based on later literary evidence showing that Qara Qorum was also known as Taqai Balyasun. I find Pèrlée's argument not very convincing, but cannot suggest other identifications at present.

Čimbai, the son of Sorqan Šira, and his brother Čila'un were mentioned in §§ 84 and 85 in connection with Činggis Qan's early escape from the Tayiči'ut. Čimbai was appointed with Boroqul as commander of the right (= west) wing, not of the left wing as stated in our text. See the YS² 1, 13, and the sectional summary (Y² 8, 5a), where the correct form is given. See also Rašid al-Dīn, loc. cit. We know that the transcription and translation of the text of the SH during the Ming were made on a manuscript different from the one used earlier by the authors of the sectional summary, and not as good. See Section Four of the Introduction. 'Wing' is, literally, 'hand' (*qar*). See TMEN, nos. 84, 165, 1477.

'Unwilling to submit ... bare lives.' For this passage, see Mo, 177-178, n. 158; and above, n. 188. Cf. Oz¹, V, 9-12, n. 4.

For the name 'Altai' see above, n. 194. By 'south of the Altai' is probably meant the side facing the Khangai Mts., which strictly speaking is the 'northern' side of the Altai. My impression is that Činggis Qan spent the winter of 1204-1205 there, and in the spring crossed the Altai at the Alai Pass and entered the valley of the Irtysh. As for Alai, this place-name is incorrectly transcribed in the SH as 'Arai.' Cf. Pelliot 1935a, 159. It recurs again in § 257 as the name of a pass; the form found in the corresponding passage of the AT is 'Alai', see AT¹, 115a. Cf. ATL, 189; LDAT, 225; Li, 167-168, n. 198. Pelliot's correction is undoubtedly based on the reading in AT³, 162a. Cf. Pe, 73, n. 4 ('Alay?'). It has been identified by Pèrlée², 4 (= Pèrlée⁴, 86), with the Ulaan Dabaa (Pass) of the Altai at 47° N 91° E (more precisely at 47° 24' N 91° 12' E). The locality

mentioned in the SH is perhaps related to the 'mountains of the Alai' mentioned by Rašid al-Dīn, which were also in this broad region, but which Pelliot has been unable to identify. See HCG, 299-302. The 'Alai mountains' of GOT, 285 (E3), is a typographical error for 'Altai mountains.'

Güčülük joined forces with Toqto'a of the Merkit at the 'Buqdurma source of the Erdis' – presumably in the area where the Bukhtarma River, which rises in the Altai, flows into the Irtysh at Ust' Bukhtarma (formerly Bukhtarminsk), south-west of Zyryanovsk in east Kazakhstan. The Erdis or Erdiš is, of course, the Irtysh, and this is the first occurrence of this name in the SH. On it see TMEN, no. 447.

'Toqto'a was struck there and then by a "random" arrow (*šiba-yin sumun*) and fell.' Most translators, including Haenisch, Ligeti, Murakami, Damdinsürén, Waley, Cleaves, Doronatib, Ozawa and Onon, render *šiba-yin sumun* as 'a stray arrow' following the Chinese gloss (乱箭的箭) and the sectional summary (Y² 8, 5b: 乱箭, but see below). Cérénsodnom (Če, 173, 427, n. 429; cf. also Tserensodnom 1993, 199) takes *šiba* = *sibege* 'feather-grass' (*Stipa pennata* or *grandis*, kh. *šivèé[n]*; see Cév., 843 [II]; MMED, 809a; cf. MED, 540a, following MOUNT, 26); the expression in question would thus designate arrows similar to the spikelets of feather-grass, i.e. densely clustered. In fact, another name for feather-grass in Mongolian is *qarbuyči ebesü*, i.e. 'arrow-shooting grass.' Even and Pop (Ev-Pop, 163), following Gaadamba (Га, 369-370, n. 585), translate *šiba-yin sumun* as 'une flèche bien visée' – a rendering which is exactly the opposite of the Chinese gloss and the sectional summary. Just as Cérénsodnom associates *šiba* with *sibege* 'feather-grass', so does Doerfer associate *šiba* with *sibege* (SH, § 79: *šibe'e*) 'palisade, abatis, protective wall, rampart.' See TMEN, no. 227 ad fin. Doerfer discusses mmo. **sibā* (< *šibe'e*) as a loan-word in Persian and various Turkic languages, but unfortunately includes examples of Turkic words which derive not from Mongolian *šibe'e*, but from *šiba*, e.g. čag.

šiba (TMEN: *šibä*, but VWTD, IV, 1088: *šiba*) 'a flight of arrows', thus confusing the issue. Cf. VEWT, 445a and 446a; but in 445a, 'srt. *šiba* "eine eigene Art Pfeil"...< mo. *sibaγa* "Würfel, Los"', is also debatable as far as the etymology is concerned. However, the Chaghatai acceptance of the word is relevant when used in conjunction with Mongol lexical evidence. Written Mongolian has the expression *siba ni* (? for *-yin*) *jebe* meaning 'arrows which are shot randomly along and across the enemy', i.e. arrows shot at the enemy from all sides (QNTT, 552b; WTCWC, I, 908.4; Kow., 1476b; and Gol., II, 385b, but in Kow. and Gol. incorrectly entered under *sibe*; cf. also Šajja¹, 831b). We are dealing here with a particular type of attack, or military tactic, rather than with a special type of arrow, or simply a stray one. We know that it was a Mongol tactic to shower the enemy with arrows when first approaching, each horseman 'shooting three or four arrows at their adversaries' (MM, 36). These arrows were not aimed at individual soldiers, but at the mounted troops as a whole – men and horses – to create confusion. In other words, they were 'random' arrows discharged at the enemy from all sides. Indeed, the Chinese gloss *luan-chien* 亂箭 designating them in the SH, and of which 'stray arrow' is only an approximate translation, is a technical term registered in the WTCWC, loc. cit., corresponding to mo. *siba ni jebe* and ma. *soriha sirdan* 'arrows shot wildly', i.e. randomly. Hence my present rendering of this term. Middle Mongolian *šiba* has survived in Modern Mongolian in the denominal verb *sibada-*, kh. *šavdax*, 'to pierce; to incite, urge' (Les., 693); cf. kh. *šav* 'shooting target', bur. *šaba* 'shot.' More could be said on this interesting and much-travelled word, but it would take us too far afield.

'His sons could not bury him', lit. 'his sons being unable to take in their hands (= bury) his bones (= body).' On the expression *yasu bari-* 'to bury', see above, n. 175. The practice of severing the head of a dead person (*pars pro toto*) has already been encountered in § 189. Cf. also Ratchnevsky 1987, 81-82.

Most of them fell into *the river* and drowned', lit. 'sinking into it caused the majority to perish in the water.' The verb *čübtüs-* corresponds to mo. *čöbte-* 'to fall to the bottom, sink.' See Les., 200a.

Regarding the country of the Ui'ur and Qarluq Turks in Central Asia, see above n. 151. Here, as in § 235, the name Qarluq occurs in the plural Qarlu'ut (w.f. Qarluγud); cf. Poppe 1975, 166. The preceding word, Ui'urtai, is the ethnicon of Ui'ur, but since it can hardly modify Qarlu'ut (the Uighurs and the Qarluqs being clearly distinguished in the SH as well as in other sources), it must be taken as the equivalent of Ui'ur or Ui'ut, i.e. the Uighurs, an interpretation which is supported by the interlinear gloss which renders Ui'urtai and Qarlu'ut with *chung-ming* 種名 'name of people' in each case. Cf., e.g., the names Sartaq and Sartaqtai 'the Sartaq', as well as Ui'urtai (§ 279) 'the Uighur' *tout court* used by various personages. Cf. NHHO, 269b. However, Ko, 151 (followed by Da¹, 183; cf. Da⁵, 156), Buell 1992, 8, and Oz², II, 52, translate 'the Qarluq of the Ui'ur (Uigur).' For a possible, but unlikely, explanation, see Buell 1992, 8, n. 20. On the *gür qan* of the Qara Kidat (= Qara Kitat), the Čui River, i.e. the Chu, and 'the country of the Sarta'ul' (*Sarda'ul-un qajar*), see above, nn. 151, 152 and 177. In the present section (as in § 177) Sarta'ul is written Sarda'ul.

The name of Toqto'a's second son is incorrectly written here as Qat, whereas it should be Qal as given (twice) in § 199, a reading confirmed also by the sectional summary (Y² 8, 5b). Cf. HCG, 285; Buell 1992, 8, n. 21.

In the SH, Qangli, the name of the Turkic-speaking people who inhabited the area of Turgai north of the Aral Sea, is always written as Qanglin. For a discussion of this name see HCG, 112ff. The Kimča'ut (pl. of Kimčaq) ~ Kibča'ut (§ 262) are the Qipčaq, the other Turkic-speaking people, frequently associated with the Qangli, who were scattered over the vast steppeland north of the Caspian and the Black Sea, and who were known in Europe as Comans or Polovtsy. See *ibid.*, 97, 102ff.; Pelliot 1920, 133-150, 161; Poppe 1975, 166; YShi, 80-83; and NNRS,

passim. On the Qangli and Qipčaq see also MR, I, 301-304; II, 68-73; NMP, I, 402; HTAC, 88-91; Li, 168, n. 198; CCo, 189, nn. 51, 53; Kumekov 1987; TIKCA, 17ff.; and especially the important contributions by O. Pritsak. Cf. SMEH, Index, 11a; and Allsen 1983a, 6. See further CHEIA, 506 (Index, s.v. 'Kipchaks'), and CHCAR, 836b (Index). They are frequently mentioned in the Chinese and Persian sources, but have not yet been made the object of a comprehensive investigation. For *m ~ b*, see 'Quelques problèmes', 270.

The passage 'Toqto'a was struck ... Kimča'ut' is translated somewhat differently in Buell 1992, 7-8.

'Settled in his base camp' renders *a'uru'ut-tur ba'uba*. For the term *a'uruq* (pl. *a'uru'ut*), see above, n. 136. Cf. the expression *ordos-tur ba'u-*, lit. 'to settle down at the Palaces', i.e. at the *qan*'s encampment (§ 264). See Mo, 261 and n. 249. The use of the plural form for the base camp may be compared to the use of the term *ordos* (pl. of *ordo*) in that expression, the *qan*'s encampment consisting of his residence and those of his wives, retainers, etc., altogether a large number of tents. However, it is possible that the plural in such instances may be also one of respect, a sort of honorific plural, on which cf. *Lettres*, 65, 79.

For *kötöčin* 'servants, attendants', see Oz¹, V, 19-20, n. 1; Miller 2000, 212-216. Cf. above, n. 66.

'He had the Merkit distributed here and there down to the last one', lit. 'he apportioned the Merkit in all directions until they were utterly finished.' Cf. Cl, 133: 'He made one to part the Merkid, [distributing them] unto every quarter, to the point that he extinguished [them as an entire tribe].'

Whereas the SH records the battle on the Irtysh and Toqto'a's death in the spring of the Year of the Ox, i.e. in 1205, the same event is placed s.a. 1208 in the Chinese and Persian sources. Cf. YS² 1, 14; SL², I/2, 151-152; SWCCL¹, 58b. See also EM, 172-173, 196-197; ČK¹, 79, 92 (= ČK², 86, 102). A comparison of the sources within the framework of Činggis' movements in the years 1207/1208 and 1217/1218 shows that

the chronology of the YS and Rašīd al-Dīn is, as usual, more reliable than that of the SH. See Appendix One, and below, n. 199. However, Grousset and Hambis follow the chronology of the SH in their respective works. See CW, 160; GK, 89.

§ 199. 'In that same Year of the Ox' must refer to 1205; see the fourth paragraph of § 198. However, we have here a mistake of a full twelve-year cycle, as Sübe'etei's expedition against Toqto'a's sons took place in 1217, also a Year of the Ox. This event must have been either erroneously or purposely transposed in the text. Cf. Pelliot 1920, 163-164; EM, 197-198, 579; and below, n. 236. Sübe'etei is the famous lieutenant of Činggis Qan and one of the 'four hounds', already mentioned in §§ 120, 124, 195. His name appears in the SH in the forms Sübe'etei (= pmo. Sübegetei) and Sübētei (< Sübe'etei). In other sources we find Sübütei ~ Söbütei (< Sübētei ~ Söbētei < Sübe'etei ~ Söbe'etei). Cf. Cleaves 1955a, 398, n. 239. For this great military leader, who was born in the Uriangqai (Uriyangqai) tribe in 1176 and died in Mongolia in 1248, see the biographical essay by Paul D. Buell in ISK, 13-26 (with a comprehensive bibliography on page 26), 797a (Index); and Buell 1992. Buell's views on the sequence of events differ from mine. Sübe'etei is usually referred to as Sübe'etei Ba'atur (cf. above, n. 120). In view of the capital role he played in the creation of the Mongol empire, a full-length study of his life and activities would be highly desirable. With regard to the campaign in question, the 'iron cart' (*temür telege*) with which he was equipped for his long and arduous journey (Qodu and the Merkit remnants had fled to the west and sought shelter in Qipčaq territory under the protection of a local chief) must have been a cart reinforced with an iron frame and with iron wheels. The SWCCL¹, 72a, specifically states that it had iron-covered wheels. On these carts see Read 1992, 90; Nam 1994, 200; cf. also TH, 259 (= JYT, 448); Oz¹, V, 28-29, n. 2. For its possible use in connection with Sübe'etei in particular, i.e. as a suitable vehicle for a very corpulent man, cf. Ha, 158, n. 199; Li, 168, n.

199. In our text, *temür telegetü* is in apposition to Sübe'etei: 'Sübe'etei – he with an iron cart.' As pointed out by N. Poppe (p. c.), this is an interesting and unusual construction. The name of Toqto'a's second son is Qal (Qat in § 198) which, as stated earlier, is the correct form.

'Left in fright and haste, then turned back, exchanged shots with us and went off like lassoed wild asses or stags with arrows in their bodies' (*odun oqjatču qarin qarbučaju uqurqatu qulan sumutu buqu bolju otbai*). The expression *odun oqjatču qarin qarbučaju* is idiomatic (note the alliteration) and it seems to apply to the well-known tactic of feigning retreat, then turning back and shooting arrows at the enemy (cf., e.g., MM, 36-37; CG, 191; and see above, nn. 194 and 195), used here by the Merkit forces which were numerically at a great disadvantage vis-à-vis the Mongols. This tactic was evidently quite effective, since the Merkit were thus able to make good their escape even if, as the narrator vividly describes, they were then like wild asses (or horses: *qulan*, see above, n. 48) with the loop of the *ür̄ya* (mmo. *uqurqa* = pmo. and mo. *uγur̄ya*, kh. *urga* 'a long wooden pole with a loop on the end used to catch horses' [Les., 881a]) over their necks, or like stags with arrows in their flesh, i.e. wounded and impaired. For the entire sentence see the important remarks in Oz¹, V, 29-31, nn. 3, 4, which rectify previous interpretations; however, with regard to the verb *oqjat-* (w.f. *oγjad-*) 'to be frightened (alarmed or startled)', Ozawa's interpretation must be reconciled with Oz¹, IV, 292-293, n. 6, dealing with the same verb occurring in § 193. *Oqjat-* is a denominal verb in *-t* (*-d*) from **oqja* (= **oγja*). Cf. mo. *oγjo* (< **oγja*), kh. *ogž* 'quick, sudden, unexpected; fearful' (Cèv., 408a; see TH, 115 [= JYT, 204]; MÜIT, 338b-339a). Clearly, as noted by Ozawa, the verb carries the meaning both of 'to be in fear' and 'to be pressed or in haste', hence my rendering.

This whole section is in 'semi-epic' style, i.e. it combines poetic imagery with realistic advice. Some or most of it could indeed be rendered poetically, as Even and Pop have done (Ev-Pop, 164-166); however, I have refrained from doing so because

of its 'bitty' character. Cf. Cérénsodnom 1986, 70; Poucha 1955, 168-170 (for a remarkable parallel in Herodotus); Khomonov 1981, 55-56. For some interesting remarks and further references, and for other ancient popular sayings in this section, see Li, 168, n. 199.

For *tarbaqan* (= mo. *tarbaγa[n]*) 'marmot', see above, n. 89; cf. also MED, 332b.

'If they ... plunge', lit. 'If they ... enter' (*oro'asu*).

'Tenggis Sea' (Tenggis Dalai): see the discussion on Tenggis in n. 1 above. The word *dalai* 'sea, ocean, great lake, etc.' appears here for the first time, glossed *hai* 海 id. On *dalai* see TMEN, no. 196; de Rachewiltz 1983, 274-276, 280, n. 32; Sinor 1972. Judging by the context, this expression is here used metaphorically with the general meaning of 'the Ocean', rather than specifically, as in § 1, with the meaning of Tenggis/Baikal (?); but there is disagreement between the interlinear gloss (Y² 8, 7a) and the sectional summary (Y² 8, 11a), the latter supporting the generic designation (*hai* 'sea, ocean' tout court). See Wa, 282. Cf. Oz¹, V, 26; Oz², II, 53 ('lakes and seas').

Gölmi and *qubči'ur* (= mo. *γubčiγur*) designate two types of fishing nets; according to the Chinese gloss, the former is a casting net and the latter a dragnet (*qubči'ur* already appears in § 75). For *gölmi*, cf. RH, 70, no. 25 and n. 1. Interestingly enough, both *gölmi* (~ *gölme*, *gölüme*, *gölim*) and *γubčiγur* (*qubči'ur*, *qubčūr*) mean also 'saddle cloth, shabrack.' For these terms and their semantic development, see Oz¹, V, 31-32, nn. 6, 7; Pelliot 1944c, 159ff.; TMEN, no. 266 (s.v. 'qubčūr'); Uray-Köhalmi 1984, 730-733.

'Mindful of the long distance you have to cover', lit. 'thinking of the distance of the territory.' Cf. above, n. 194.

'The army mounts' (*čerig-ün ula'a*). For *ula'a(n)* (= mo. *ulaya[n]*) '(re)mount, post or relay horse', a loan-word from tu. *ulay* 'a technical term for a horse used for carrying goods or riding, more particularly a horse for hire and a post horse' (ED, 136a-b), see TMEN, no. 521; Mo, 254; Arakawa 1994; Cleaves 1988, 157-158, n. 17; MMHS, 88, n. 20; Oz¹, V, 32, n. 8; and

SH, §§ 279-281 and com. Regulations concerning the use of post horses (*ula'a*) and provisions, i.e. rations (*ši'üsü*), figure prominently in the official documents of the Yüan period. Cf. MMHS, 46-47 et passim. In our text, the term for 'provisions' is *günesü* (cf. §§ 93, 175), but *ši'üsün* is also found in the SH (§ 280). See below, n. 280.

'If a gelding is *already* completely exhausted it will be of no use (lit. "it will not do") to spare it *then*.' For this sentence see Mo, 107.

'If your provisions have *already* completely run out, how can you save them *then*? (lit. "to save them will not do").' For this sentence see *ibid.*, 197.

'Thinking ahead', lit. 'thinking beyond (i.e. of what is beyond).' Cf., however, Oz¹, V, 26, 34-35, n. 11; Oz², II, 54; Ev-Pop, 165. I do not think that *alus* = 'distance' in this case, since the caution about the distance had been given only a few lines before.

'Do not allow your soldiers ... (to) make circular battues (*bu abalatqun*) without limit.' This provision of the *ḡasaq* on limited or controlled hunting is worth noting, also for its economic implications. See MCS, 33-34. Cf. also above, nn. 115, 190, for the verb *abala-* 'to hunt by making a circular hunt or battue.'

'In order to give (lit. "saying, 'Let there be'") additional provisions (*neme'esün önggegü-yen*).' The verb *öngge-*, glossed *tseng-i* 增益 'to increase', corresponds to mo. *önggeyi-* 'to increase (in price)'. See Kow., 497a. Cf. Ko, 556.

'To fix the crupper to the saddle', lit. 'to crupper the crupper of the saddle.' For *qudurqa* (= mo. *qudurya*) 'crupper', cf. TMEN, no. 1494; RH, 289, no. 20.

'With their mouths free' (*sudalbiju*), i.e. without putting in the bit. The verb *sudalbi-* 'to remove the bit from the horse's mouth' is still preserved in Dagur (*sodolbi-* id.). Cf. ma. *sudamimbi* 'to remove the bit, to take out the bit (of livestock)' (CMEL, 250a). See TH, 242-243 (= JYT, 419).

'Will not be able', lit. 'who will be able?' – a rhetorical question. 'The soldiers will not be able to gallop on the way (lit. "when they go")' because they would not be able to ride a horse without a crupper at a gallop, and could not direct and control one without bridle and with a loose bit. The purpose of this order is to avoid unnecessarily fatiguing the horses before reaching their destination. Cf. A. Mostaert *apud* Cl, 134, n. 13.

'Thus, making *this a matter of law* (*ḡasaqlaju*'), i.e. turning the military directive into a law (*ḡasaq*) for future application. Cf. § 199 and com.; Ratchnevsky 1968a, 127, 132, n. 8; *idem* 1974, 473; de Rachewiltz 1993, 98.

'In the same way', i.e. as before. For the entire passage beginning 'Beyond the rivers' and ending 'there and then!', see Mo, 124-125. My rendering of the poetic passage diverges from the translations of Mostaert, Cleaves, Ozawa and others insofar as I have adopted N. Poppe's interpretation of the verb *möseldü-*, reciprocal voice of *möse-*, a word unattested in Mongolian except for this single occurrence in the SH. As stated by Poppe (p.c.), *möse-* corresponds to ma. *muse-* (< *müse-*) 'to lose courage' (SSTMY, I, 561a). Cf. CMED, 206a: *musembi* '1. to bend, to become bent, to become warped; 2. to become discouraged, to become disheartened.' The word is undoubtedly a borrowing from Tungus, as evident also from the characteristic verbal root ending *se*, comparatively rare in Mongolian (see, e.g., RIM, 74-76; cf. MEDRL, 6). *Möseldü-* is paralleled with the verb *alqasaldu-* (rec. of *alqasa-*) in the second half of the poetic passage. *Alqasa-* (= mo. *alyasa-*) has also two basic meanings with a rather wide semantic spectrum: 1. 'to be separated, divided or disconnected', and 2. 'to be distracted, confused, perplexed, inattentive, remiss, discouraged, worried, etc.' Cf. Les., 31a; MKT, 47a; OECD, 28a; MKeT, 80a. Clearly, 1 and 2 are related, 2 being a semantic development from 1 (to be separated → distracted → confused → discouraged → remiss, etc.). In the SH, § 181, we find the factitive form *alqasa'ul-* 'to cause to divide, to rend'; in § 260 we have the expressions *aburi-yan alqasa-* 'to be neglectful of

(= to dissipate, diminish) one's natural virtue (= ardour)' and *setkil-iyen alqasa-* 'to lose heart', lit. 'to be neglectful of one's thoughts (or heart).' Cf. HW, 5. For the usage of *alqasa-* in preclassical texts, cf. also Cleaves 1954, 76 [4-159a] and 78 [4-160a]. The Ming translators were undoubtedly acquainted with the various meanings of this word, and took the expression *alqasalduqun ta* of our passage to mean 'you will separate (or divide) yourselves' (分離您). I believe, however, that they were not acquainted with the, by then, obsolete Tungus word *möse-*, but since the expression *alqasalduqun ta* corresponded to the expression *möseldükün (ta)* in the first half of the poetic passage, they assumed that the latter likewise meant 'to separate oneself' (分離) and translated accordingly ('Beyond the rivers/You will perhaps separate yourselves ... /Beyond the mountains/You will perhaps separate yourselves ...'). Had they assumed that *alqasa-* meant, in this context, 'to lose heart' instead of 'to separate oneself', they would have been correct in their rendering of *möse-* too, but this was not the case. I should add that the sectional summary is of little help in the present instance (see below). The nomen futuri in *-qun/-kün* (pl. of *-qul/-kü*) indicates here a potential situation, hence my insertion of 'perhaps.' For this use of the nomen futuri, also in conjunction with the same verb *alqasa-*, cf. the expression *alqasaqu sedkil anu* 'their thoughts which could be distracted' (Cleaves 1954, 78 [4-160a]; Mostaert: 'leur pensées qui pourraient être distraites', *ibid.*, 104, n. 156).

'But think of nothing else apart (lit. "apart and separately") from *your mission*', i.e. in spite of all the difficulties of the long journey in pursuit of Toqto'a's sons which may dampen their spirits, Sübe'etei's troops are urged to press on regardless, single-mindedly. The sectional summary says simply 'You must be attentive' (Y² 8, 11b). For a different interpretation of Činggis' words, see Mo, 125, n. 118; cf. Cl, 135, n. 14.

'If Eternal Heaven grants you further strength and power', lit. 'If strength and power are increased by Eternal Heaven.' (At the end of this section Činggis refers also to the protection of

Heaven Above.) For this terminology, see above, n. 113, and below, nn. 201, 208. For the 'mot-couple' *güčü auqa* (= *mo. küčü[n] auqa ~ auqa küčün*) 'strength-power', cf. Cleaves 1996, 10-11, n. 56 where, however, for 'a'uqa' read 'auqa'.

'You capture', lit. 'you cause to enter into your hands.'

'There is no need for you to bring them back', lit. 'why go so far as bringing them?'

The episode of Činggis, then Temüjin, chased ('to be frightened' in the old Mongolian language often implied being pursued and fleeing for one's life) by the Merkit chieftains – the 'Three Merkit' (here the Uduyt Merkit is singled out because Toqto'a was its chief) – is the one related in § 102, an ordeal that had clearly left an indelible impression on Činggis.

'Swearing oaths', lit. 'letting loose the mouth and tongue' (*aman kelen aldaju*), an idiomatic expression still used in Mongolian.

'You shall reach', lit. 'let him (i.e. you – Sübe'etei) reach together (= meet, i.e. with the enemy).'

'To the furthest limit, etc.' For this expression, see § 166 ad fin. and com. Činggis means that he, through Sübe'etei, will go to any lengths to punish them.

'He had an iron cart made', lit. 'he had an iron cart beaten out', i.e. with the iron reinforcements hammered on to the cart. See above.

'To pursue them to the very end', lit. 'making him (Sübe'etei) pursue them, going to the extremity (*üjü'ülen*). For *üjü'üle-* (= pmo. *üjügiüle-*) 'to go to (or reach) the end (limit, extremity)', cf. Cleaves 1950, 115, n. 95; *idem* 1994, 19, n. 31.

'With these final instructions', lit. 'He ordered, saying.'

For the final passage, 'If you constantly (lit. "go on") think, etc.', see Cleaves 1951, 81, n. 54; *Lettres*, 60; Ligeti 1971, 156 (for a different interpretation; but cf. Li, 87 and 168, n. 199!). Cf. also Street 1981, 153, where *yabu'asu* is correctly taken as an auxiliary of continuity ('If you keep thinking'). See Mo, 195, and Aalto 1973, 36, versus *Lettres*, 60, and Cl, 135. The 'We' (*bidani*, acc.) is a *pluralis majestatis*, not employed in Činggis'

previous words to Sübe'etei. Cf. the sectional summary (Y² 8, 11b), where the same pronoun *wo* 我 'I' is used in both passages. One wonders whether the *pluralis majestatis*, which is used so inconsistently in the SH (cf., e.g., § 224), was found in the original recension or is due to later editorial changes, like Činggis Qan → Činggis Qa'an ~ Qan. In any event, such inconsistency in the usage of the first person singular and plural should not surprise us since it is well attested in the documents of the Mongol period (see, e.g., MPa, 16-21, and the important remarks in 'Trois documents', 454), as indeed in classical works, the Koran among them. See *The Koran*, 9, n. 2. For *ba* 'we' = 'I', cf. below, n. 201. Concerning the pronouns (*ba* and *bida*) of the first person plural, cf. *Lettres*, 66. The expression *ečine ber bö'esü ile metü, qolo ber bö'esü oyira metü setki* 'to think that even out of sight it is like being visible, even being far it is like being near' is, as rightly put by Ligeti (Ligeti 1971, 156), a 'fameuse sentence des anciens Mongols' – a phrase frequently used by them to overcome the feeling of separation and distance, and still now expressed in similar forms in proverbs and popular sayings. See, e.g., MCÜD, I, 101; II, 91, s.v. 'xol.'

§ 200. In §§ 200-201 the final confrontation between Činggis Qan and Ĵamuqa, and the latter's demise, are recounted in epic form – one of the highlights of the SH from both the dramatic and literary points of view.

The Tanglu (< Tangnu) is the present-day Tangnu Range, i.e. the Tangnu Ola (Ula, Uul), Tannu Ola or Tagnin Nuruu of our maps, in the southern Tuvin Republic. Tanglu (T'ang-lu) is also the form we find in Y² 63, 1575. Cf. Hambis 1956, 291 and 299, n. 44; Pèrlée², 9. We are not told in which part of the Tangnu Range Ĵamuqa and his companions had taken shelter. The wild sheep they killed was a male wild mountain sheep or argali (*uqulja*, mo. *uqulja*, *uqalja*), i.e. *Ovis ammon*, on which see Colmon 2002, 166.

'Whose sons, etc.' As already pointed out by Mostaert, Ĵamuqa is saying to his companions: 'Who (lit. "the sons of whom") is so lucky today to eat wild sheep's meat like you?'; in other words, 'You owe it to me if your lot is better than that of many other people.' See Mo, 126; Li, 168-169, n. 200. However, Ĵamuqa's remark can be understood differently. Instead of being a rhetorical question (requiring the answer 'Very few indeed!'), these words could have been uttered in a self-mocking, sarcastic manner, the 'sons' being, in fact, Ĵamuqa himself and his five companions, once powerful leaders and now destitute fugitives. In English, the sentence would then end with an exclamation, rather than a question mark. For this interpretation, cf. Na², 263; Ko, 154; Mu, II, 327, 336, n. 3; Do¹, 211, 215-216, n. 2; Oz¹, V, 48, 54, n. 2; On, 106 and n. 258 (cf. the 2001 ed., 185, n. 461). Whatever the meaning of Ĵamuqa's remark, his companions, evidently tired of their leader and of their not so enviable life as outcasts (*o'orčağ*, see above, n. 156), decided to hand him over to Činggis Qan.

The meaning of the alliterative message conveyed by Ĵamuqa to his *anda* is that the latter should not be mistaken about the treacherous act of Ĵamuqa's former companions and condone it. The imagery used is the same as that found in Čilger Bökö's 'lament' in § 111, to which the reader is referred. Common tribesmen (*qaraču*, which I have rendered as 'black skins' to retain the colour component of the image), slaves (*bo'ol*) and servants (*nekiin*, see below) who dare lay hands on their lord and master (*qan*, *ežen*; cf. above, § 149) are compared to vile and predatory birds like black crows and grey buzzards catching noble fowls like the mandarin and wild ducks (*qarambai noqosu* and *borčin sono*). My rendering of the names of these fowls is tentative since we do not know precisely what kind of ducks they designate. *Qarambai noqosu*, or *qarambai* duck, may correspond to mo. *qarqamai noyosu*, ma. *irgece niyehe* 'one name for the mandarin duck', i.e. the *Aix galericulata*. See WTCWC, III, 4154.3; CMEL, 150a; Oz¹, V, 54-55, n. 3. Cf. also Ra, VIII, 38-39, n. 200; Vietze 1990, 384. For the

enigmatic *borčín sono* (almost certainly a borrowing from Turkic), I have followed Ligeti who renders it with 'canard sauvage.' See his detailed discussion in Ligeti 1951, 354-355, n. 25. Cf. HCG, 120; Mo, 128, n. 124. Ozawa, following Murakami, renders it as 'falcated teal' (*yoshigamo* 葺鶉), i.e. *Anas falcata*, but Murakami's identification is largely speculative. See Mu, II, 337, n. 5; Oz¹, V, 56-57, n. 6; Oz², II, 56.

'Have gone so far/As to ...', or 'Have come (or reached) the point/Of ...' For this construction, which is found also in the above-mentioned poetic passage in § 111, see Mo, 193ff.

In § 111, 'to lay one's hands on' is expressed in Mongolian with the verb *qal-* (on which see Mo, 52); and in § 149, 'to lay one's hands on (one's lord, lit. *qan*)' is expressed with the single verb *qarda-* (= mo. *γarda-*), whereas in § 200 we find both *qarda-* and the expression *qar gürge-* (= mo. *γar kürge-*), lit. 'to cause the hand(s) to reach', which I render with 'to raise one's hands against.'

'How can you be mistaken?', i.e. 'How can you be deceived (by that)?' For these words, cf. *Lettres*, 61.

Nekün is one of several terms used by the ancient Mongols to designate domestics (see Vlad.², 154 and n. 7) and is glossed *chia-jen* 'household servant.' Ozawa identifies *nekün* with the term *nekegül* (> *neke'ül* > *nekül* > *nekün* [*nekü(n)*]). See Oz¹, V, 57-59, n. 7. This is not likely, since in the 13th-14th centuries *nekegül* did not mean 'servant', but 'a member of the retinue, a follower', lit. 'a pursuer' (from *neke-* 'to pursue' + dev. noun suff. *-gül*, on which see GWM, 46, § 153). Cf. TMEN, no. 392. It would, therefore, correspond to ch. *ts'ung-jen* 從人 or *ts'ung-che* 從者, not to *chia-jen*. Furthermore, in the language of the SH, *nekegül* would have resulted in *neke'ül*, not *nekül/nekün*. Cf. *degüü* > *de'ü*, *negü-* > *ne'ü-*, *kečegü(n)* > *keče'ü(n)*, etc. In fact, the word *nekün* 'servant' appears in this form not only in the SH (also as a proper and geographical name), but also in LH (1928), 72, in the compound *nekün bōl* 'female slave.' Cf. HCG, 49, for further references.

On the rare word *büdüin* 'one's own, proper', see Mo, 37, n. 37. Several translators are divided as to its original reading and meaning, particularly in view of its earlier occurrence in § 103 where it is likewise glossed as *pen* 本 'one's own, original, proper.' In § 103, Cleaves renders *büdüin* with 'own' (*büdüin beye'en* 'mine own body'), and in § 200 *büdüin ejen-iyen* is rendered 'their proper lord' (Cl, 36, 136). A few lines later, the words *tus qan-dur-iyen* are translated 'upon their proper *qan*' (Cl, 137). Cf. § 149, *tus qan-iyen* 'our proper *qan*' (Cl, 78). Therefore, Cleaves takes the word *büdüin* in § 103 to mean 'one's own' and the same word in § 200 to mean 'proper', but in the sense of 'right, correct, legitimate' (= *tus*). The Chinese word used to render *büdüin* in the SH, i.e. *pen* 本, is indeed also ambivalent since it means both 'one's own, proper', and 'original, true.' However, it is difficult to reconcile this ambiguity in Mongolian, hence the conflicting interpretations that we find in the various translations. Among the more recent ones, cf., e.g., Da⁵, 48 (§ 103) 'whole' (*büren*), 159 (§ 200) 'powerful ones' (*bodot*): Do¹, 59 (§ 103) 'whole' (奎), 212, 216-217, n. 5 (§ 200) 'true' (真); El-Ar, 240, 243, n. 7 (§ 103) 'whole' (*budun* = *bütiin*), 641, 644, n. 8 (§ 200) 'right' (*budun* = *čoquim*); Γa, 41, 291, n. 351 (§ 103) 'powerful' (*bodan/bodon*), 132 (§ 200), id.: Če, 71 (§ 103) 'whole' (*bütiin*), 178, 432-433, n. 451 (§ 200) 'powerful one' (*bodon* = *bodong*); Ta, 38 (§ 103) '(my) own/proper', 132 (§ 200) '(their) own/proper'; On, 32 (§ 103) 'my', 107 (§ 200) 'rightful'; Ev-Pop, 70 (§ 103) 'whole, all in one piece' (*tout entière*), 167 (§ 200) '(their) proper.' In § 103, Ozawa reads *büdüin* = *bütiin* 'whole' (*mattaki*), whereas in § 200 he reads *budun* = *boda* 'true' (*mattaki*). See Oz¹, II, 229, 231, 234-235, n. 4; V, 45, 48, 59-60, n. 8; cf. Oz², I, 181; II, 56. However, mo. *bodo*, *boda* (kh. *bod*) 'body, person, substance, etc.' (from which derive *bodotu*, *bodatu*, *bodatai* 'real, original, genuine') appears also in the SH in the form *bodo* (see HW, 16), and it cannot be confused with *büdüin*. As noted by Mostaert (loc. cit.), the reading *büdüin* is supported by the AT. See AT¹,

25a. (This word is, however, read *bütün* in ATI, 18.) Mostaert also pointed out that *büdü*n appears in a Sino-Mongol document of the Ming period, again glossed *pen* 本, thus confirming the accuracy of the SH glosses. As for the suggestion that SH *büdü*n (本, twice) = mo. *bütün* 'whole, entire', the (fossilized) converbum modale of *bütü-* 'to be accomplished (or completed, prepared)', it should be noted that this verb appears also in the SH in the factitive forms *bütü'e-*, *büte'e-*, *bütē-* 'to accomplish, execute, etc.', always with *-t-* (see HW, 24; R, 205a). In view of the above, I think that Mostaert's interpretation, followed by Ligeti and others, that there existed in Mongolian a word *büdü*n meaning simply 'one's own, proper, personal', hence also 'original', i.e. 'belonging or pertaining to the original owner', is quite plausible. In time this word may well have developed the meaning of 'genuine, true', eventually coalescing with the word *bütün*, identically written and encompassing also the meanings of 'intact, unmarred, in good order' (cf. tu. *bütün* 'complete, entire; genuine, perfect'), hence the disappearance of the original *büdü*n from the living language. See ED, 306b. (In the case of ch. *pen* 本 we have a reverse semantic development: 'root, origin(al)' → 'proper, one's own'.) On the other hand, one cannot exclude the possibility that there existed only one word, i.e. *bütün* ~ *büdü*n (cf. tu. *bütün* ~ *büdü*n), meaning 1) 'one's own, proper' (本), and 2) 'whole, complete' (完全), as proposed in TH, 161 (= JYT, 282-283).

For the verb *boso-* 'to encircle, surround; to obstruct', cf. Mo, 163; Oz¹, V, 60-61, n. 9.

For the epithet *boqda* (~ *boqdo*) 'wise, enlightened', see above, n. 121. This is the first time it is applied to Činggis Qan. I have followed the Chinese gloss in translating it as 'wise' instead of 'holy (or saintly)', which under the influence of Buddhism will later become the common epithet of the conqueror.

The entire poetic passage is translated and discussed in Mo, 126-129, 193. Cf. also *Lettres*, 61; Li, 168-169, n. 200.

On the principle of loyalty to one's chief, see the comment in n. 149 above.

'If we become *each of us like* one of the two shafts of a cart, would (lit. "do/will") you think of separating yourself from me and being on your own?' – a rhetorical question, which is however rendered as a statement in CI, 137 (cf. Mo, 182, id.): 'As we are together becoming ..., thou thinkest of severing thyself' See also Do¹, 212; Če, 179; Ev-Pop, 167. The sectional summary (Y² 8, 16a) understands differently: 'Formerly, I made you one shaft of a cart when I was the other, but you separated yourself from me.' Cf. Wa, 283. Nevertheless, in view of the presence of the converbum conditionale (*bolulčaju a'asu*, lit. 'if we are becoming'), I believe that the sentence should be rendered as I have done, and that the words *setkimü čī* 'you think' should be read *setkimü* (= *setkimüü*) *čī* 'do you think?' Cf. Oz¹, V, 63-65, n. 13. If, on the other hand, we follow the sectional summary's interpretation and regard *setkimü* as a historical present, we should translate: 'When formerly we became ..., you thought of (i.e. intended to)' This interpretation is followed by several scholars, including Ligeti. See Li, 88. For other similes involving the shafts of a cart, see §§ 177 and 186. The meaning here is that the two companions would be so bound in friendship as to be like the two inseparable and indispensable shafts of a cart.

'Let us each remind the other of what he has forgotten, / Let us each wake up the other who has fallen asleep.' This also seems to be an idiomatic phrase or popular saying. My interpretation of the words *untaraqsan-ıyan seri'ülülčejü* disagrees with Ligeti's and Murakami's and follows that of Haenisch, Kozin, Cleaves and Ozawa, which is not only in agreement with the Chinese sectional summary (see Y² 8, 16a; cf. Wa, 283), but is also confirmed by the passage in § 201, where Jamuqa refers to the exchange of 'unforgettable words', i.e. the former oath of sworn friendship, and to not being separated from each other in bed. Cf. § 117: 'They declared

themselves sworn friends and loved each other ..., and at night they slept together.' See also §§ 255 and 272.

'Although you separated from me/And went a different way', lit. 'Although you separated and went elsewhere.'

For the expression *öljeitü qutuqtu* 'lucky and blessed', cf. the words spoken by Činggis to his faithful Bo'orču and Jelme in § 125: 'When Heaven and Earth increased my strength and took me into their protection, you, the senior ones, who for my sake came *over* from sworn friend Ĵamuqa wishing to become companions, will you not be my lucky companions (*öljeiten nököt*)?' It implies the sharing with sworn friends (*andas*) and companions (*nököt*) of the good fortune accorded to Činggis by Heaven and Earth. For the connotations of the word *qutuqtu*, which I render here as 'blessed', i.e. enjoying Heaven's favour (cf. eng. 'blessed with' = 'fortunate in the possession of'), see above, nn. 105 and 111. Cf. Cleaves 1950, 126, n. 247.

'When was that?', lit. 'If you say, "When?"'

On the battle at the Qalaqljıt Sands and Ĵamuqa's action to which Činggis Qan refers, see § 170.

The passage from 'Then', to the end of § 200 is translated and discussed in Mo, 121-124. On the second service (*tusa*) rendered by Ĵamuqa to Činggis Qan, see §§ 195-196. For the refrain 'Slaying them with your words,/Killing them with your mouth', see § 196, where these words are used by Ĵamuqa in relation to Tayang Qan of the Naiman. Cf. also Cêrensodnom 1986, 70, 77, for this saying.

§ 201. For the Qorqonaq Valley (Qorqonaq Ĵubur), see §§ 57 and 104 and com. The event in question, i.e. the declaration of *anda*-ship between Temüjin and Ĵamuqa, had taken place in the Qorqonaq Valley when Temüjin was eleven (= ten) years old, as recalled in § 116, at the time when the pledge or oath of friendship was renewed after the raid against the Uduyit Merkit.

For the 'indigestible food' and 'unforgettable words', see below.

'Words that are not to be forgotten', 'weighty words', 'unforgettable words': like Haenisch, Kozin, Damdinsürén and others, I understand these expressions to refer to the words of love and the oaths of friendship exchanged between Činggis Qan – then only Temüjin – and Ĵamuqa when they first became *andas* and, presumably, also at the time when they renewed their pledges (§§ 116-117). However, Ligeti understands them as meaning 'hateful, angry words', i.e. unpleasant, offending words (Li, 89 and 169, n. 201). I think that Waley (Wa, 283) is right in taking the expression 'the food that is not to be digested' to mean 'each other's blood'; but this expression could also mean 'the unforgettable meals' – 'indigestible food' being in parallelism with 'unforgettable words' – they shared at the time. N. Poppe has suggested (p. c.) that by food that is not, or would never be, digested is probably meant food that is plentiful, i.e. of which there would always be enough. With regard to the 'black face' and the 'red face' further on, he has suggested that the former may simply mean 'my own face' and the latter 'my own face' or 'my bare face.' See also Poppe 1977, 122, no.16; 125, nos. 37 and 38.

'Stirred up by someone/Coming between us, etc.' Cf. Činggis Qan's almost identical words in his message to Ong Qan in § 177, and Mostaert's remarks in Mo, 97-98.

For the obsolete verb *qalit-* 'to come near, approach', cf. Vietze 1990, 382; Oz¹, V, 81, n. 5 (1).

'The friendly face', lit. 'the warm countenance.'

'Came off *in shame*', lit. 'was flayed.'

'With a long memory.' The expression *urtu setkiltü*, lit. 'having a long (or extended) mind/heart', has been variously translated as 'patient', 'sagacious', 'generous', 'magnanimous', 'with a long memory', 'far-sighted' and 'eagle-eyed.' Clearly, there is disagreement as to the exact connotations of this rather unusual expression. However, since it is used by Ĵamuqa in the context of his reply to the earlier message of Činggis Qan, and therefore in the context of 'recollections' – of words and events that 'cannot be forgotten' – Cleaves' rendering 'with a long

memory' (Cl, 138) appears to be the correct one. Činggis has a 'long' *setkil*, which here is not the 'mind' in the sense of 'heart' (hence 'generosity, magnanimity'), but the faculty to think and remember. As in the case of ch. *hsiang* 想, the verb *setki-* (always glossed *hsiang* in the SH; see HW, 134) means both 'to think' and 'to recall'; *setkil* has therefore also the meaning of 'recollection, memory.' Cf. mo. *sedkil tögeri-* 'to lose one's memory; for the mind to wonder.' See Cleaves 1949, 67 [48], 91 [48]; MA, 321b. Renderings like 'far-sighted', 'generous' and 'patient' are, I believe, off the mark. *Urtu setkiltü* means 'having an extended recollection', i.e. a good memory, which certainly applies to Činggis in the present instance. Ta, 134, is of the same opinion.

'All our people', lit. 'the people all around us' (*tögörigei ulus*), i.e. the Mongol tribes – in contrast to 'all other (lit. "foreign") peoples' (*qari tutum*), i.e. all the other tribes. At this time one cannot yet speak of 'nations' and 'realms' (Cl, 139). Cf. Oz¹, V, 74 (and Oz², II, 58); On, 109. For the word *tögörigei*, cf. DO, 673a; for *qari*, see above, n. 123.

'Now that the world is at your disposal', lit. 'Now that the world is ready for you.' For these words as an expression of the political ideology of the Mongols, see Sagaster 1973, 223ff. Cf. also Cleaves 1949, 62 [3], 83 [4]. For *delegei* (= *delekei*) 'the earth, the world', cf. RH, 246, no. 8; MMHS, 111, Note 117.

'I would intrude into', lit. 'I shall enter.'

'The inner lapel of your coat' renders Mongolian *jahing-un činu*. For *jahing* 'inner lapel of a coat', cf. bur. *zañ* 'pocket' (BRS, 245b, s.v. 'zañ II'); yak. *jayiŋ* 1) 'side'; 2) 'wedge, a side inset in the shape of a fold in a dress' (SYY, 775). In other Mongolian dialects we find the word *jašin* ~ *jašing* meaning 'a partition board', 'a square frame or door panel', etc. (see TY, 290 [= JYT, 503-504]; cf. On, 109 and n. 261; Oz¹, V, 75, and 82-83, n. 8) – all meanings, however, totally unrelated to that of the Chinese gloss in the SH (*ti-chin* 底襟 [= 衿] 'inner lapel of a coat') which I follow since it is also confirmed by the Yakut

form. The transcription *jahing* is undoubtedly faulty; the original form must have been **jaying*. In all probability, the *-h-* plays here the role of intervocalic hiatus: *jahing* = *ja'ing*. Cf. *qahan* = *qa'an* (see above, n. 1). For *-y- ~ -'*, see below, nn. 202, 204. However, this problem deserves further study.

'I had many paternal grandmothers.' As pointed out by Mostaert (*apud* Cl, 139, n. 36), the reference is to the wives of Ĵamuqa's grandfather who brought him up after the early death of his parents (mentioned a little later). Ĵamuqa wants to stress the fact that as a young boy he was surrounded by old women, *emege* meaning both 'paternal grandmother' and 'old woman' – hence Even and Pop's rendering 'J'ai été entouré de vieilles femmes' (Ev-Pop, 169). For other interpretations of Ĵamuqa's words, cf. Ja, 285 and 286-287, n. 2; On, 109 and n. 262.

'When I became disloyal to my sworn friend', lit. 'Thinking (or Feeling: *setkigii*) beyond (= away from) the sworn friend.' For these words cf., however, Mo, 174; Cl, 139; and Ev-Pop, 289, n. 16.

'In this life – that of the sworn friend and me –', lit. 'in this life – that of the sworn friend and us –' (*ene törelki-tür anda ba qoyar-un ...*). In the SH, the pronoun of the first person plural *ba* plays, in certain circumstances such as a construction with the word *qoyar* 'two' = 'and', the role of *bi* 'I' without being a *pluralis majestatis*. See § 255 (twice). Cf. mo. *anda bida qoyar-un* (Bö, 193; Du, 172; Ma, 246; Če, 183), and *anda bi qoyar-un* (Al, 123).

'My fame has passed (lit. "reached") from sunrise to sunset.' What Ĵamuqa implies, of course, is that his fame has now declined. I prefer this interpretation to that of 'I (or We) have acquired fame from east to west' (Ha, 90; Ko, 156-157; Li, 89; Mu, II, 332; Oz¹, V, 75; and others), since in the following sentences Ĵamuqa gives the reasons for his decline vis-à-vis Činggis Qan.

'You were born a hero', lit. 'You were born a hero by birth' (*törülki küllük törefü*). *Törülki* 'birth' = *törelki*. For *törü-* = *töre-*

~ *törö-* 'to be born', see the discussion in *Matériel II*, 12-14. For *külik* (= mo. *küüg*) 'hero', see above, nn. 3 and 163.

'Valiant companions' renders *örlü'üt nököd* (= mo. *örlügüd nököd*). On the important term *örlük* (= mo. *örlüg*; pl. *örlügüt* > *örlü'üt*) 'brave, valiant, fierce', which later became a title, see HCG, 341; Mo, 70, n. 62; DO, 538a; ET², I, 75. According to Gaadamba, the *örlü'üt nököd*, or *yisün örlük* 'the nine valiant ones (= paladins)', were those early loyal companions of Činggis Qan who were not punished for up to nine infringements of the *jasaq* in reward for their meritorious service. See MNTSZA, 41-59; Aubin 1974, 12; and above, n. 195. However, in the SH the term *örlü'üt* occurs only once and there is no indication that its meaning was other than that of 'valiant.' Cf. also the sectional summary (Y² 8, 23a; Wa, 284).

'Seventy-three geldings.' As already noted by Cleaves (Cl, 139, n. 39), the reference to such a precise number of horses, which is unsupported by other sources, is rather puzzling. Grousset's personal interpretation as 'The seventy-three fine men who form your entourage serve you as so many loyal steeds' in CW, 164, must be rejected, I believe, as well as the similar interpretation given in On, 109, n. 263 (cf. the 2001 ed., 189, n. 466). Cf. also Oz¹, V, 87, n. 12. For Ligeti, 'seventy-three' is simply a large number, being more than 'seventy' (*dalan*) which, besides its concrete numerical value, has also the meaning of 'many, all' (Les., 223b). See Li, 169, n. 201. I think that Ĵamuqa's allusion is to a specific story (possibly an epic one) concerning these geldings which unfortunately has not been handed down.

'And had no younger brothers.' See above, n. 128, and Cl, 139-140, n. 40.

For *domočči* (= mo. *domoyčči*) 'prattler, babbler', cf. Bazin 1969, 10ff. In the later literary language and in the dialects this word is used with the meanings of 'story-teller, narrator of legends and folktales; teaser; satirist.' See Les., 261a; MMED, 169b. The remarks concerning Cérénsodnom's interpretation in Ev-Pop, 289, n. 17, are no longer pertinent. See Če, 183.

'Whose destiny was *ordained* by Heaven.' For the expression *tenggeri-eče jaya'atu*, see above, n. 1.

'Let me die swiftly ... let them kill me without shedding blood.' It is a well-known fact that in the case of executions the medieval Mongols regarded a bloodless death as preferable to one in which blood was shed (see below). It was, in fact, the privilege of the *qan*'s close relatives and enemies of noble birth to undergo a bloodless death. However, this practice, stemming from the ancient religious beliefs of the Turks and the Mongols, and their conception of a soul residing in the blood, was not strictly observed. Cf., e.g., § 136 and com. Ĵamuqa, being a tribal leader, a relative of Činggis Qan, and his *anda*, was entitled to this privilege, hence his request. In the epic account of the SH, the game is played according to the rules until the final act, but, as we shall see, this may not reflect the true course of events.

'My bones', lit. 'my dead bones' (*ölük yasun minu*), i.e. 'my corpse.' For this expression, cf. Tomka 1965, 161 and n. 7; and above, n. 175. For the word *ölük* (= pmo. *ölüg*) 'dead, deceased', a borrowing from Turkic, see Poppe 1955, 40; TMEN, no. 621; Rassadin 1995, 113. The integrity of the skeleton, which was also the seat of a soul, and hence the preservation of bones, was essential for the spiritual survival of the individual after death. See Roux 1976, 557ff.; Even 1999, 176.

'High place' renders Mongolian *ündür etügen*, lit. 'high earth.' Apparently, the term *etügen* (~ *ötögen*; cf. § 255) 'Earth' (as the counterpart of *tenggeri* 'Heaven') is used here as an honorific designation for a site on earth. The Chinese gloss is 地 'earth; place.' For the custom of burying chiefs and personages of rank on elevated places such as cliffs and mountain slopes, cf. above, nn. 164, 175, and below, n. 268.

For *sülder*, rendered here (as in § 63) with the expression 'the august spirit', cf. above, n. 63. It is clear from our text that the soul of an enemy of noble birth could exert a beneficial influence over the entire family line of his conqueror. The

Mongols, like other Altaic people, believed that a defeated enemy was bound to his victor-master not only in his lifetime but also after his death. The nobler and stronger the enemy had been in his lifetime and, therefore, the greater his 'virtue', the more powerful was his influence in the afterlife. In order to retain his power and turn it to beneficial use it was essential that his blood, the seat or vehicle of one of his souls (the integrity of which ensured spiritual survival), should not be dispersed in the ground. However, the concept of a relation between the 'soul' (or 'souls') and the 'virtue' of the individual is not very clear. See MP², II, 343, 344, n. 1, 414 (cf. MP³, 105, 117); MCPA, 75-81 et passim; Turan 1955, 82; Barthold & Rogers 1970, 213; Boyle 1963a, 204. On the 'soul(s)' and the afterlife conception of the ancient Turks and Mongols, see also Baskakov 1973; KHIV, 149ff.; Even 1999, 166-176. On the theme of bloodless killing and revenge in relation to Jāmuqa and other personages, and in the wider context of Mongolian and East Asiatic cultures, see Uray-Köhalmi 1970 (esp. pp. 261-262); Hambis 1975, 15 and n. 25; Heissig 1985, 142; Ratchnevsky 1987, 81.

'Repeat them among yourselves', lit. 'speak *them* to one another.'

'Now do away with me quickly!', lit. 'Now let *my sworn friend* dispatch me!' For the verb *ötörle-* ~ *öterle-* 'to do something immediately', here 'to dispatch', see above, n. 133. Cf. Mo, 244, n. 228.

'Has been railing against Us', lit. 'has been speaking a full mouth at (= against) Us.' For the expression *aman dü'üren* (= *dü'üreng*) *kelele-* (or *ügüle-*) 'to speak with anger; to abuse, rail', cf. § 276 (R, 166, lines 11432 and 11503-4).

'He is a man who should learn *from experience*, but is not willing to', lit. 'He is a man who should (or could) learn, *but* as for him (*mün*), it will not do (i.e. he refuses)', in other words, he is an obstinate, obdurate man who will not change his ways. I follow both the Chinese interlinear version and the sectional summary, taking into consideration Waley's pertinent remarks.

See Wa, 527. Jāmuqa's 'refusals' are illustrated further on. For other interpretations, cf. Ha, 91; Li, 90; Cl, 140; Ev-Pop, 169.

'Is not in accordance with the omens' renders *tölge-tür üliü oromui*, lit. 'it does not enter (= fit) the omens'; in other words, the omens consulted by Činggis Qan do not foretell, hence do not sanction, such an action. On *tölge* 'omen, divination', see below, n. 272.

'Perhaps you should give him (lit. "tell *him*") this reason' – in other words, 'If we have to find a reason for him to die, and for me to kill him, the following may be adduced and put forth to him.' Činggis has not been sanctimoniously trying to find a way of saving his *anda*'s life, although Jāmuqa's fate is obviously sealed. In my view, he has gone through a ritual of appeasement that will ensure the goodwill and blessings of his powerful enemy after the latter's death. By recalling Jāmuqa's noble deeds and by treating him with the respect due to his social rank, Činggis avoids the danger of Jāmuqa becoming in the other world an influence hostile to him and his descendants. Cf. the 'spiritual' role of the eulogy among the ancient Turks in Bazin 1963, 83.

'He is a man of high standing', lit. 'he is a man having a heavy (= important) way (= position)' (*kündü mörtü gü'ün bui*). Cf. the sectional summary (Y² 8, 23b): 'He is a notable man' (Wa, 284). For *mör* 'position', cf. Cleaves 1993, 36, n. 42. Cf. also Oz¹, V, 92-93, n. 22; Oz², II, 78, n. 15.

For the episode concerning Čoči (or Joči) Darmala, Taičar and Jāmuqa to which Činggis Qan refers, and the battle of Dalan Baljut, see §§ 128-129.

'Wickedly', lit. 'in the opposite direction' (*buru'ui-a*). Cf. Cl, 140, n. 48: 'I.e., "contrary to our expectations." I think the meaning is 'wrongly', i.e. contrary to what is right, rather than contrary to Činggis' expectations. Cf. *buru'u* (= mo. *buruyı*) 'wrong' in HW, 23; and above, n. 168.

'Stirred up rebellion *against me*', lit. 'came fomenting rebellion' (*bulqa kövitü irejü*). For *bulqa*, see above, n. 150.

For *köyüt-* 'to stir up, foment', cf. kir. *köüt-* (= *köyüt-*) 'to talk someone into something' (KiRS, I, 417b).

The 'frightening' of Činggis Qan refers to his defeat at Dalan Baljut which forced him to seek refuge in the Ĵerene Gorge by the Onon River as related in § 129. For the expressions 'to frighten' and 'to be frightened', cf. above, n. 199.

'You refuse ... you declined', lit. 'it will not do (i.e. for you) ... it could not be done.' See Mo, 244, n. 228.

'According to your request', lit. 'according to your words.'

'Be given a fitting burial', lit. 'should take them (i.e. the bones = the body) in their hands (= bury them) properly.' For this expression, see Cleaves 1951, 91-92, n. 95. As we have seen, to abandon or cast the body 'in the open' was the ultimate mark of disrespect for the deceased. See above, n. 136.

The story of the final encounter of the two former friends and allies, who had moreover strong ties of blood and *anda*-ship, is full of pathos and epic colouring, and is rightly regarded as one of the finest pages of the SH. However, the author of these pages is not concerned with extolling the gallant treatment by Činggis Qan of a defeated enemy of high standing with whom he had special ties, for such generosity could hardly be reconciled with the Mongol ethos requiring ruthless retribution in cases of betrayal of trust and challenge to authority. The aim of this literary 'piece' is to illustrate Činggis' respect for the oath of friendship, sealed in blood twice, hence sacred, that he had made with Ĵamuqa. Činggis is not generous, he is strictly legal, respecting at the same time the omens and giving Ĵamuqa the benefit of the doubt with regard to his murderous intentions towards him – all on the strength of their *sworn* friendship. It is, in the end, Ĵamuqa himself who, recognizing his failings, chooses to die and thereby relieves his *anda* of any culpability in the execution, which is carried out according to the traditional custom in such cases. The literary embellishments are devised to carry the message more forcibly and to enhance its effect for future generations. But the author is almost certainly rewriting

history for ideological reasons. The more sober and reliable account of the Mongol chronicle utilized by Rašid al-Dīn informs us on the different fate of Činggis' *anda*. According to the Persian historian, Ĵamuqa was delivered to Činggis Qan by sixty of his followers, whereupon Činggis had thirty of them, i.e. the ringleaders, executed for the betrayal of their chief. Since Činggis could not himself kill his *anda*, he gave him, together with the remaining *nököt* and all his possessions, to ElĴidei Noyan (i.e. ElĴigidei Noyan, the son of Qači'un and nephew of Činggis Qan) who, soon after and undoubtedly with Činggis' assent – as indeed confirmed by Rašid in another passage – had him cruelly executed by hacking him to pieces. The only possible 'embellishment' in this account is the almost enthusiastic acceptance of his fate on the part of Ĵamuqa, who apparently encouraged the executioner in his gruesome task saying that he would have done the same with his enemies if he had captured them. See SL², I/1, 191-192, I/2, 277 (the '227' in ČK², 245, n. 195, is a misprint); D'Ohsson, I, 91-92; EM, 178-179. Cf. Li, 169, n. 201. Rašid's account is obviously more reliable insofar as it supplies the information regarding ElĴidei Noyan and the fact that Ĵamuqa's companions, who eventually betrayed him, were not five but (more realistically) sixty, with tents and possessions. A point worth noting is that in both accounts it is stated that Činggis could not himself kill his sworn friend. The solution presented by the second account is more in conformity with what we would expect from Činggis Qan in the circumstances. No date is given for this event, but since it occurred soon after the defeat of the Naiman and Merkit tribes and just before the 1206 *qurilta*, it must be placed sometime in 1205. Unfortunately, it is not mentioned either in the SWCCL, or in the YS.

For an evaluation of Ĵamuqa's death as seen from different historical perspectives, cf. Lattimore 1978, 135-138; ČK¹, 80-81 (= ČK², 87-88, 245, nn. 191-196); ČQT, I, 301-304; ČXC, 90-104.

§ 202. 'The people of the felt-walled tents' (*sisgei to'urqatu ulus*), i.e. all the nomadic and semi-nomadic pastoral people of Mongolia who lived in yurts (*ger*), to distinguish them from the forest hunting tribes of the north and the north-west, the so-called People of the Forest (*hoi-yin irgen*), on which see below. For the special reference to 'felt' (*sisgei*, cf. above, n. 124), see CEME, 51-52. For the term *ulus* 'people/tribe' → 'patrimony' → 'domain, dominion, nation/state, empire', see above, nn. 53, 64, 121; Vlad.², 124 et passim; TQUEMC, 36ff.; Buell 1980, 44ff.; MEYD, 9-11; Bira 1996a, 131.

'When ... had been brought to allegiance', lit. 'Making straight (= right, i.e. loyal)' (*šidurqutqaju*). For the verb *šidurqutqa-* (= mo. *sidurjudqa-*) 'to cause to be straight (= loyal)', i.e. 'to bring under submission', cf. the sectional summary (Y² 8, 27a): 'having submitted (or subdued)' (既 ... 收捕了).

The great assembly (*qurilta*) of the Year of the Tiger 1206 is one of the most important events in the life of Činggis Qan. The place chosen for this momentous occasion was ground consecrated by tradition – holy ground, as it were – for it was at the very sources of the great river Onon, on Mount Burqan Qaldun, that the mythical blue-grey wolf (*börte činō*) and fallow doe (*qo'ai maral*) had settled after crossing the Tenggis/Baikal, thus beginning the line from which originated all the Mongol clans as told in § 1 of the SH. Later, in Činggis' own lifetime, Burqan Qaldun continued to play an important role in protecting him (see §§ 100-103), and it was on its slopes that he was eventually buried by his express will (see below, n. 268). The exact area where the *qurilta* was held cannot be positively identified, but in view of the great number of people that must have gathered there on this and subsequent occasions with all their tents, carts, etc., it must be a valley in the proximity and east of Khentei Khan in the Great Khentei Range, possibly in the same area of the locality called Botoqan Bo'orji in §§ 106 and 108. The Chinese sources confirm that the place in question was 'at the sources of the Onan River.' See YS² 1, 13; SWCCL¹, 57a. It should be noted that our text does not refer to the gathering of

1206 as a *qurilta*, a term that appears only once (in § 282). However, Rāšīd al-Dīn employs the term *quriltai* (a variant of *qurilta*) for this occasion. See SL², V/2, 150. The same Chinese sources use the expression *ta-hui* 大會 'to hold a great assembly' which corresponds to Mongolian *yeke qurilta quri-*. For the term *qurilta(i)* and for this important institution, see below, n. 282.

'The white standard with nine tails' (*yisün költii čaqa'an tuq*). The tails or streamers, lit. 'feet' (*köl*), were either yak- or horse-tails, and the fact that there were nine has a symbolic meaning (see above, n. 60). This was the standard of Činggis Qan and the paramount symbol of his power. Cf. above, nn. 63, 73 and 193. See also CEME, 59. (Incidentally, the Mongol standard – given, however, as blue in colour instead of white – provided the title for Léon Cahun's famous novel *La bannière bleue; aventures d'un musulman, d'un chrétien et d'un païen à l'époque des croisades et de la conquête mongole*, Paris, 1877. This book was one of the first, if not the first, books of this kind to be translated from a European language into Mongolian. The translation was made by the leading Buriat scholar C.Ž. Žamcarano [1880-1937] who published it under the title of *Köke Mongyol-un köke tuy* [*The Blue Standard of the Blue Mongols*]. See R.A. Rupen in *HJAS* 19:1956, 142, no. 23. Cf. Haining 1999, 338-339.) As noted earlier, for the Mongols, as for other Altaic people, white was the auspicious colour. See above, nn. 63, 111. Both white as a lucky colour and nine as a symbolic number are mentioned by Marco Polo in *The Description of the World*. See MP², I, 222-223. Cf. also the SH, §§ 216, 219, 239, 245 and 267.

'They gave Činggis Qa'an the title of *qan*.' As stated earlier (see the discussion in n. 123 above), it seems that the great assembly of 1206 sanctioned Činggis Qan's leadership as *qan* of all 'the people of the felt-walled tents', conferring on him at the same time the epithet of Činggis, meaning 'Fierce', which became in effect his name. (For the titles of *qa'an* and *qan* in the context of the 1202 election, cf. Kałużyński 1978, 128, but

qa'an should not be taken into account since the original text of the SH had *qan* instead.) It was, therefore, a solemn consecration of a dignity that had been conferred on him several years before but which now, for the first time, was recognized by all the Mongolian and Turco-Mongolian tribes that 'had been brought to allegiance', i.e. that had been conquered and brought into submission. It is reasonable to assume that from this time on the new confederation was known as *Yeke Mongqol Ulus*, or The Great Mongol Nation (or The Nation of the Great Mongols according to other investigators), although no statement to this effect is found in the SH. We know that when Činggis later came in contact with north China, the Chinese called his tribal confederation *Ta Meng-ku kuo* 大蒙古國 'The Great Mongol Nation' (or 'The Nation of the Great Mongols'), shortened to *Ta Meng-ku* 'The Great Mongols' (cf. 'The Great Mogul[s]'), which is unquestionably the Chinese counterpart of the Mongolian *Yeke Mongqol*, which is itself extrapolated from *Yeke Mongqol Ulus*; in other words, the members of the ruling ethnic group, the Mongols, became known as 'The Great Mongols'. Cf. 'Trois documents', 486-487; de Rachewiltz 1993, 94, n. 20; idem 1994, 374ff.; CEME, 18-19; and above, n. 52, also for further references. For the other early Chinese designation of the Mongol 'state' (employed by defectors from north China at the Mongol court, and also found on some coins), viz. *Ta Ch'ao* 大朝, or 'The Great Court', cf. Hsiao CC 1985, and Whaley 2001. Another possible explanation for the genesis of the designation *Yeke Mongqol Ulus* for the nation, then empire, established by Činggis Qan, and one which I tend to favour at present, is the following. In view of the fact that there is no evidence that Činggis named his confederation *Yeke Mongqol Ulus* in 1206, and that at the end of the present section this is still simply called *Mongqol ulus* 'the Mongol people (ch. *pai-hsing* 百姓)', it seems likely that the designation *Yeke Mongqol Ulus* is merely a calque of ch. *Ta Chin kuo* 大金國, 'The Great Chin Nation', the regular name of the Jurchen/Chin

state, and that the Mongols adopted it after 1210 as they adopted several other titles and designations of Chinese origin from the Jurchen. *Ta Meng-ku/Yeke Mongqol* would then be formed in the same way as *Ta Chin* 大金, used for *Ta Chin kuo*, and designating the Jurchen nation and dynasty, as well as its people. This is, indeed, specifically stated in the HTSL. See 'Trois documents', 487; CG, 87. Cf. CG, 17, for an earlier statement to the same effect in the MTPL. For other relevant comments on the 1206 *qurilta*, and on the origin and creation of the Mongolian state, see FTC, 20-22; Khazanov 1980; Kitagawa 1984; Sárközi 1993, 217; Dmitriev 1994; Bira 1996; and, especially, ČK¹, 82-87 (= ČK², 89-96). For the (supposed) key role played by the so-called shaman Kōkōčū Teb Tenggeri (on whom see §§ 244-246) in both the election of Činggis Qan and the conferment of his title, see above, n. 123; EM, 181, 204; ČK¹, 38, 88-89 (= ČK², 41, 96ff.); Kitagawa 1984, 48ff., 66-67. It should be emphasized that the SH totally ignores Kōkōčū's role in either the election or the conferment of the title. The year 1206 is, therefore, recognized by later historiography as the year of the enthronement of Činggis Qan, an event which has been variously interpreted by historians from the Yüan dynasty on until modern and contemporary times, in China, Mongolia and in the West. Besides H. Franke's fundamental study (FCT), see Khan 1995; de Rachewiltz 1996; and Haining 1999. For the title or, rather, epithet and name 'Činggis Qan', see above, n. 123.

'Then they also (*gü*) gave the title of *gui ong* to Muqali.' For the particle *gü* meaning 'also', see above, n. 117. *Gui ong* is the Mongolian transcription of the well-known Chinese title *kuo-wang* 國王 or Prince of State. On this title and its transcription, see DOTIC, 300, n. 3548; GCUMR, 18; Mostaert 1935, 332-333; HCG, 363; Cleaves 1949, 96, n. 13; TMEN, nos. 355 and 623 (*ong*); and above, n. 96. We know from reliable sources that the title of *gui ong* was conferred on Muqali (one of the 'four steeds', see above, n. 137) in 1217/18 (between 3 September and 2 October 1217 according to YS² 1, 19, or between 30

January and 28 February 1218 according to SL², I/2, 178; also in 1218 according to the SWCCL¹, 72b), i.e. exactly one twelve-year cycle after the 1206 *qurilta*. This type of error is a very common one – both 1206 and 1218 are years of the Tiger (*bars jil*) – and it was in 1206 that Činggis restructured the army and made many new appointments. It *may* also have been an intentional mistake in order to anticipate the conferment of this honour and make it coincide with the year of the great *qurilta*, but since this item of information is followed by the entry on Ĵebe's mission against Güčülük which likewise took place in 1218, the error must be a genuine one. As suggested by Pelliot (HCG, 362), the exalted title of *gui ong/kuo-wang*, officially conferred on Muqali on his return to Mongolia after several years' campaigning in China, may have reflected the designation of Viceroy (權皇帝) which had been given to him by the people of north China, or by which he was already known there – a fact confirmed by a contemporary Chinese source (the MTPL). What Činggis Qan did in 1217/18 was then to formalize the dignity and make it hereditary. Cf. below, n. 206.

'Ĵebe was sent on a war mission.' For the verb *ča'ura-* 'to go on a campaign', cf. Mo, 181. For Ĵebe's campaign against Güčülük of the Naiman, last met in § 198, and the latter's end, see § 237 and com.

'Having *thus* completed *the task of* setting the Mongol people in order', lit. 'Having finished setting in order (*jibšiye-* [= *jibši'e-*], i.e. pacifying) the Mongol people (*Mongqoljin ulus*).' For the form *Mongqoljin* (= pmo. *Mongyoljin*) 'Mongol', which is comparatively rare as a synonym for *Mongqol* (= pmo., mo. *Mongyol*), see the important remarks in 'Trois documents', 462 and n. 49, as well as Cleaves 1954, 122, n. 314; YSLC, 420 and n. 1; DO, 467a. For -y- ~ -', cf. below, n. 204.

'I shall express my appreciation', lit. 'I shall speak words of favour' (*soyurqal üge ügülesü*). For the various connotations of the term *soyurqal*, see above, n. 147.

The redistribution and reorganisation of the Mongol population for military purposes into ninety-five units, each

capable of supplying in wartime a force of approximately one thousand men (*minqat* = *mingqat*) led by a commander of a thousand (*minqan-u* [= *mingqan-u*] *noyan*), is the first major change decreed by Činggis at the *qurilta*. For a significant restructuring of the army prior to the final confrontation with the Naiman in 1204, see above §§ 191-192. The establishment of the ninety-five units of a thousand in 1206 is a continuation and extension of military reforms undertaken at various times by Činggis Qan, which include the creation of the three units of ten thousand (*qurban tümet*) formed from his thirteen camps (*harban qurban güre'et*) described in § 129, and even earlier changes in the military organization (see §§ 104 and 121). Cf. above, nn. 129 and 191. The SH lists the ninety-five units with the names of their eighty-eight leaders. The commanders of a thousand are not ninety-five because Alči Güregen was in charge of three Onggirat units (nos. 86, 87, 88), Butu Güregen of two Ikires units (nos. 89, 90), and Alaquš Digit Quri of five Önggüt units (nos. 91, 92, 93, 94, 95). Thus, the statement at the end of § 202 that the leaders appointed by Činggis were ninety-five is incorrect. The importance of these military units calls for a detailed investigation. See, provisionally, the valuable contributions of M. Honda in MJK, 17-52 (cf. THG 4, 6:1952, 1-12; SZ 62, 8:Aug. 1953, 1-26; RK, 9, 7:July 1961, 10-18; and PICO XXIII, 255-256); YCS, I, 83-87; YSPFCK 9:1985, 24-30; Munkuev 1977, 394; MEYD, 9-11; Fletcher 1986, 29-30. The units of a thousand as listed by Rašid al-Dīn are found in SL², I/2, 266-274. Cf. TDU, 446-455; and, for comparative purposes (SH and SL), the tabulation in MJK, 34-40.

Regarding the commanders of a thousand listed in this section, many, as we would expect, are Činggis' famous *nököt* we already met, such as Bo'orču, Muqali, Boroqul, Ĵelme, Qubilai (of the Barulas), etc.; all the others are also known from the Chinese and Persian sources. Important biographical and miscellaneous notes on them can be found in Na², 272-285, and Mu, II, 348-392. The following are additional remarks on some of the individual leaders and their names: (1) Father Mönqlik

(Mönglik Ečige): for his appointment see also Hambis 1975, 26; (7) Qunan: see on this commander the remarks in n. 210 below; (12) Tolon: for this name, cf. DO, 666b; (19) Qorqosun: cf. Bese 1974, 92, and SH, § 243 (Qorqasun); (20) Hüsün: cf. MWESC, 40, 5a [P.P.-C.R.A.C.]; (23) Jetei ~ Jedei, see § 120; (26) Alaq (= Alaγ): cf. Cleaves 1956, 203 and n. 7; Rybatzki [2003], s.v.; (28) Buluqan (= Buluyan) [Qalja] of the Barulas, and (29) Qaračar, Buluqan's cousin and Tamerlane's ancestor, cf. Grupper 1992/94, passim; Rybatzki [2003], s.v. 'Buluqan'; (34) Güčügür = Küčügür, Degei's brother, see §§ 120, 124; (37) Dayir, i.e. Dayir Ba'adur, on whom see Aubin J 1969, 70-71, 79; (39) Buγir: cf. Cleaves 1954b, 432-433 and n. 11, and ISK, 760a-b (Index); (41) Dolo'adai: 'cf. Doloqadai, Dolongirtai' [P.P.-C.R.A.C.], and Poppe 1975, 162; (49) Udutai: cf. HCG, 274: 'Le Udutai de l'*Histoire secrète*, § 202, est peut-être *Udütai, et peut représenter l'ethnique tiré du nom des Uduyit.' F.W. Cleaves differs and writes (u.n.): 'It is highly unlikely, in my opinion, that *Udutai* can be related etymologically to *Uduyid*, for which the ethnic derivative in *-ai* would be **Uduyidai*, not *Udutai*. In *Utudai* ~ *Udutai* we have rather a derivative in *-dai* ~ *-tai* of the word *utu* ~ **udu*, which Kowalewski (1.384a) defines: "les deux bouts, les derniers rangs de chasseurs qui ont fait le cercle." Cf. also Pelliot et Hambis, *Histoire des campagnes de Gengis khan*, p. 144 § 4: "extrémités des lignes de rabbateurs." The name would, in effect, mean "Having [the Station of] an Extremity [of the Circle]", in other words "The Man who is Stationed at an Extremity of the Circle." Cf. the English "end-man."; (54) Qurčaqus = Cyriacus – a Nestorian Christian, see above, n. 150; (55) Geügi: 'cf. Janggi (corriger) et cf. T'ou Ki [= MWESC] 40, 9a' [P.P.-C.R.A.C.] – for Janggi see § 277; (59) Ča'urqai: cf. Bese 1974, 93, and below, n. 243; (62) Megetü: cf. *ibid.*, 92; (70) Qa'uran: cf. Ligeti 1972, 9; (71) Alči: cf. Li, 170, n. 202, and Pelliot 1935, 913; (75) Aĵinai for Ačınai: cf. Bese 1978, 355, no. 2; (79) Olar Güregen, (81) Buqa Güregen, (83) Ašiq Güregen, (84) Qadai Güregen, (85) Čigü Güregen, (86) Alči

Güregen, (89) Butu Güregen, and (91) Alaquš Digit Quri Güregen, these eight commanders were all sons-in-law (*güregen*, pl. *güreget*) of Činggis Qan. For (85) Čigü Güregen, see § 251 and com. For (86) Alči Güregen, cf. Li, 170, n. 202, and Pelliot 1935, 913. On the name (89) Butu ~ Botu, cf. Bese, *op. cit.*, 361-362, no. 11, and above, n. 120. As to Činggis Qan's daughters who married the above-mentioned commanders of a thousand, we know from Rašid al-Dīn that (79) Olar ~ Ular of the Olqunu'ut was the father of Taiču Güregen (Mother Hö'elün's brother, also called Ča'ur Sečen; for the name Ča'ur, see above, n. 165) who married Činggis' fifth and favourite daughter (from his wife Börte) Altalun or Altalunqan (dim. and endear. in *-qan*), but one wonders whether Altalun may have been Olar's wife before marrying Taiču upon the former's death if the latter was born from another wife of Olar's. See SL², I/1, 164; I/2, 70. Cf. below, the case of Alaquš Digit Quri and Jingué; (80) Kinggiyadai, likewise of the Olqunu'ut (see § 120), is also called a *güregen* in Mu, II, 343, but there is no justification for it: he is simply designated as *noyan* in SL², I/2, 268; (85) Čigü of the Onggirat married Činggis' fourth daughter Tümelün. See *ibid.*, 273. Cf. Pelliot 1935, 914-915; (89) Butu ~ Botu of the Ikires married Činggis' eldest daughter Qoĵin (*or* Qočin) Beki (*or* Begi), on whom cf. § 165. See SL², I/2, 70, 271. From the SH, § 239, we know that Alaqa Beki (Rašid's Alaqai Begi, Činggis' third daughter also from his wife Börte) was given in marriage 'to the Önggüt', i.e. to the ruler of the Önggüt. This was not our Alaquš Digit Quri but his nephew Jingué; however, it is quite likely that Alaqa(i)'s first husband was Alaquš, and that he married Jingué after the latter's death ca. 1211. See RCAC, 262-267, and below, n. 239. As for (82) Quril, of the Tayiči'ut, there is also no justification for making him a *güregen* as in Mu, *loc. cit.* See SL², I/1, 182; I/2, 288a (Index). Besides the five daughters borne by Börte, Činggis had other children from his secondary wives, including daughters, and this accounts for his numerous sons-in-law; however, most of their names are not known. See *ibid.*, I/2, 71-73, where seven

daughters in all are named; this number agrees with that given in MTPL, 6b (cf. CG, 24), but we know of the existence of another daughter, called Čečeyigen, from the SH, § 239 (his daughter Al Altun mentioned in § 238 is included among the seven tabled by Rašīd al-Dīn in SL², I/2, 73). The names of some of the remaining daughters may still be found in Chinese and Persian sources which have not yet been fully investigated. Besides the additional references given above, several other commanders of a thousand are mentioned at various times in the SH, often with their names spelled somewhat differently. See, in particular, § 243 and com.

'Excluding (lit. "apart from") the People of the Forest', i.e. the total of the units of a thousand established on that occasion did not include any made up with units from the northern tribes known collectively as the People of the Forest (*hoi-yin irgen*) for the simple reason that these tribes had not yet been brought under submission. On them see below, nn. 207 and 239.

The reorganization of the army with the establishment of the ninety-five units of a thousand and the Guard in 1206 provided the blueprint for the military-structured government of the Mongolian empire in the making. As rightly pointed out by B. F. Manz, Činggis Qan's career 'brought profound and lasting changes to the steppes of Eurasia. What determined his importance in history was not his military prowess as his great administrative ability and his astute use of steppe traditions' (RRT, 3). The appointment of the commanders (*noyat*) of a thousand fulfilled the essential function of rewarding his erstwhile companions and supporters with appropriate offices, authority and privileges, thus ensuring their continuing allegiance and total dedication to his cause and that of his clan. As noted by Ligeti, recording the names of the privileged ones 'favoured' by Činggis Qan guaranteed the extension of these privileges to their descendants who, in time, became the influential families and the ruling class of the empire – the list of commanders of a thousand could be regarded as a roll-call of

honours for the use of their illustrious posterity. See Li, 170, n. 202. Cf. also below, n. 224.

§ 203. 'Together with the sons-in-law', i.e. including the sons-in-law. Clearly, Činggis wants not only to emphasize the participation of his own sons-in-law in the leadership of the military units, but also the fact that these ninety-five units were made up with the inclusion of the sons-in-law, several of whom commanded more than one unit. See above, n. 202. The rendering 'un jour qu'il était avec ses gendres' in Ev-Pop, 171, is incorrect. Cf. the Chinese sectional summary (Y² 8, 32a): 'Činggis said, "These sons-in-law, together with the ninety-five commanders of a thousand, ..."' See also Cleaves 1953, 87, n. 32 (where, however, 'ninety-five thousand chiliarchs' should read 'captains of the ninety-five thousands'). Cf. Mo, 184.

'And he said (lit. "when he said") that the commanders having at their head Bo'orču and Muqali should come', i.e. they should enter Činggis Qan's tent.

Šigi Qutuqu is the sixteenth commander listed in § 202. In §§ 135 and 138 it is related how he was found as a little boy in the pillaged Tatar (not Merkit as in Ra, VIII, 47, n. 203) camp and how he was adopted by Mother Hö'elün – a recurring 'adoption theme' in the SH. There he is called Šikiken (= Šigiken) Quduqu (= Qutuqu), Šigiken being the diminutive and endearment form of Šigi. See above, n. 135. He rose to be one of the highest officials in the Mongol government and the one who supervised the census of north China in 1234-1236 in his capacity of (*yeke*) *jarquči* (= *mo. jarquči*), i.e. grand or supreme judge. See *ibid.*, and below; de Rachewiltz 1960, 376-380, n. 215; KIPMX, 77-78, 193.

'Have Bo'orču and Muqali been of greater assistance than others?', lit. 'Have Bo'orču and Muqali been of greater assistance than whom?'

'If you want to give rewards ... lesser service?', lit. 'As to be given favours (= rewards), in does not matter what (*ya'un*), I was not lacking in giving assistance, in does not matter what, I

was not lacking in giving service.' Here *ya'un* 'what?' = 'en n'importe quoi' [A.M.]. The verbal forms in *-la'al-le'e* (*bolula'a, ögüle'e*) indicate certainty, hence my insertion of the word 'surely.'

'At your noble threshold', lit. 'at your high (*ündür*) threshold.'

'Until this beard sprouted on my chin', lit. 'Until this much (*edüi*) beard as I now have grew on my chin.'

'From the time I had a piss-pot at my crotch', i.e. from infancy, but Onon's interpretation (On, 112 and n. 269 [cf. the 2001 ed., 192], following TH, 246) as 'incontinence at the crotch' is not justified. Cf. Cl, 143, n. 59.

'At your royal threshold', lit. 'at your golden (*altan*) threshold.' For *altan* 'golden' = 'royal', see above, n. 21. Both the 'high threshold' and the 'golden threshold' are a synecdoche for the *qan*'s tent. See above, n. 137.

'And brought me up as her own son' (*kö'üčilen ösgebe*). For *kö'üčile-* (= mo. *köbegüčile-*) 'to treat or adopt as a son', cf. DO, 441a.

'And brought me up as the younger brother of her children.' Cf. § 135: 'The Mother ... brought him up as the younger brother of her five children and as her sixth child.' Cl, 143; On, 112; and Oz¹, V, 110 (cf. Oz², II, 63) understand instead 'as your younger brother.'

'My sixth younger brother.' Činggis Qan had three brothers (Qasar, Qači'un and Temüge), one sister (Temülün), and two half-brothers (Bekter and Belgütei), the eldest of whom, Bekter, had been killed by Činggis and Qasar while still a boy (§§ 60, 77). Thus, Činggis had altogether five brothers, all younger than himself.

'To you, my late-born younger brother' (*oroču de'ü-de'en čimada*). The term *oroču*, although disappeared from the later literary language, has survived in the dialects. Cf. ord. *oro'tš'o* 'né après le temps normal, tardillon (bétail)' (DO, 522a). To render *oroču de'ü* as 'Adoptivsohn' as in Ratchnevsky 1987, 74, is not correct.

With regard to Činggis Qan's position vis-à-vis Šigi Qutuqu, a different tradition is recorded by Rašid al-Dīn who, in his work (SL², I/1, 107; I/2, 269) says that Šigi Qutuqu was adopted on Činggis Qan's order by Börte, who at that time had no children of her own. Therefore, Šigi Qutuqu used to call Činggis Qan 'father' (*ečige*) and Börte 'first mother' (*teri'ün eke*); Činggis called him his 'fifth son' and Ögödei his 'senior brother.' Cf. Ratchnevsky 1965, 89-92; ISK, 75-76. Ratchnevsky is of the opinion that Rašid al-Dīn's version is more reliable than the SH account (as is often the case).

'You shall be allotted the same share as (lit. "of") the younger brothers' (*de'ü-ner-ün qubi-yiyar qubilaldu*), i.e. in the division of the war booty and distribution of the conquered people. The sentence ending with an imperative of the second person singular (*qubilaldu* 'share with each other!') is rather awkward in Mongolian, and the text has therefore been variously amended: Cl, 143, n. 61, suggests *qubilaldutuyai* 'let one part'; Oz¹, V, 106, writes *qubilaldud* 'share!' (see *ibid.*, 114, n. 9); Γa, 130, writes *qubilaldusu* 'let me share!'; etc. I think the imperative form *qubilaldu* can be retained. Cf. Ir, 192; El-Ar. 675, and 678-679, n. 15; Ba, II, 949. For the important term *qubi* 'share, part, allotment', and its usage at the time, see the literature cited above, n. 23.

'You shall not be punished for up to nine crimes' (*yisiin aldal-tur bu aldatuqai*), lit. 'you shall not be(come) culpable (or punishable) for nine crimes (i.e. breaches of the *jasaq*).' The basic meaning of the verb *alda-* is 'to miss, fail, omit, lose' → 'to commit a fault, error or transgression, i.e. a crime', hence 'to be(come) culpable' and therefore also 'to be(come) punishable.' In legal terminology, the deverbal noun *aldal* 'omission' means 'punishable act, crime'; the adjectives *aldaltai, aldaltan* 'guilty, culpable', hence 'punishable'; and the factitive verb *alda'ul-* (= mo. *aldaγul-*), lit. 'to cause to lose; to remove' (cf. § 145) = 'to punish.' See CY, I, 20, n. 2, 21, n. 1; the discussion in Ra, VIII, 48-49; and de Rachewiltz 1981, 56-60. Cf. also below, the remarks on the expression *aldaltan boltuqai*. To be exempted

from punishment for up to nine transgressions of the *jasaq* was at that time a privilege enjoyed by a small number of men, such as the *darqat* (pl. of *darqan*) or 'freemen', who had performed outstanding services, usually in protecting or saving the life of Činggis Qan. See above, n. 51. For 'nine' as a symbolic number, see above, n. 60. Cf. Bese 1987, 47.

'When, protected by Eternal Heaven, I am engaged in bringing the entire people under my sway', lit. 'When, being protected by Eternal Heaven, I am rectifying (i.e. conquering) the entire people.' Cf. § 187: 'Under the protection of Eternal Heaven, I crushed the Kereyit people and, indeed, gained the high throne'; and § 201: 'You have pacified all our people, You have unified all other peoples, and the *qan*'s throne has been assigned to you. ... Because of this I was excelled by my sworn friend, whose destiny was ordained by Heaven.' As already noted, the theme of protection from Eternal Heaven, or Heaven Above, runs through the fabric of the SH. Cf. also §§ 256 and 265; and de Rachewiltz 1973. The verb *jükle-* (= mo. *jügle-* 'to head for, strive after'), rendered here as 'to bring order', is glossed in Chinese as *cheng* 正 'to regulate, rectify', and is interpreted as *ting* 定 'to fix, settle' in the sectional summary (Y² 8, 32b). The real meaning is 'to conquer, subject.' See Cl, 143, n. 62. Cf. the verbs *šidurqutqa-* 'to make straight (= right),' i.e. 'to bring under submission', and *jibši'e-*, *jibšiye-* 'to set in order', i.e. 'to pacify', in § 202, etc. (HW, 139, 89).

To be 'Eyes to see with, Ears to hear with' is, as noted earlier (n. 138), a set phrase or idiom describing a person who performs important services and delicate missions, and one, therefore, appropriate for a trustworthy personal assistant. This idiom is applied again to Šigi Qutuqu in § 252.

'According to the name of the people', i.e. the grant or reward (*soyurqal*) would consist of apportioning (*qubi qubila-*) the subject people (*irgen*) among Činggis' family by dividing them according to their importance (*nere* 'name' = 'fame, renown') and suitability as nomadic tribes or settled populations,

as evident from the next sentence, so that the most important groups (from the point of view of exploitation) would be allotted to the more exalted members of the ruling family.

'Splitting up those that live in felt-walled tents, Separating those that live in dwellings with wooden doors', i.e. the nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes living in yurts (see § 202), as well as the sedentary people living in houses with doors, lit. 'having wood-board doors' (*qabdasun e'üdeten*). For *qabdasun* ~ *qabtasun* 'wooden board', cf. above, n. 112. The verb *iriče'ül-*, 'to cause to separate, break up', is the factitive of *iriče-* ~ *hiriče-* ~ *hirije-* 'to part, separate (from)'. See above, n. 123.

'Let no one disobey your word!' (*ken ber činu üge busi bu bolqatuqai*), lit. 'Let not anyone cause your word (= order) to be otherwise!' For this and similar formulaic warnings against transgressing a court order or decree, cf. Cleaves 1953, 79, n. 10; 'Trois documents', 464. See also below the remarks on the expression *aldaltan boltuqai*.

'He entrusted Šigi Qutuqu with the power of judgement over all' (*gür de'ere-yin jarqu tüsibe*), i.e. he appointed him as judge or arbitrator, in Mongolian *jarquči* (= mo. *jarquči*, a den. noun in *-či* from *jarqu* [= mo. *jarqu*] 'judgement, arbitration'), later elevated to *yeke jarquči*, i.e. grand judge. For the term *jarqu* and the title and office of *jarquči*, cf. TMEN, no. 1784; MKSLT, I, 233-263; YSLC, 129-137; Ratchnevsky 1965, 108-109 and n. 96; ČK¹, 87; CY, I, vii, et passim (see *ibid.*, *Index*, 131); Ratchnevsky 1987, 101ff.; ISK, 777a-b (*Index*). The first *jarquči* was Činggis' half-brother Belgütei, whose appointment 'to judge litigations and those who are guilty of theft and falsehood (lit. "who have committed theft and deceitful deeds")' (*kere'ür-i qulaqai qudal üyilet-en-i jarqula-*) is recorded in § 154. See above, n. 154 (*jarqula-* [= mo. *jarqula-*] 'to judge, arbitrate' is a den. verb in *-la* from *jarqu*). The crimes of robbery and lying are again specified in the present appointment of Šigi Qutuqu: 'Curbing theft, Discouraging falsehood' (*qulaqai-yi kese'ejülqudal-i moqa'aju*). For *kese'e-* (= mo. *kesege-*) 'to

repress, check', and *moqa'a-* (= *mo. moqoγa-*) 'to dull, weaken', cf. 'Trois documents', 464; Gantogto 1990, 126.

'Execute those who deserve death, punish those who deserve punishment', lit. 'execute those for whom it is proper (i.e. according to the law/*jasaq*) that they be executed, punish those for whom it is proper that they be punished.' For *alda'ul-* 'to punish', see above.

With regard to the passage in which Činggis entrusts Šigi Qutuqu with the duties of keeping the population registers, essential for the distribution of subjects among the ruling family, the court nobility and the military leaders, and the recording of judgements to serve as precedents in law proceedings, the Mongol text is not very clear. In the sentence *basa gür irgen-ü qubi qubilaqsan-i jarqu jarqulaqsan-i kökö debter bičik bičijü debterlejü*, the verb *debterle-* – a denominal verb from *debter* 'book, register' – may mean 'to make or compile a register' = 'to register', rather than 'to make into a register' = 'to bind in book or register form', which is its current meaning, since this verb is glossed in Chinese as *tsao-ts'e* 造冊, which normally means the former. See, e.g., KitRS, II, 348a; CED, 987a; NPCED, 1102c. Also, in view of the fact that the sentence that follows speaks of *kökö bičik* 'blue writing', and not of *kökö debter* 'blue register(s)', I wonder whether the original recension of the SH may not have had the word *debter* before *debterlejü*, i.e. *kökö bičik bičijü debter debterlejü* instead of *kökö debter bičik bičijü debterlejü*. This hypothesis is to some extent supported also by the particular construction of the sentence in which, after *irgen-ü*, each noun is followed by the corresponding verb (*qubi qubila-*, *jarqu jarqula-*, *bičik biči-*), so that we would expect also *debter debterle-* 'to register a register' = 'to compile a register.' Later on, as we know, these important population records were actually called *köke* (= *kökö*) *debter*, but this may not have been the case at such an early date as 1206. Their existence and widespread use in the later Yüan period may have been responsible for a transposition of the word *debter* after *kökö* by a copyist or editor; however, this cannot be conclusively

proved. On the *köke debter* and the use of blue ink in certain documents, see Pelliot 1930b, 38-42, where the relevant passage in the SH is also discussed (p. 40). In my translation I have followed his interpretation. See also Liu MS 1947; Ratchnevsky 1965, 97 and nn. 37, 38; idem 1974, 479 and n. 42; ČK¹, 87 (= ČK², 95); TQUEMC, 39-40; ISK, 79, 80, 94, 154-155; MNTS, 220-235. In this section of the SH there is a mention of 'script, writing' (*bičik*, *mo. bičig*), and in the colophon (§ 282) of 'to write' (*biči-*), but just as there is no occurrence of the word *jarquči* 'judge', so is there no reference to a scribe (*bičēči* < *bičigeči*), although individuals with a knowledge of writing, i.e. of the Uighur script, such as the famous Čingqai, the Uighur T'a-t'a T'ung-a and the Kereyit Šira Oqul were already with Činggis Qan in 1206. Šigi Qutuqu too was apparently literate, but we do not know when and in what circumstances he learned to write. Činggis Qan was well aware of the importance of literacy in administering the new state, hence not only the recruitment of scholar-officials from north China (especially people of sinicized Kitan and Jurchen background) after 1210, and, of course, of educated Central Asians, but also the appointment of a tutor for his own son Ögödei for the special purpose of teaching him the script. These early scribe-secretaries played a capital role in the formation and administration of the Mongol empire and much has been written about them. See de Rachewiltz 1960, passim; idem 1966, 100ff.; MKSLT, I, 365-463; YSLC, 137-141; ISK, 759b (Index, s.v. 'bičēči'). Cf. also TQUEMC, 34 et passim; K. Katayama in MK 17:1986, 51-66; and T. Sakamoto cited in AA 24:1973, 114. (On Čingqai, T'a-t'a T'ung-a and Šigi Qutuqu, cf. also Section Three of the Introduction; for Šira Oqul [= Oγul], cf. de Rachewiltz 1966, 101 and n. 2.) It is therefore possible and indeed likely, in my opinion, that the actual writing in the 'blue registers' was done for Šigi Qutuqu by *bičēčis* under his supervision. It has been suggested, and it is reasonable to assume, that the registers in question may also have been used to record Činggis Qan's *jasaq* if these laws were set down in writing;

however, this cannot be established since it is not clear what exactly is meant by the 'decisions about judicial matters' (*jarqu jarqulaqsan*), and some scholars are of the opinion that they may have had nothing to do with the *jasaq*. See de Rachewiltz 1993, 98-99. Cf. ÈBČIZ, 7. For the term *bičig* 'script, writing' (< tu. *bitig* id.), and other terms related to writing, see TMEN, no. 717; Róna-Tas 1965, 126ff.; Cleaves 1988, 161, n. 37; and RH, 309, no. 6 (where, however, *bičik* should be rendered as 'writing' rather than 'book').

'Anyone (lit. "the people") who alters it shall be guilty and liable to punishment' (*ye'ütkekün haran aldaltan boltuqai*). Similarly worded formulas (e.g. with 'who transgresses [the order]' instead of 'who alters it'; cf. § 224) are regularly found at the end of ordinances and decrees issued by the Mongol authorities in the 13th and 14th centuries in Mongolian (in Uighur and 'Phags-pa scripts), in the Chinese versions of the original Mongol documents, and in other languages. In the words *aldaltan boltuqai*, lit. 'they shall be ones having committed a crime (= being guilty)', it is implied that 'to be guilty' = 'to be punishable', and that, within the strict regime of the *jasaq*, the guilty party shall incur capital punishment for such an offence. See Mo, 147-148, n. 144; Ligeti 1971, 148; MMHS, 102, Note 70; Cleaves 1961, 65, 67, n. 25, 69-73. Cf. also MMHS, 98-99, Note 62 (with regard to the use of the word *haran*); and above, what has been said about the verb *alda-*.

'If the Qa'an wants to reward me, let him decide in favour of granting me the people from the towns that have walls of pounded earth', lit. 'If the Qa'an favours (= rewards) me, let his favour decide on giving me from the towns with walls of pounded earth.' That it is actually the people from the towns that are meant is clearly stated in the sectional summary (Y² 8, 33a), a fact which cannot be ignored. 'The towns that have walls of *pounded earth*' renders *širo'ai yo'urqatu balaqasun*. *Širo'ai* = mo. *siroya*, *siroyai*, *siroi* 'earth.' Cf. RH, 248, no. 17: *široa* 'dust.' For *yo'urqa* '(earth- or mud-)wall', cf. HIIY *yoqurqa* (= pmo. *yoyurqa*) 'wall.' See *Matériel I*, 111; Cleaves

1949, 112, n. 95; and TMEN, no. 409. The word *balaqasun* (= pmo. *balaqasun*) 'city, town' occurs in § 151 in the plural form *balaqat*. See above, n. 151. Cf. also §§ 248 and 265 for other references to cities with pounded-earth walls. On, 112, n. 270, suggests that Šigi Qutuqu may be referring 'to the towns of the Naiman in western Mongolia', but this is rather speculative. Cf. Oz¹, V, 117-118, n. 16. In the allocation of booty and apanages for Činggis Qan's family, of which Šigi Qutuqu was a member as one of Hö'elün's adoptive sons, Šigi claims for himself, and is accorded, a share of the inhabitants of the cities and towns subject to the Mongols. Although Šigi Qutuqu will, indeed, play an important role in the future distribution of the apanages, there is no doubt that, as noted by Ratchnevsky, his role in determining the share of members of Činggis' immediate family is grossly exaggerated by the author(s) of the SH, a fact that supports the theory that he may have played a part in its composition. Such distribution of shares within the family was, in fact, determined by Činggis himself and no other. See ISK, 80. Cf. Vlad.², 124-125; Jackson 1999, 18.

§ 204. Činggis now recalls the services which he received from Father Mönqlik, in particular the event described in § 168, when Mönqlik prevented Činggis from falling into the trap set by Senggüm to capture him. He also recalls their growing up together, using the same phraseology when he addresses Jelme soon after (see § 211). Father Mönqlik's merits will be taken into account when Činggis spares him after the Teb Tenggeri 'affair' (§§ 245-246). It is worth noting that Mönqlik is among the first commanders of a thousand to be rewarded by Činggis and, indeed, the first listed in § 202, clearly showing the high esteem in which he was held at the time. See Hambis 1975, 26; Li, 171, n. 204.

'Who at birth were born together with me,/When growing, grew up together with me', lit. 'Who with being born .../With growing'

‘How many times have you helped and protected me?’, lit. ‘How many indeed have your services and protection been?’ Answer: very many. See the sectional summary, Y² 8, 34b.

‘Into whirling waters,/Into a blazing fire’, lit. ‘Into water that is whirling,/Into fire that is red’ – an idiomatic expression: going into a whirlpool or a blazing fire means mortal danger.

‘The seat at the very beginning of this side *in my tent*.’ This statement has caused a good deal of controversy owing to a misunderstanding of the word *nu’u* in the expression *ene nu’u huja’ur-a*, variously rendered as ‘here in this corner’ (Li, 92; cf. Ha, 92: ‘hier an dieser Ecke’); ‘at the base of this corner’ (Mu, II, 400; Cl, 145); ‘of this corner-base’ (Ra, VIII, 28); ‘this honoured seat’ (Da⁵, 168); ‘at this corner’ (Do¹, 225); ‘on the corner at the end of this seat’ (On, 113 and n. 271, amending *huja’ur* to *üjü’ür* ‘tip, extremity’; the 2001 ed., 194, has simply ‘on the corner of this seat’); ‘at this extreme point/side (端 read as *kata!*)’ (Oz¹, V, 121; cf. Ev-Pop, 173), and ‘on the first place of this side’ (Oz², II, 66); ‘at the principal (= honourable) side’, i.e. on the first seat at the right-hand (= west) side of the *qan* (Γa, 377, n. 604; Će, 190, 441, n. 480). Γa, Će and Oz² provide the correct interpretation. The word *nu’u*, *nū* (= pmo. *nuʒu*) in the 13th and 14th centuries had three meanings: 1) ‘corner’; 2) (geogr.) ‘a plain in the winding of a river’ (cf. §§ 94, 220); and 3) ‘direction, quarter, side’, as in *dörben nuʒus* (pl.) ‘the four directions or quarters (of the world)’, corresponding exactly to tu. *tört bulun*. See Cleaves 1959, 70, n. 75; TH, 139 (= JYT, 242); ED, 343b. Cf. ch. *yü* 隅 ‘corner, side’ (CEDMU, 555c); fr. *coin* ‘corner, spot’; etc. As for *huja’ur* ‘origin, beginning’, cf. above, n. 1. The seat ‘at the very beginning of this (= my) side’ in Činggis’ tent was the seat next to him, in the back (= north side) of the tent. We know, in fact, from Rašīd al-Dīn, that Mönglik’s regular seat was always immediately on the right of Činggis Qan and above all other officers. See Hambis, loc. cit. Rašīd’s testimony settles the issue. For the elevated position in relation to status, cf. below, n. 205.

‘Yearly and monthly I shall consult with you’ (*hon-tur sara-tur sataju*), i.e. ‘I shall consult with you (or seek advice from you) at all times.’ There has been some speculation as to the meaning of the verb *sata-*, glossed *lun* 論 and *i-lun* 議論 ‘to discuss; to consult (with), deliberate’ (Y² 8, 34a-b), and attempts have been made to read it as **sada-* (cf. čag. *sadaqa* ‘favour, bestowal, alms’; see MA, 314b; VWTD, IV, 384) ‘to bestow alms, present offerings.’ See TH, 235-236 (= JYT, 405-406); Oz¹, V, 123, n. 4; On, 113 and n. 272. However, the verb *sata-* occurs again in § 216 also glossed *i-lun*. Although *sata-* is a *hapax legomenon* in Mongolian, the SH glosses cannot be discounted twice. For another (in my opinion unlikely) interpretation of this word, see Ev-Pop, 291, n. 68, and the discussion below, n. 216. My own interpretation of this form is the following. There is in Mongolian a verb *sedü-* ‘to think (out), devise, plan’ (Les., 681b), which in the ET (see ET³, 78v26) and in some modern languages occurs also in the form *sede-*. Cf., e.g., kh. *sedex*, kalm. *sedʒə* id. See L. Ligeti in AOH 38:1984, 334, for further examples. Now, 1) in Middle and Preclassical Mongolian there are several instances of normally back-vocalic words written as front-vocalic words and vice versa (*angqan* ~ *engken*, *dorona* ~ *döröne*, *ümere* ~ *umara*, *inegsi* ~ *inaysi*, *ijilidulča-* ~ *ijilidülče-*, *naijam* ~ *neyigem*, etc.), cf. SG, 131-133, § 68; de Rachewiltz 1982, 20; and below, n. 207; and 2) the alternation *t* ~ *d* is very common, see ‘Quelques problèmes’, 243-244. My opinion is that SH *sata-* = mo. *sede-*, *sedü-*. My interpretation is supported by the AT, where in the parallel passage of the SH, § 216 (AT¹, 69a), we find the relevant word written *sidejü* (cf. ATL, 150) pro *sedejü*. Semantically, ‘to consult, discuss, deliberate’ is not very far from ‘to devise, plan, etc.’ Such an interpretation would also explain why a word that occurs *twice* in the SH has apparently ‘disappeared’ from the literary language and all the living languages and dialects without leaving a trace. Cf. also Cleaves 2001c, 103, n. 137.

'I shall give you gifts and favours' (*öklige soyurqal čimada öksü*). For *öklige* (= mo. *öglige*) 'gift', see TMEN, no. 23.

'I shall be attending on you' (*mali'an asuqai*). The verb *mali'a-*, glossed here as *shih-feng* 侍奉 'to attend on', occurs also in § 103 in the form *maliya-*, glossed as *chi-ssu* 祭祀 'to sacrifice, offer in sacrifice.' (For *-y- ~ -gʻɣ- ~ -ʻ-*, cf. IMCS, 64-66.) For this reason and the fact that mo. *milaya-* (a metathetical form of *maliya-*, kh. *myalaax*) means 'to anoint, smear with oil' (Les., 524a, 538b; DO, 464a), Ev-Pop, 173 (see also *ibid.*, 291, n. 69), translates the above words as 'Je te bénirai.' Cf. TH, 223-224 (= JYT, 384-385). Like other translators, I prefer to follow the Chinese gloss. See Oz¹, V, 123, n. 6. My reason for doing so is because I believe that the meaning of 'to serve, attend on' has actually survived in the word *milayur* (= *milāɣur*), an adverb in *-yur* (*-gür*) of *milā* (< *milaya*), glossed in Kow., 2025a, as 'servilement, respectueusement (?).' *Milaya* (kh. *myalga*) now means only 'whip', but from the above it appears that there was also a noun **milaya* meaning 'service, attendance on' coinciding with the verbal root (*milaya-*), i.e. one of the fairly numerous 'nomina-verba', on which see Kara 1993. **Milaya* would then have corresponded to **maliya*. However, the word *mali'an* listed in HW, 106, as a noun ('Dienst, Aufwartung') is actually the converbum modale of *mali'a- ~ maliya-*.

§ 205. On the early exploits of Činggis Qan, then Temüjin, and Bo'orču, see §§ 90-93.

'I spent three days and nights on the way (*ja'ura*).' For this use of *ja'ura* 'during, in the space between (= en route)', cf. 'Trois documents', 436.

Regarding the puzzling word *benglenijü* (incorrectly read *banglaniju* in Oz¹, V, 124, 129; cf. Y² 8, 35a, line 3), I think there is no doubt that, as already suggested by Pelliot and Cleaves, it is a mistake for *mungtaniju* 'being in difficulty or distress', which is the word found in the corresponding passage in § 90. Cf. also §§ 92, 93. See Pe, 79, n. 4; Cl, 145, n. 66.

'Concealed.' The Mongol word here is *bürgüjü*, whereas in §§ 90 and 93 it is *buquju*. The verb *buqu-* corresponds to pmo. *buɣu-* 'to hide, put away, conceal', on which see Cleaves 1951, 83-84, n. 56. As for *bürgü-*, this verb corresponds to mo. *bürkü-* 'to cover, cover up, envelop, obscure' (Les., 150a). Da⁵, 42, confuses pmo. *buɣu-* with mo. *boɣu-* (kh. *boox*) 'to bind, tie, bundle, wrap, envelop' (Les., 111a), and in § 205 renders *bürgüjü* as *orxiž* 'casting away, abandoning' (Da⁵, 168).

'In the grass', lit. 'in the steppe' (*ke'er-e*).

'Before we reached the circular camp with the stolen light-bay geldings', lit. 'when we reached the circular camp (*güre'en*) that had stolen the light-bay geldings.'

'Because of your brave heart', lit. 'by the courage (*külik*) of your mind (= heart: *setkil*).' *Külik* (= mo. *külüg*), besides its usual meanings of 'fine horse, steed' and 'champion, stalwart, hero' (see above, nn. 3, 163), means also 'courage, bravery', i.e. the quality that makes one a champion, as in the case at hand. For this passage, cf. Sárközi 1978, 148.

'When I sent you Belgütei to ask you to join me again as a companion', lit. 'when I, sending Belgütei, said, "Let us be companions!"' Cf. Mo, 195. 'And came to join me', lit. 'When you came to be a companion/Jumping on your chestnut horse.../ the Three Merkit came, etc.' Cf. Cl, 146. For Belgütei's mission, see § 95. For *örmege ~ örmüge* 'woolen cloak', see above, n. 95.

The episode of young Temüjin being pursued three times around Mount Burqan Qaldun by the Three Merkit is described in § 102 (and referred to again in §§ 111, 145 and 199), but there is no mention there of Bo'orču circling the mountain with him. For Bo'orču's role at the time, see the beginning of § 103.

'Throughout the night', lit. 'until the night finished.'

'One of your feet', lit. 'one of your two feet.'

In the brief description of the famous battle of Dalan Nemürges in § 153 there is no reference to Bo'orču's act of protecting Činggis from the night rain. However, in Bo'orču's biography in YS² 119, 2946, as well as in Muqali's biography in

YS² 119, 2929, this event is related; from these two biographies we also learn that Bo'orču and Muqali held the cloak together over their sleeping leader. Cf. ISK, 3-4. I think that both the episode of Bo'orču circling Burqan Qaldun and of holding the felt cloak (*nemürge*) are part of a later elaboration of epic themes concerning Činggis' *nököt* (Bo'orču, Muqali, Jelme, etc.) circulating at the time when the SH was composed and, perhaps, further developed by the author(s) of the SH. The *gesta* of Činggis' 'paladins' must have formed a sizable body of epic literature, some of which has survived to this day outside the SH, in works like the AT and the ČQČ, as well as in oral tradition. As noted earlier (see above, n. 90), Bo'orču's name appears in a fragment, apparently from the 'Precepts of Činggis Qan' in alliterative verse, found by P.K. Kozlov in Qara Qoto. See W. Kotwicz quoted in Cleaves 1955, 7; and Munkuev 1970, 343. The felt-cloak episode may well have had its origin in a simple association of ideas with the very name of the place where it was supposed to have occurred: Dalan Nemürges or 'The Seventy Felt Cloaks.' See EM, 184, n. 1.

'What brave deeds of yours am I to mention?', lit. 'what bravery of yours shall I finish telling?'

'You urged me to carry out what was right,/You persuaded me not to do what was wrong', lit. 'You pulled until my right proceeded,/You restrained until my wrong subsided': a very Mongolian way of putting it, and, undoubtedly, an idiomatic phrase too. Cf. Vlad.², 120.

Bo'orču, the first of the 'four steeds (= stalwarts)' and the second commander of a thousand created by Činggis Qan is, at the same time, appointed a commander of ten thousand (more about which later) and is also conferred two additional privileges: a high seat (*sa'uri*) in Činggis Qan's tent, and the special exemption from punishment for up to nine infringements of the law. For the second privilege, see above, n. 203. The expression *bürin-ü de'ere sa'uri sa'u-* means 'to occupy a seat over (or above) all', i.e. to sit (at court ceremonies, banquets, etc.) on a more elevated (= physically raised) place than that occupied by

all other officials. The explanation is found in John of Pian di Carpine's description of the Mongol princely court: 'He [Batu – I.R.] even sits raised up as if on a throne with one of his wives; the others, however, both his brothers and sons and others less noble, sit lower down on a bench in the middle; as for the rest they sit beyond them on the ground, the men on the right and the women on the left' (MM, 57). See also *ibid.*, 64-65. Cf. SF, 110; SDM, 386; as well as MP², I, 381. The seat or position occupied by Bo'orču obviously was to the right of the *qan*, on the raised platform, 'above' the rest of the officials who sat on the ground (the same arrangement applies to Muqali, see § 206). The term *de'ere* has special 'vertical' connotations, the model being Heaven Above (*de'ere tenggeri*), under which come the *qan* on his raised throne, his family and the rest of the officials sitting at different levels according to their rank. Physical elevation was for the Mongols (as for most other people) a status symbol, hence also the predilection of chiefs for burials on mountains that we have already discussed, and the lifting of the *qan* on the white felt carpet when he was elected, the symbolism compounded with three or nine prostrations, etc. See HWC, 187-188, 252, n. 16, 568, n. 50; cf. D'Ohsson, II, 10, 199, 254; de Rachewiltz 1960, 247-250, n. 116. Within a given level, status was indicated by positioning according to orientation, both along east-west and south-north directions. For the word *sa'uri* ~ *sa'urin* (= mo. *sayuri[n]*) 'seat, station', cf. Cleaves 1988, 158, n. 18; and above, n. 142.

The SH informs us that, on the same occasion, Bo'orču was also put in charge of the ten thousand men or myriarchy (*tümen*) of the right or west wing (lit. 'hand') (*bara'un qar*) of the Mongol army. This wing was composed of troops drawn from tribes inhabiting the region extending westwards to the Altai Mountains or, as the SH says, 'using the Altai as a pillow' (*Altai deregelün*). For the interpretation of this expression I follow the Chinese sectional summary. See Y² 8, 39a. Cl, 147, n. 76, understands 'which live in front of the Altai Mountain'; cf. Oz², II, 68: 'depending on (= adjoining, by) the Altai Mountain(s)'; Ev-

Pop, 174: 'accotée à l'Altai.' He was, therefore, a commander of ten thousand (*tümen-ü noyan*) as well as of a thousand (*minqan-u noyan*). As leader of a thousand, the first such unit (*minqan*) of the right wing, composed of men of his own Arulat, or Arlat, tribe, belonged to him. Bo'orču's appointment is mentioned in SL², I/2, 267, and is repeated in the SH, § 220. On his double appointment as commander of a thousand and of ten thousand, see MJK, 19, 21, 23, 26, 29, 32; cf. also Li, 171, n. 205, 174, n. 220, and 175-176, n. 227.

§ 206. The Leafy Tree, Saqlaqar or, as here, Saqlār (< Saqlaqar [= mo. Saɣlayar]) Modun, was first mentioned in § 57; from § 117 we learn that it was situated on the southern side of the Quldaqar Cliff in the Qorqonaq Valley. See above, nn. 57 and 117.

For *tenggeri-yin ja'arin* or 'heavenly sign (or omen)', see above n. 121. The word *tentek* (= mo. *temdeg*), which is in the same category of numenous phenomena, is glossed in the SH as 'clear, manifest' (*ming-pai* 明白), but it also carries the meaning of 'ominous sign, omen, prodigy', which I think is implied in the present context, hence my rendering of it as 'clear portent.' Cf. Les., 798b; BŠDT, 73b; Oz¹, V, 137, n. 1. (Similarly, the verb *ja'a-* 'to inform, announce' [> *ja'arin* 'sign (of things to come)'] implies foretelling.) Unfortunately, we do not know what the 'heavenly sign' was, but it may have been a prophetic vision or dream similar to that of Qorči described in § 121 and, like Qorči's, predicting Temüjin's ultimate victory and rise to supreme leadership of the Mongol tribes. On the other hand, this may be a later addition to Muqali's saga prompted perhaps by the fact that Qorči's prophetic vision is recalled immediately after the section on Muqali in § 207. Cf. Li, 171, n. 206; Chiodo 1992, 146, n. 106. It is also not clear what the reference to Muqali's father Gü'un Qo'a (Gü'ün U'a in § 137) means, but he obviously plays a part in the lost story, or epic, of Muqali. The answer may have been provided in the no longer extant family biography of Muqali by Yüan Yung-chen 元永貞, on which see

ISK, 12 (Editorial Note). The promise made by Činggis Qan was, of course, to reward him in the way described should his prophecy come true.

'He shall henceforth seat on a seat [above all others].' The text merely says *sa'uri de'ere sa'uju* 'sitting on a seat', but from the sectional summary (Y² 8, 40b) it appears that the original text had (as in § 205) *bürin-ü de'ere sa'uri sa'uju*, hence the restoration of the missing words in my translation.

With regard to the title *gui ong*, we have already seen that the references to it in § 202, as in the present one and also in § 220, are anachronistic. See above, n. 202. Like Bo'orču, Muqali was appointed commander of a thousand (see § 202, no. 3), as well as of ten thousand. The first unit of a thousand (*minqan*) of the left wing composed of his own tribesmen, the Ĵalayir, belonged to him. Cf. SL², I/2, 270; MJK, 18-20, 22-23; Li, 171, n. 206. As *tümen-ü noyan*, he was entrusted with the supreme command of the left or east wing (*je'ün qar*) of the army whose effectives were drawn from tribes inhabiting eastern Mongolia up to the Qara'un Ĵidun Mountains in the southern Great Khingan Range (see above, n. 183). North China was regarded as a natural extension of this region and, therefore, it also fell under Muqali's control. His future leadership of the campaign in north China against the Jurchen/Chin state is a logical consequence of this appointment.

'Which extends eastwards up to the Qara'un Ĵidun Mountains', lit. 'using the Qara'un Ĵidun as a pillow.' Cf. above, n. 205 ad fin.

§ 207. On Qorči's prophetic words, see § 121. Cf. Vlad.², 137.

For the alliterative saying 'When it was wet,/You suffered the wet with me;/When it was cold,/You suffered the cold with me', which occurs again, but in a different context in § 213, see Cérénsodnom 1986, 77. Cf. Gaadamba 1968, 111, 125. For *nobši-* 'to be wet', cf. DO, 495a: *nobši-* 'être mouillé jusqu'aux os.' For the connotations of both *nobši-* and *köbši-* 'to be cold',

cf. J.C. Street's remarks in AEOJ, 227-228. Cf. also Cleaves 1948, 319, n. 23.

'Indeed, you have constantly been' (*bolju yabuba je cí*). As in many other instances, *yabu-* functions here as an auxiliary verb of continuity. See above, n. 15 et passim.

'Beneficent spirit' renders the Mongolian *nendü qutuq* – a puzzling expression, the exact connotations of which escape us. In the interlinear translation it is glossed as *fu-shen* 福神 'a spirit (deity, god) that brings good fortune (or happiness), a beneficent spirit.' The same expression occurs in § 231 in the form *nendü'üt* (pl.) *qutuq*, where only the word *qutuq* is glossed as *fu-shen*. In §§ 105 and 109, *fu-shen* renders also *qutuq* ~ *quduq* (= *qutuq*). See HW, 73, 70. In the sectional summary of § 207 the expression is not translated, while in that of § 231 it is likewise rendered as *fu-shen* (Y² 10, 4a). It is clear that while the first element of the two-word compound was no longer understood by the Ming translators in the second half of the 14th century, the whole expression was taken as meaning 'beneficent spirit(s)' ('divinités bienfaisantes' [A.M.]). The passage corresponding to § 231 in the AT¹, 75b, has *ertekid qutuγ-tan*, undoubtedly a copyist's error for *nendüγüd qutuγ-tan*. Cf. ATL, 164; LDAT, 164. On the evidence of its plural form *nendü'üt*, Pelliot suggested an original (sing.) *nendük*. See Pe, 80, n. 3: 'nändü[k]?'; and 'nändü 207, nändü'üt 231; suppose nändü[k]' (u.n.). Cf. Ra, VIII, 30, 53-54. However, in the SH a word ending in a vowel can also have a plural in *-'üt/-'üt*. Cf., e.g., *alaqči'üt* (pl. of *alaqči* 'pied, multicoloured') in §§ 124 and 170. See HW, 4; Street 1990a, 368 (6.8) and n. 166. There has been much speculation as to the meaning of *nendü*, but in my view most of the more recent interpretations are unconvincing. See Oz¹, V, 143 (followed by On, 114 and n. 275): *nendü* = *mendü* 'peaceful' (On: 'strong'; cf. the 2001 ed., 196 and n. 486); cf. Oz², II, 69: 'tutelary spirit' rendering *nendü qutuq*; Γa, 379, n. 609: *nendü* = *neng-tü* (kh. *nënt*) 'furthermore, even more', hence 'eminent, superior' (? following Ko, 559); Ma, 253: *nendü* = *erkim degedü* 'highest, most distinguished' (*nendü qutuq* = 'the

greatest blessing'). Cf. Do², 175, n. 3. Earlier scholars suggested that *nendü qutuq* may have been the name of a kind of tutelary spirit or god in the religious (shamanistic) system of the 13th century Mongols. Cf. HW, 73, s.v. 'hutuh'; GGMGL, 176; and Yao-Ja, II, 256, § 207, n. 1. Cf. Ja, 312, n. 2. I was also of this opinion and in Ra, VIII, 54, put forth the idea that by *nendü'üt qutuq* were perhaps meant the tutelary spirits and household gods later known as *ongqod*, the felt images ('dolls') of which are described by 13th century travellers. See SF, 36, 174; MM, 9, 95-96; RCAC, 17-18; RTEM, 354 et passim. Subsequently, however, a note in El-Ar referring to the expression in § 231, not to that in § 207, has prompted a new interpretation. El-Ar, 760, n. 5, equates *nendü'üt* with *ariγun nandin* 'sacred' (lit. 'pure/sacred-noble/sacred'), but without giving any supporting evidence. Cf. Če, 192 and 443, n. 489, where *nendü qutuq* is explained as *ariγun* (or *sayin*) *qutuq* 'sacred (or good) spirit.' I think that El-Ar may have unwittingly hit the nail on the head by introducing mo. *nandin*. This word has an interesting history: it goes back to Sanskrit, where we find *nanda* (< *nand* 'to rejoice') 'joy, prosperity, happiness; name of one of the Nāga-kings'; *nandi* 'the happy one'; and *nandin* 'rejoicing, gladdening.' See SED, 526c-527b. *Nanda* occurs also in the form *nando* in compound proper names. Cf. MV, 164, no. 3239; BHSD, 290b; BTD, 239, no. 3241. With the adoption of Buddhism by the Mongols, skr. *nanda*, *nandi* and *nandin* passed into classical Mongolian in the form *Nandi* as a proper name (cf. ET³, 5r15; AT¹, 13b), and into classical Mongolian and the modern literary language as *nanda*, *nandi(n)* with the meanings of 'joy, happiness; precious; noble, venerable, sacred.' See Kow., 602b; Les., 564b; MKT, 337c; MED, 231a. I think it possible that, at an earlier stage, also the Sanskrit form *nando* (~ *nanda*) passed into Mongolian (possibly via Uighur?), where it became **nando* ~ **nandu*. Cf. mo. Balbo ~ Balbu (< tib. Bal-po) 'Nepal.' In the language of the 13th and 14th centuries, the passage of a word from the front- to the back-vocalic class and vice versa is well attested. Cf., e.g.,

ümere~umara 'north', *döröne~dorona* 'east', *angqan~engken* 'the most ...', 'the very ...', *soyu~söyü-* 'to instruct.' See above, n. 204. I think, therefore, that **nando* ~ **nandu* could easily have become *nendü* (*nendö* is phonetically impossible in Mongolian), with the basic meaning of 'prosperity, happiness' (as in Sanskrit), which, in combination with *qutuq*, would yield the very rendering of the Chinese gloss. This is to a large extent speculative, but it could provide a satisfactory explanation of both the problem of the Chinese gloss(es), and of the fact that the word in question has apparently (but only apparently) disappeared from Mongolian without a trace after the 13th century.

'If the prophecy comes true (*jöb bolu'asu*).' For the expression *jöb bol-* 'to become right', i.e. 'to be fulfilled', cf. Cleaves 1948, 319-320.

For Qorči's request of thirty women as a reward for the fulfilment of his prophesy, and on the subsequent (and not trouble-free!) realization of his wish, see §§ 121 and 241.

Qorči was a Ba'arin (Bārin) and one of the commanders of a thousand appointed by Činggis Qan in 1206 (§ 202, no. 4). The 3,000 Ba'arin troops already belonged to him, hence the words 'on top of' (*de'ere*). 'Make up a full ten thousand' is, literally, 'filling ten thousand' (*tüme dü'ürčü*). The unit of ten thousand of which Činggis had thus put him in charge together with the two other commanders Taqai and Ašiq (on whom see below) consisted of troops from the Činōs, Tö'ölös and Telengüt tribes. The text speaks of 'the Činōs of the Adarkin.' On the Adarkin tribe, see HCG, 57-58, 60, 300. As remarked by Pelliot, op. cit., 135 and 300, the association of the Adarkin with the Činōs (on whom see *ibid.*, 131-137) is not clear. Cf. SL², I/2, 269; and Li, 172, no. 207. Na², 295, says that the Činōs had been dispersed – presumably after their defeat at Dalan Baljut (see SH, § 129) – and had become the subjects of the Adarkin, which would then explain their designation in this passage of the SH. On the Tö'ölös (~ Tö'eles > Töles = Töleš) and the Telengüt (pl. of Teleng), see IOD, 146, n. 21; HCG, 300; NHHO, 142 and nn. 1

and 2; NCHK, I, 5, 9, 60, n. 55, 120, n. 55; Cleaves 1956a, 395 and n. 21; Ligeti 1966, 124; Hambis 1957, 32-34; idem 1970a, 175-178. They were two of the People of the Forest (*hoi-yin irgen*) and they are mentioned again, as Tö'eles and, incorrectly, as 'Tenlek', in § 239. The People of the Forest, first mentioned in § 202, were tribes of forest hunters inhabiting the vast region extending from the upper reaches of the Irtysh, the Erdiš of the SH, to the Yenisei and Angara rivers, and covering the former Uryankhai Territory, i.e. Tannu-Tuva (Tuva AO, now the Tuvin Republic in the RF). As is evident from their designation, the other Mongols regarded them as being different and somewhat beyond the pale, largely because of their remoteness and mode of life, but possibly also because of their more pronounced 'Turkish' component. On them, see SL², I/1, 85; I/2, 47, 49, 84, 120. Cf. Vlad.², 39ff.; HCG, 184, 185; Ratchnevsky 1968a, 127, 132, n. 6.

With regard to the two commanders Taqai and Ašiq mentioned together with Qorči, the former must be the Taqai of § 202 (no. 24), i.e. Taqai Ba'atur of the Suldus, on whom see above, n. 151. The latter is almost certainly the Ašiq Güregen of § 202 (no. 83).

For the expressions 'this way or that' (*eyin teyin*), and 'without agreement (= permission)' (*eye üge'ü-ügei'ü*), see above, nn. 102 and 171.

'He should not hesitate to kill them', lit. 'why should he hesitate?' As is the case in pronouncements of this kind in Mongolian, the rhetorical question invariably implies the enforcement of capital punishment. Cf. Cl, 148, n. 82.

§ 208. Jürčedei of the Uru'ut (Urüt) tribe, the hero of the battle of Qalaqaljit Sands, is the sixth commander of a thousand in the list of § 202. The momentous events recalled by Činggis Qan at the beginning of this section are related in § 171 of the SH, where Jürčedei is referred to as Uncle Jürčedei (Jürčedei Ebin). See above, nn. 130 and 171. For sworn friend (*anda*) Quyildar's

(= Quyildar Sečen's) 'oath', i.e. his vow to fight in front of (i.e. as vanguard before) Činggis Qan, see also § 171.

The Tübegen are the Tümen Tübegen, and the Dongqayit, the Olon Dongqayit (see § 170); as for Quri Šilemün, this is the same personage called Qori Šilemün Taiši in §§ 170 and 171, leader of the thousand bodyguards of Ong Qan. Cleaves' translation 'the Quri Šilemün, the thousand dayguards' (Cl, 148) is not accurate.

For the *učumaq* arrows, see above, n. 174.

'To open the door and the reins', i.e. 'to open the door and loosen the reins', is obviously an idiomatic expression that conveys the idea of removing barriers and allowing free progress. In other words, Heaven had opened the way to Činggis' success and from that moment on had led him into a commanding position. As to the latter point, it should be noted that the word 'reins' (*žil'o'a ~ žilu'a*) means also 'rule, order, control', as in the English expression 'the reins of government.' Cf. § 224. From Činggis Qan's remarks it appears that he regarded the victory over the Kereyit at Qalaqaljit Sands as the turning point of his career.

For the verb *širqa-* 'to wound' (cf. mo. *sirqa[n]* 'wound'), see Mostaert 1949, 475. It is not included in the list of 'nomina-verba' in Kara 1993, 3-4.

'What would have become of us?' (*yambar maqa bolqun büle'ei bida*), lit. 'what would we have become?' For the use of *maqa* (Cl, 148: 'indeed') as an enclitic, see 'Trois documents', 463-464. Cf. above, n. 31.

'That was indeed Jürčedei's greatest and most important service.' As noted in Street 1990, 189, n. 25, the *Jürčedei-yi* of the text must be emended to *Jürčedei-yin*. Cf. Oz¹, V, 147. However, the text is not emended in Street's transcription (St, 103, line 8440).

'When he separated from me.' This refers to Činggis' movements after the battle, when he split his forces, himself leading half of them along the western bank of the Khalkha, and Jürčedei the other half (composed of Uru'ut and Mangqut

troops) along the eastern bank of the river. See § 175. For Jürčedei's contemporaneous mission to the Onggirat chiefs (Terge Emel and others) of Lake Buyur, i.e. the Buir Nör, see § 176.

For Činggis' arrival at Lake Baljuna, Jürčedei's reconnoitring and the Kereyit's defeat, see §§ 182-183 and 185. Jürčedei was with Činggis and the other companions at Lake Baljuna. On all these events, cf. again Cleaves 1955a, 367ff.

'With our strength increased by Heaven and Earth.' For this expression, cf. §§ 113, 121, 125, and above, n. 113.

'Being cut off' renders Mongolian *ongjaldaju* following the Chinese gloss. See Cl, 148: id. This is an obsolete word, the verb *ongjal-* having disappeared from the literary language and the dialects. The verb is a denominal one in *-l-* from **ongja* 'blade, axe.' Cf. bur. *unža* id. (BRS, 470a). See Oz¹, V, 155, n. 4.

'Lost heart' renders *čirai-ban ququraju*, lit. 'their mien was broken.' For this use of *čirai* 'mien, countenance, appearance' = 'daring, will to fight', see above, n. 196. Cf. Cl, 149, n. 37.

Ong Qan's younger brother Jaqa Gambu had two daughters, one of whom was taken by Činggis Qan and the other was given to Tolui. Because of this relationship, Jaqa Gambu was allowed to retain control of his own subjects after the defeat and disintegration of the Kereyit tribe. There is, however, no previous reference in the SH to Jaqa Gambu's subsequent ('second') rebellion and of Jürčedei's role in capturing and executing him. Ibaqa Beki was Jaqa Gambu's eldest daughter whom Činggis had taken for himself. See § 186.

'He disregarded his life', lit. 'He deployed (or exposed) his life'. For *öre-*, cf. mo. *örö-* 'to set in order; arrange' (Les. 643b). *Ölümle-* 'to fight to the death' is a denominal verb formed on tu. *ölüm* 'death.' It has the secondary meanings of 'to press on (regardless)' and 'to strive fiercely' which are found elsewhere in the SH (§§ 254, 281), and in later texts. See below, n. 254. Cf. HW, 124; TH, 126 (= JYT, 221). It is with the latter acceptation that Oz¹, V, 153 (cf. Oz², II, 71), On, 116 (cf.

the 2001 ed., 198), and others have rendered this passage; however, I think that the context warrants the former. Cf. Ev-Pop, 176: 'Parce qu'il s'acharnait au combat.'

'You have a bad character.' The text has *čimayi ülige če'eji činu üge'üi*, lit. 'you are without your *ülige* and breast.' The word *ülige* is not glossed in the interlinear translation, but the sectional summary (Y² 8, 48b) renders this sentence as 'you are without character (or disposition)' (你無性行). *Ülige* has survived in kh. *ülég* 'bad character, vicious, malicious.' See Cév., 620b. *Če'eji* (= mo. *čegeji*) 'breast, bosom' has also the meaning of 'memory, mind' (Les., 170a; DO, 699b). In our text it combines with *ülige* to mean 'character, nature, disposition' in a positive sense; therefore, 'to be without character' = 'to have a bad character.' See Pa, 118. Cf. pmo. and mo. *ayali aburi* 'natural disposition, character' → 'moral character or worth, virtue, virtuous conduct.' See de Rachewiltz 1982, 53, n. 6. Oz¹, V, 158-159, n. 11 (cf. Oz², II, 71), and On, 116, render the compound as 'intelligence' on the basis of TH, 131 (= JYT, 228-229), but the SH sectional summary interpretation cannot be dismissed on the basis of a correspondence with a modern Mongolian dialect; moreover, one wonders whether Činggis Qan would have been more concerned with Ibaqa Beki's intelligence than with her pleasant (or unpleasant) character. In any event, the meaning 'character' is supported by AT¹, 65b, where the expression *ülige če'eji* is preceded by the word *aburi* 'character, disposition, etc.', obviously inserted to clarify its meaning.

'You, who have entered ... *wives*', lit. 'You, who have entered into my breast and legs (i.e. who have become my wife) and who have come down (i.e. to me) taking *your* place in the ranks (i.e. among my principal wives).' For this phraseology, cf. § 155 and com.; and Mo, 73-74 (where, however, the expression 'épouses imperiales' is somewhat anachronistic since we are still in 1206).

'In deference to the great principle *whereby services are duly rewarded*' (*yeke töre [= törö] setkiǰü*), lit. 'thinking (= being mindful of) the great principle.' (I have varied the

rendering of the verb *setki-* in this section to avoid a monotonous repetition.) The 'great principle' (*yeke törö*) is mentioned again in § 220 as such, and in § 252 as *yeke yosu* 'the great norm.' Although in neither case the meaning of the expression is spelled out, it is clear from the individual contexts that it referred to one of the cardinal principles, if not the very cornerstone, of the *jasaq*, viz. the principle of mutual obligations between lord and subject governing all relations between the two: from below loyalty and obedience to the *qan*, and from above protection and due reward for good service to the retainer. Cf. the case of Qulan and Naya'a in § 197, and the ones in §§ 220 and 252. For *yeke törö*, cf. also *Matériel I*, 10 (6r, 1), 26, where reference is made to the same principle.

'He brought together the people/Who had become divided, He united the people/Who had scattered.' Cf. the poetic passages in §§ 96 and 104 where the same phraseology is used. The unification of the tribes by Činggis Qan is a recurrent theme in the SH, underscoring what was undoubtedly regarded as his greatest achievement by his contemporaries.

For the expression 'they should not disobey my words', see above, n. 204.

'They are not to abolish Ibaqa's *rightful* place among my wives.' Činggis Qan means that, in spite of the fact that Ibaqa Beki was given as wife to Jürčedei, she should continue to be regarded as holding the status she had earlier held as a *qan*'s wife, i.e. she would not lose the (hereditary) privileges associated with her former rank by marrying Jürčedei, evidently an exceptional favour in the circumstances.

'Gave you two hundred servants as dowry (*ingjes*).' The *ingjes*, pl. of **ingje* (~ *inje*, cf. § 43; but see below), were the servants and maids who, as part of the bride's dowry, followed her to her new household to which they remained attached, their status not being dissimilar, apparently, from that of domestic slaves. See Les., 411b, s.v. 'ingzi'. A good deal has been written on this early Mongol institution. See Vlad.², 70, 82, 85, 127, n. 6; Cleaves 1950, 54-55, n. 184; ESYD, 3, 82,

n. 8; Ebisawa 1969, 57-61; Mu, I, 48, n. 4; MSKK, 133 et passim; MTSK, Index, 21a; Aubin 1975, 547 and n. 52; Shiraiwa 1988; TH, 109-100 (= JYT, 194-195). Cf. also Ratchnevsky 1976, 511-512; idem 1987, 72; Pritsak 1988, 770; Serruys 1945, 130. For the term *inje* (**ingje*), see TMEN, no. 670 (where, however, the terms *inje* and *emcü* [see above, n. 137] have been erroneously related); for its Chinese counterparts, see Cleaves, loc. cit. It should be noted that in the corresponding passage of the AT, the text has *injes*, not *ingjes* (AT¹, 66a); this was almost certainly the original form in the SH. The Uru'ut (Urüt) was Jürčedei's own tribe. See above.

'To remember you', lit. 'as your souvenir' (*geriyes-iyen*). On the term *geriyes* (~ *geri'es*) 'souvenir, keepsake', see Cleaves 1949, 110-111, n. 82. For the stewards (*ba'určün*), see above, n. 124. On the name Alčiq (of Turkic origin), cf. Bese 1978, 356, no. 4. Ašiq (= Ašiy) Temür is, likewise, a Turkic name, meaning 'Useful Iron.'

'As to your four thousand Uru'ut, you will be in charge of them, won't you?', lit. 'Will you not be in charge, you, of your four thousand Uru'ut?' – a rhetorical question. Cf. 'Trois documents', 465. The four thousand men under the command of Jürčedei formed the unit assigned to him by Činggis (no. 6 in § 202). As pointed out by Ligeti (Li, 172, n. 208), in Rašid al-Dīn's work (where Jürčedei is confused with his son Ketei throughout) the account of how Ibaqa Beki was given to Jürčedei is quite different from the one told in the SH. See SL², I/1, 186; I/2, 271. Cf. also HCG, 7, 236-237; Vlad.², 85. There is a biography of Jürčedei in YS² 120, 2962-2963. More than three fourths of § 208 are found in the AT version (AT¹, 65a-66a; cf. ATL, 138-141; LDAT, 147-149).

§ 209. Chapter Nine of the SH has been translated in full, with annotations and a glossary, by Kuo-yi Pao in 1965. (Kuo-yi Pao is the Chinese name of Professor Unensechin of the Khorchin Borjigin clan.) See Pao, and the reviews of this work by H. Serruys in *MS* 24:1965, 477-480; N. Poppe in *CAJ* 11:1966,

234-235; and Hashimoto Masaru 橋本勝 in *TYGH* 52:1969, 85-95.

The Qubilai mentioned in this section is Qubilai of the Barulas, one of the so-called 'four hounds' (*dörben noqas*). See above, n. 195; Li, 172, n. 209. His appointment as head of 'all military affairs' is, however, immediately qualified by Činggis Qan's statement to the effect that he would share command of a *minqan* with Bedü'ün of the Dörben. He is the eighth commander of a thousand listed in § 202.

'You, Qubilai, Jelme, Jebe and Sübe'etei – these "four hounds" of mine', lit. 'These, Qubilai, Jelme, Jebe and Sübegetei, you my "four hounds."' Sübegetei is the written form of Sübe'etei (> Sübētei). See above, n. 199.

'Directing you to the place I had in mind' (*setkixsen-tür jori'ulju*), or 'directing you to what I aimed', i.e. 'towards that which I had in view' (Cl, 151, n. 1). Cf. Mo, 129. However, specific reference to 'the place' (*qajar*) where Činggis had directed his 'four hounds' is made after the next poetic passage.

For the phraseology and imagery of the poetic passage, cf. §§ 72 and 147; Bese 1969, 130; Cërénsodnom 1986, 77. Cf. also Vlad.², 115. For *qal-* 'to attack', cf. above, n. 147. As for *nitul-* 'to kill, butcher, slaughter', in the present context it has the meaning of 'to cut asunder, cleave', not registered in Les., 586b, but found in Kow., 658b, s.v. '*nitula-*' ('²couper'). Cf. Gol., II, 26c; MGDJ, I, 504c.

In this section of the SH, the author, writing with an eye to posterity, enumerates the members of the select group of Činggis' paladins in whom he had complete trust, viz. the 'four hounds' (Qubilai, Jelme, Jebe and Sübe'etei), the 'four steeds' (Bo'orču, Muqali, Boroqul and Čila'un, called here Čila'un Ba'atur as in §§ 163 and 177), as well as Jürčedei of the Uru'ut (just mentioned in § 208) and Quyildar of the Mangqut (whose death is described in § 175).

Bedü'ün (pmo. Bedügün; cf. AT¹, 31b, 66b) is the Moči Bedü'ün ('Bedü'ün the Carpenter') of § 120, a chief of the Dörben. In our passage, Bedü'ün is criticised by Činggis Qan

on account of his *mojirqaq* (AT¹, 66b: *mojirqaγ*), a term rendered in the Chinese sectional summary as 'stubborn(ness)' (性拗), but left untranslated in the interlinear version. This is a denominal noun in *-rqaq(l-rkek; mo. -rqaγ/l-rkeg)*, designating an abundance of something (see GWM, 43, § 134), from **moji*, a word unattested in Mongolian. In view of the Chinese rendering, *mojirqaq* must be related to mo. *muji-*, *mujii-* 'to have a squinting eye', which in Khalkha has retained also the meaning of 'to behave obstinately.' See Les., 554b; Cév., 348b, s.v. 'mužix' and 'mužiix.' Hence it must also be related (as suggested by Pao, 47, n. 18) to mo. *mujiγar* 'squinting, slanting' (Les., 554b), and, presumably, also 'obstinate', a meaning that has, however, not survived in the literary language and the dialects. The nearest approximation is bur. *možogor* 'awkward, clumsy, stupid' (BRS, 298b). See TH, 228 (= JYT, 392-393); Oz¹, V, 167, n. 3. For *o ~ u* (*moji-* ~ *muji-*), cf. 'Quelques problèmes', 268-269. Although the term *mojirqaq* may well have been used in relation to Bedü'ün because of its similarity in sound to his sobriquet Moči, it is clear from the above that there is no semantic relationship between *moči* (< **mo[n]* 'tree, wood') 'carpenter' and **moji* 'stubborn(ness)'; therefore, to interpret the name Moči Bedü'ün as 'Bedü'ün the Stubborn' (Do¹, 236, n. 3) is unwarranted. We do not know in what way Bedü'ün had manifested his stubbornness vis-à-vis Činggis Qan so as to incur his displeasure, and there is no further mention of this personage in the SH. For the expression 'I was displeased with him' (*bi ma'uilaγu yabuγu*), cf. Mo, 195; 'Trois documents', 466; and Aalto 1973, 36.

'And he added', lit. 'Further, he said.'

§ 210. On Qunan of the Geniges, the seventh commander of a thousand in the list in § 202, see § 122. Although our text says that Činggis Qan spoke to Qunan, the actual order is directed to the other commanders, i.e. the commanders of a thousand Bo'orču and Muqali, and the chamberlains (*čerbin*; see above, n. 120) Dödei, Doqolqu and others, *in favour* of Qunan, hence

Pao's translation 'Činggis-Qahan said of Qunan' (Pao, 32) which, however, is grammatically not correct. The Mongolian text is confirmed by the AT (AT¹, 66b; cf. ATL, 143), but the Chinese sectional summary (Y² 9, 5a) makes Činggis Qan address 'Bo'orču, Muqali and others', thus clarifying the awkward original. Unfortunately, we do not know whether this is the interpretation of the authors of the sectional summary, or whether the Mongolian manuscript they used gave a text different from the present one. On the appointment of Qunan as 'commander of ten thousand' (*tümen-ü noyan*) under Joči, see Li, 172-173, n. 210. Ligeti rightly points out the disagreement on this point between the SH statement and Rašid al-Din's account, but cf. de Rachewiltz 1965, 192, n. 30, where it is suggested that *tümen-ü noyan* may be a mistake for *minqan-u noyan*, a confusion between the two ranks occurring not infrequently in the sources of the period. There is, moreover, disagreement among scholars as to the identities of the various personages called Qunan (= pmo., mo. Gunan) in the SH (§§ 122, 177, 202, 210, 216 and 243). For some (e.g., Li, 227; Mu, I, 248, n. 6) we are dealing with the same person throughout; for others (e.g., Cl, 241b; Ta, 310b; Ev-Pop, 342a), with two distinct persons. I think that the Qunan mentioned in § 177, being a Tayiči'ut, is certainly a different person. Cf. also Mu, loc. cit; MJK, 2, 13, 36, 37, 40, 47. On Dödei Čerbi and Doqolqu Čerbi, see § 124; Hambis 1975, 43.

'A male wolf' (*gendü činō*). For *gendü* 'the male of carnivorous animals in general', cf. TMEN, no. 354. The poetic simile of the wolf stealthily following its prey at night, and of the crow hovering in mid-air over its prey in daytime, is used to illustrate not only the single-mindedness and efficiency of Qunan as a military man, but also his reliability and obedience; indeed he was a man of complete integrity when confronted with 'strangers' (*bosu* [read *busu*] *gü'ün*) and 'mortal enemies' (*oštü gü'ün*), i.e. with any potential or real adversary. The expression *bosu gü'ün* has been interpreted in different ways because the puzzling word *bosu* is not glossed in the interlinear

translation. Cf. Ko, 560 (under § 209!); Ra, IX, 128-129. However, I now agree with Ligeti, Ozawa and others that *bosu* is simply a faulty transcription for *busu* 'other, different, strange.' Cf. Li, 97; Oz¹, V, 173, n. 3. *Busu kümün* (SH: *gü'ün*) is a common expression in Mongolian and is, in fact, found in the AT (AT¹, 72a; cf. ATL, 156) in the passage corresponding to the SH, § 224 (= R, 129, ~~line~~ 8733: *busu-yi oro'ulju*): *busu kümün-i oroγulju* 'recruiting other people.' Cf. also Les., 140b. However, in the present context *busu gü'ün* obviously has negative connotations, being 'paired' with *östü gü'ün*, as rightly noted by Cleaves (Cl, 152, n. 5). Cf. gr. ἕτερος 'other, different', and 'other than good or right.' In the sectional summary (loc. cit.), *busu gü'ün* and *östü gü'ün* are, in fact, rendered with the single expression *tai-jeŋ* 歹人 'evil people', fusing, as it were, the two concepts into one. It is not clear why in Ev-Pop, 182, *busu gü'ün* is rendered as 'qui vient de loin.' For *östü gü'ün* 'mortal enemy', see above, n. 149.

'He did not put on another face/...He did not put on a different face', in other words, he would not act treacherously or shamelessly.

'Do not act without the agreement (i.e. the approval)' (*eye üge'ü bu üyiletkün*). For this expression, see Cleaves 1953, 80, n. 12.

Joči (? 1184-1227), Činggis' eldest son, is first mentioned in § 165. See above, nn. 104, 165. Kōkō Čos of the Ba'arin is first mentioned in § 120, together with Old Üsün (Üsün Ebügen), in the list of the tribe and clan leaders who sided with Činggis Qan after he separated from Jamuqa. Degei of the Besüt is also mentioned in the same section. Kōkō Čos and Degei are listed among the commanders of a thousand in § 202 (nos. 30 and 20 respectively), and Degei reappears in § 220. Old Üsün must not be confused with Hüsün, a commander of a thousand, listed in § 202 (no. 11), on whom see SL², I/2, 41. On these personages, see also § 216, where some of the same phraseology is repeated. What Činggis means by saying that they never hid from him what they saw and never concealed from him what they heard, is

that they were always honest and sincere, and completely trustworthy. This whole section (§ 210) gives the impression that it has been introduced for the express purpose of illustrating and extolling such qualities. For *qabči*- 'to conceal', cf. TMEN, no. 1372; Sinor 1996. As pointed out by H. Serruys (p.c.), the final sentence in Cl, 152 ('These are the four.'), is not a separate sentence; these words are in apposition to the subjects (Qunan, etc.).

§ 211. On Jelme of the Uriangqai (Uriyangqai), one of the 'four hounds', and his father (Old) Jarči'udai the smith, see § 97, where the events to which Činggis Qan refers are related. For these episodes, cf. also Vlad.², 112.

For the form *gürege* (< *gü'ür<e>ge* ~ *kü'ürge*) '(smith's) bellows', see above, n. 97.

For the refrain 'Who at birth ..., /When growing ...', and the designation 'fortunate and blessed' (*öljeitü qutuqtu*), cf. § 204. See above, nn. 200 and 204.

'Has its origin in the sable swaddling-clothes', lit. 'has as its origin the sable swaddling-clothes.'

Jelme is the ninth commander of a thousand listed in § 202; however, his name is missing in Rašid al-Dīn's list of these military leaders. As pointed out by Ligeti, this was probably due to his advanced age. Instead of him, his son Yisü Buqa Taiši is listed as the commander of the second unit of a thousand of the left wing. See Li, 173, n. 211. Cf. SL², I/2, 270-271.

§ 212. On the appointment of Tolun of the Qongqotan as chamberlain (*čerbi*), see § 191 and com. He is listed (no. 12) as 'Tolon' among the commanders of a thousand in § 202 (for Tolon instead of Tolun, cf. below the name Turuqan, which in the Chinese sectional summary [Y² 9, 7b] is transcribed Toruqan – a common confusion since in Uighur-Mongol script the letters *o* and *u* are identical). According to Rašid al-Dīn, Tolun was a son of Father Mönglik. See SL², I/2, 176, 268. The same source (p. 268) lists him among the commanders of a thousand of the right wing. We are not informed, however, as to the role of his

father and of Turuqan (? Toruqan) to which our text refers. Cf. Li, 173, n. 212. Pao, 51, n. 36, makes Turuqan a brother of Tolun, which is speculative. See Na², 305.

'Being one of the two wings of (lit. "from" = "belonging to") your father', i.e. assisting him in the task at hand, namely the 'gathering' (= conquering) of the tribes. Cf. the sectional summary (Y² 9, 7b): 'Because you helped your father in gathering the people, I thereby gave you the title (*or* status) of *čerbi*.'

'You strove together' (*jiktüldüjü*). In the SH, mo. *jïdkü-* 'to pull; to endeavor, strive, exert oneself' (Les., 1049a), occurs in the forms *jïtkü-* (§ 121), *jïkdü-* (§ 177), *jïtgü-* (§ 195), and *jïktü-* (§§ 205, 212). Cf. 'Quelques problèmes', 271. Pao's comments on this word (Pao, 50, n. 35) are not pertinent.

'That you have acquired yourself and constituted *as your own patrimony*' (*ö'erün oluqsan jö'eksen*). For *jö'e-* (= mo. *jöge-*) 'to amass; to gradually constitute (as one's own patrimony)' in association with *ol-* 'to find', see Mo, 254-255. Cf. §§ 221, 224; above, n. 92, and, especially, below, n. 224.

§ 213. On the steward (*ba'urči*) Önggür of the Baya'ut, see § 120, where he is mentioned for the first time together with 'the three Toqura'un brothers', i.e. Qači'un Toqura'un, Qaraqai Toqura'un and Qaraldai Toqura'un of the Ĵalayir tribe, and 'the five Tarqut', i.e. Qada'an Daldurqan and his four brothers. Önggür and the other sons of Mönnggetü Kiyan led both the Baya'ut and the Čangši'ut. (For Mönnggetü Kiyan, see above, n. 50; Önggür, being his son, was Činggis Qan's first cousin.) Önggür and Boro'ul (~ Boroqul; see above, n. 137) were both put in charge of victuals – an important office. Cf. Ratchnevsky 1970, 420, n. 21. Önggür is the thirteenth commander of a thousand listed in § 202. In SL², I/2, 272, he is mentioned as a commander of a thousand of the left wing and the person in charge of food preparation. See Pelliot's long note on Önggür, the Baya'ut and the Čangši'ut in HCG, 79-112. Cf. also Li, 173, n. 213. On the relationship between Mönnggetü Kiyan and

Önggür, see W.K. Park in *MH* 2:1994, 48-62. In the present section, the name Toqura'un (§ 120) is in the plural form Toqura'ut, cf. Poppe 1975, 166.

'You ... have formed one camp for me', lit. 'You ... became one camp for me', i.e. they together made up one circular camp (*güre'en*) when they came to submit to Činggis Qan, then Temüjin, as related in § 120 (see, ad fin., the reference to Qorči and others who 'also came as one camp').

'In the fight' renders Mongolian *bulqa-tur* (= pmo. *bulγa-dur*) which would normally be translated as 'in the rebellion'; it is in fact glossed thus in the SH (9, 8a: 反亂裏), and is consequently rendered as 'in the revolt' in Cl, 154. However, the meaning of 'fight, battle' of *bulqa* is well attested (see 'Trois documents', 492-493, n. 85) and it does certainly apply here.

For the words 'When it was wet ... with me' in the poetic passage, cf. above, § 207.

As on previous occasions, I render the word *soyurqal*, which occurs frequently in these sections, as 'favour' as well as 'reward.'

'Scattered about' renders *bura tara*, an expression of the 'pêle-mêle' or 'harum-scarum' type which is quite common in Mongolian. The second element is undoubtedly *tara-* 'to disperse, scatter' (Les., 779b); the first element (*bura*) is, I think, chiefly phonetic. This expression is attested in one of the Mongolian documents in the Turfan collection in Berlin (Tuyluy's rescript of 1352). See MPr, 220 (line 6); MBT, 174 (70r6), where it is rendered 'in alle Richtungen.' Cf. eng. 'hither and thither.' It has also passed into Manchu. See Ligeti 1960, 236-237. Cf. Oz¹, V, 187, n. 4.

For the 'reconstitution' of the Baya'ut tribal grouping whose other leaders – Önggür's 'brothers' (*aqa de'ü*) – had evidently been dispersed as a result of the political and military events prior to Činggis Qan's enthronement, and the formation of a Baya'ut contingent which also comprised Čangši'ut tribesmen, all under Önggür's command, cf. Vlad.², 65 (where the 'Wangur' in line 7 is a misprint for 'Önggür'); and HCG, 80-82.

'Thereupon, Činggis Qa'an ordered, "Yes, be it so!", lit. 'When he (= Önggür) spoke (*ke'e'sü*), Činggis Qa'an said, "Yes, thus! (*je teyin*)."' For the expression *je teyin*, cf. the expression *je teli (deli)* 'Yes, be it so!', lit. 'Yes, that!' = 'Enough of it!' in § 246. See Mo, 173.

'Bring together your Baya'ut brothers and you take command – a thousand!', i.e. 'with your and their men form a unit of a thousand!' The syntax of the original is awkward: *Baya'ut aqa de'ü-yen čiči ulqaju čime minqan*, instead of ... *čime minqan mede*. For the expression *minqa(n) mede-* 'to be in charge of a unit of a thousand', cf. § 225 (R, 129, line 8802). However, as suggested by Mostaert (u.n.), the word *minqan* in our sentence must be taken in isolation: it follows the command for emphasis. Therefore, there is no need to amend the text, as some have done, particularly since the corresponding passage in the AT confirms the reading of the SH. See AT¹, 67b: ... *čičulyaju čime: mingyan-i kemebe*: (the copyist's side 'correction' of *kemebe* to *mede* is unwarranted: the *kemebe* of the AT simply stands for the *ke'en* of the SH). Cf. also Γa, 149: ... *čičulyaju čime. mingyan*.

For the poetic passage beginning 'Do not let it fall short' (*ülü duta'ulun*), see 'Trois documents', 463.

'My throat (lit. "gullet": *qo'olai*) will not choke', i.e. 'I will not choke with sorrow thinking of those who have not received their share of food.' See Mo, 205.

'The large *kumis* pitchers' renders the expression *yeke tüsürge* 'large *tüsürge*.' On the basis of the Chinese gloss and the context of the earlier occurrence of this word in § 130, I take it to mean a 'pitcher' or 'jug' used to pour *kumis* – '*cruche*' in Mostaert's translation (ibid.). The idea of pouring is implicit since *tüsürge* is a deverbial noun in *-qa(= -ya)/-ge* of *tüsür-* 'to pour.' Cf. the modern literary meaning of *tüsürge* 'watering can' (Les., 857b). Cf. kh. *tüsrég* id. The *yeke tüsürge* were the large pitchers or vats containing *kumis* ready to be served; they were placed on the bench near the entrance of the tent, and are known to us through medieval travellers' accounts. See H.

Serruys in his review of Pao's book (*MS* 24:1965, 478); and Cleaves 1954a, 448, n. 22. The SH does not indicate whether these particular containers were made out of skins, as stated by Serruys, or some other material. 'On the right and left sides of the large *kumis* pitchers' actually means on the right and left of the bench holding the pitchers, i.e. of the wine table. This explains, I think, why the interlinear version glosses the term *tüsürge* as *chiu-chü* 酒局 (here 局 = 具) 'wine service', i.e. all the objects (cups, bowls, etc.) used for the serving and drinking of wine (= *kumis*). See above, n. 187. They included, no doubt, also the bench or table holding them. Cf. Cleaves, loc. cit., and his rendering 'the great wine table' in Cl, 154. For Tolun see above, § 212.

'In the centre of the tent, facing north' renders *tüblen*, converbum modale of *tüble-* 'to be in the centre facing north.' Cf. mo. *töble-* 'to centralize' (Les., 831b). In Ordos this verb has retained some of its ancient meaning. See DO, 672b: *t'öblö-* 'prendre chacun sa place respective (convives à un banquet).' Do¹, 239, n. 11, regards the words 'facing north' of the Chinese gloss as superfluous; however, the fact that this interpretation of the Mongol term is found in *both* the interlinear version and the sectional summary shows that this was, indeed, the original meaning of the term. See Oz¹, V, 185 (cf., however, Oz², II, 94, and 116, n. 5); Cl, 154; Li, 98. On the seating arrangements at Mongolian banquets, see the interesting note by S. Jagchid in Yao-Ja, III, 342, n. 2. Cf. Ja, 323-324, n. 8; Ev-Pop, 292, n. 6. As for the historicity of the whole section, Pelliot, after his detailed investigation of Önggür's career, concluded that 'Le discours de Gengis-khan dans le § 213 de l'*Histoire secrète*, qui a des parties allitérées, peut très bien, comme tant d'autres, être un morceau littéraire inventé de toutes pièces' (HCG, 82).

§ 214. The four 'foundlings' were picked up by Mother Hö'elün in the enemy (in the text, 'other people's') camps, i.e. in the encampments of the Tatars (Šigi Qutuqu, § 315), Jürkin (Boroqul [~ Boro'ul], § 138), Uduyit Merkit (Küčü [~ Güčü], § 114)

and Tayiči'ut (Kököčü, § 119), where they had been abandoned after the fight.

'She placed you close to (lit. "in, by") her legs (or feet?: *köl*), i.e. to her body, for warmth, under the blanket. See Ev-Pop, 292, n. 7, for the Mongol custom of keeping children and old people warm in bed. Cleaves translates 'in her legs', i.e. between her legs, and explains in a footnote: 'In order to wash you, dress you, comb your hair, etc.' (CI, 155, and n. 20). Cf. Ra, IX, 114, 132 ('between her legs', i.e. in her lap), following most of the earlier translators. The expression *köl-düriyen dürüjü* is indeed rather ambiguous and the Chinese sectional summary is of no help; hence the diverging interpretations that we still have today. Cf. Li, 98; Oz², II, 94; Če, 201; On, 119. My present rendering is given with some reservations: my earlier rendering or Cleaves' interpretation may still be the correct one.

'She stretched your necks', lit. 'She pulled *you* by your necks.' 'She stretched your shoulders', lit. 'She pulled *you* by your collar-bone (or shoulder-blade: *egem*).' 'And made you into adults;/... into men', lit. 'She made you equal with (= to) a man (*giü'ün*);/.../She made you equal with (= to) a male (*ere*).'

'In order to make you the companions for us her sons', where 'companions' renders the Mongolian expression *nökör se'üder*, lit. 'companion-shadow', a '*mot-couple*' about which cf. Mo, 43, 152 (the 'XLV' on p. 272a, 1st line, is a misprint for 'XIV'); Cleaves 1964/65, 65-66, n. 63. For the association of the shadow with companionship, cf., e.g., the saying 'We have no friend (= companion: *nökör*) but our shadow, etc.' in §§ 77, 78.

For the words 'Who knows how many favours ...!', cf. Mo, 159; 'Trois documents', 463-464; Cleaves 1964/65, 60, n. 69.

'When we made swift sorties' (*qurdun ayan-tur*), lit. 'In swift expeditions (= raids).'

'Full of hatred and resentment.' Cf. above, § 136, and n. 149.

'We were taking revenge./We were requiting the wrong.' Cf. above, §§ 58, 154.

'Escaped' (*qarču*), lit. 'got out.' 'Outcast' (*o'určaq*, w.f. *oγurčay*): cf. RH, 79, no. 1: 'oγurčaq'; and SH, §§ 156, 200: *o'orčaq*. See above, n. 156.

'I am a beggar', lit. 'I am a seeker of good *things*' (*sayi eri'ülsün buyu*). For this expression, see Mo, 86.

Iseri, here meaning 'bench' rather than 'bed' as in Pao, 34. Cf. §§ 86, 169, 177. See also *Matériel I*, 64.

'Near the inside of the door', lit. 'at the door-back' (*ala'un-a*), i.e. in the least honourable place in the tent. Cf. § 165 and com.

The passage 'Tolui, who was five years old ... the eastern side of *my* mother's tent' is translated and discussed in Mo, 129-131. Cf. also Mostaert 1927, 152-153.

'Under his arm', lit. 'in his armpit.'

On the name Altani ('Crimson'), see Cleaves 1949b, 410-411. Besides the important contributions by Pelliot and Cleaves (see *ibid.*) to the explanation of the name Altani (~ Elteni; cf. Amal ~ Emel), one may add the possibility that this name is the feminine in *-i* (cf. the name Yisüi < *yisü[n]* 'nine' + fem. suff. *-i*; see above, n. 155) of the well attested male name Altan ('Gold'; cf. SH, § 51 et passim), in which case its meaning would be 'Goldy' rather than 'Crimson.' Cf. also Rybatzki [2003], s.v.; and below, concerning the name of Boroqul's wife and the historicity of the entire episode.

'On the eastern side of *my* mother's tent', i.e. on the side reserved for women. See Mostaert 1927, 153, n. 4.

On the plaits or pigtails (*šibülger* ~ *šibilger*) worn by Mongol men, see above, § 56 and com.

On the expression *ger-ün ümere* 'north of the tent', see Cleaves 1952, 101-102, n. 122.

Ĵetei of the Mangqut, the brother of Doqolqu Čerbi, is the twenty-third commander of a thousand listed in § 202; he first appears in the SH in § 120.

For *muqular* 'hornless (ox)', cf. above, n. 121.

For the obsolete term *jemlen* 'provisions, food', cf. *tu. yemlän-* 'to feed.' On this word, see Hattori 1957; Oz¹, V, 210-211, n. 17.

'On the spot', lit. 'right there' (*mün tende*).

The word *juldu* or, rather, *jüldü* (see below), glossed as 'chief merit' (頭功), is also no longer productive in Mongolian. Some scholars regard it as a variant reading of the word *jildü*, i.e. the chosen portion of a slaughtered animal (comprising head, trachea, lungs and heart), that we encountered in § 13. See above, n. 13. They point out that *jildü* ~ *jüldü* also had the related meaning of 'central, most important; best achievement' and the like. See Do², 171, n. 1; TH, 304-305 (= JYT, 528-530); Oz¹, V, 211-212, n. 19; El-Ar, 721, n. 17; On, 120, n. 280; Ev-Pop, 292, n. 9. The readings found in the corresponding passages of the AT are ambiguous: *jüil-dü* (? for *jildü*) in § 13 (AT¹, 5b), and *jildu* or *jildü* in § 214 (AT¹, 68b: the 'juldu' of ATL, 148, is an error for 'jildu'); however, they tend to support the above argument. With regard to the vocalization of this word in § 214, Pe, Ko, L², R, Daš, St, as well as Shi and Mu, read *juldu*, whereas Pao, TH, Oz¹, Ba, Γa, El-Ar, Će, On and Ev-Pop read *jüldü*. Cleaves 1953b (484, n. 3) is uncertain: '*juldu* (? *jüldü*).' The word occurs also in Turkic. Cf. čag. '*čuldu*' (DTO, 298; VWTD, III, 2178b) to be read *juldu* (N.P. p.c.) or *jüldü* (TMEN, no. 162) 'reward, recompense; present, prize.' However, in Turkic this word does not carry the primary meaning of 'a slaughtered animal's *praecordia*' as the word *jildü* does in Mongolian. Although the question of the identity of *jildü* and *juldu* (*jüldü*) remains open, the evidence is on the whole in favour of reading the word with front vowels and regarding it as a variant of *jildü*.

For the words '*Qargil Šira* would have harmed the life of the child', see Cleaves 1950, 129, n. 304.

'The chief merit went, *by general consent*, to Altani', lit. 'the chief merit was Altani's.' Cf. Cleaves, 1953b, 484, n. 3.

For the expression 'to be (or become) the second shaft of a cart', meaning 'to assist, be indispensable', see above, n. 186.

'When Boroqul was fighting *with us* against the Kereyit', lit. 'when Boroqul was fighting with the Kereyit.' For the incident involving Ögödei and Boroqul related in this section, see §§ 172-173.

'Boroqul got off his horse and stopped by him', lit. 'Boroqul, dismounting *from his horse over him*.' 'Dismounting' (*ba'ulduju*) is a reciprocal form in Mongolian because two persons are involved, even if one (Ögödei in this case) is a passive agent.

Pao's 'qaquqsan', 'congealed' (see Pao, 17, 131), is a mistake for 'haquqsan', nomen perfecti of *haq-* (= *mo. ay-*) 'to dry (up); (for blood) to clot.' The error goes back to HW, 56 ('hahhu' for 'hahhu'). This verb occurs also in § 145.

'Continuously sucking', lit. 'sucking and sucking.'

'He came bringing Ögödei *back* alive and safe', lit. 'he brought Ögödei's life safe.' See *Lettres*, 61. For the treatment of puncture wounds with sucking blood, see above, n. 145.

'He never tarried/At my beck and call,/At my voice and its echo', i.e. 'He served me promptly in all circumstances' – the 'echo' implying an indirect order, when difficult circumstances prevented a direct one.

The dramatic episode of Qargil Šira and Tolui related in § 214 is one of the most dramatic and vivid pages of the SH but, as already noted by other scholars, its historicity – at least in the form presented here – is highly doubtful. To begin with, there are irreconcilable problems of chronology. When the incident reputedly took place, about 1202, Boroqul would still have been a boy, while Tolui was not five (= four by our reckoning), but about twelve years old at the time. Moreover, the wife of Boroqul was not called Altani, but Teküi. See HCG, 375-376; Li, 173, n. 214; Hung 1951, 482. A different and more credible account of the incident is given by Rašid al-Dīn. According to him, the villain was a Tayiči'ut, not a Tatar, and the heroes who saved the five-year-old Tolui were his mother Börte, the twelve-

year-old Šigi Qutuqu and a sheepdog called Baraq. See SL², I/1, 108. While Pelliot is probably right concerning the epic nature of the SH account (of what may have been a real incident), I am of the opinion that the name Altani is not necessarily fictitious: Boroqul's wife may have been known by two names. Cf. de Rachewiltz 1999a, 76 and n. 35.

As Ligeti (loc. cit.) points out, in this section of the SH Boroqul is not referred to as one of Činggis' 'four steeds', nor as a commander of a thousand (no. 15 in § 202) and deputy commander of the right wing under Bo'orču (see above, n. 205; later, Boroqul himself became a commander of ten thousand; see SL², I/2, 268).

The section ends with exactly the same words that we read in § 215. Since this is clearly a scribal error, I have omitted them in my translation. However, following in Čendü Güng's footsteps (see Cè, 466), Onon is of the opinion that the words in question represent the actual end of § 214, and that § 215 is an erroneous repetition of the same. Onon also understands these words as meaning 'And again, he said, "As a favour, we shall give our daughters and their descendants to him [i.e. to Boroqul – I.R.] (and his descendants)."' See On, 121 and n. 282 (id. in the 2001 ed., 207 and n. 501). Cf. also Oz¹, V, 214-215, n. 23. In my view, this interpretation is untenable since the redundant words do not appear in the sectional summary of § 214 (Y² 9, 18b), indicating that the Ming editors did not regard them as part of that section. Moreover, the translation of these words as given in the sectional summary of § 215 (Y² 9, 19a) is: 'Činggis again said, "Let us give rewards to the daughters!"' The corresponding passage in the AT reads: 'Further, Činggis Qayan said, "Let Us give rewards to the female offspring (*ökin uruq*)!"' (AT¹, 69a). As noted by Cleaves, 'By the words *ökin uruq* "daughter seed" Činggis meant the female members of his family of which the first and the principal ones, of course, were his own daughters.' See Cl, 157, n. 27. This makes Onon's rendering doubly untenable.

§ 215. This, the shortest paragraph of the SH, is in all likelihood all that is left of a set of ordinances and injunctions concerning grants and rewards to Činggis Qan's daughters and granddaughters. Cf. Ratchnevsky 1976, 518. It is more than probable that they were purposely excised from the original text as a result of political events and internal disputes between the rival branches of Činggis' family – a further indication of later interference with the original text of the SH. The full text is also missing in the AT.

'Let Us reward', lit. 'Let Us give favour(s).' Cf. below, n. 224.

Ökin uruq (= mo. *uruq*) means, literally, 'daughter's kin (or descendants)', i.e. Činggis Qan's female offspring. Cf. above, n. 214.

§ 216. On Old Üsün, Qunan, Kökö Čos and Degei, and their observance of the principle of 'not hiding or concealing', see § 210 and com.

'What they thought and comprehended.' In the text, these two verbs are in inverse order. By 'what they thought' (*setki-ksen*) is meant also 'how they felt about something', the verb *setki-* (= mo. *sedki-*) meaning not only 'to think', but also 'to feel, be inspired, etc.' Cf. *Lettres*, 93; *Les.*, 680b.

'In the Mongol tradition it is customary for a high ranking personage to become a *beki*', lit. 'As for the Mongol tradition (*törö*), it is the custom (*yosun*) that a chief's position (*noyan mör*) becomes *that of beki*.' For *mör*, 'path, way, course', meaning also 'official duty or task; position, status, rank', cf. HW, 110; Cleaves 1993, 36, n. 42. For the title *beki*, see above, n. 49; and Ev-Pop, 293, n. 12. Cf. the sectional summary (Y² 9, 20b): 'Now, in (= according to) the Ta-ta (= Mongol) system, the office of *beki* is important.' Strictly speaking, *noyan* designated a military leader, a commander or chief, hence an 'officer'; however, this term was used broadly to designate also a high dignitary, a person in authority, a 'seigneur', i.e. a member of the ruling clan(s), irrespective of whether he had actual

command of troops (e.g., because of his age). See Vlad.², 88, 93, 111. Cf. above, n. 8. It appears that Old Üsün, a senior kinsman of Činggis Qan, held no military office. Cf. Li, 174, n. 216. What Činggis Qan says is that Üsün, by virtue of his being a senior kinsman loyal to him (which was not the case with other senior kinsmen, like, for instance, Dāritai Otčigin), should be duly rewarded with the honorary title of *beki*.

'Elder Brother the Ba'arin' (*Ba'arin aqa*) was Ba'aridai (ethnicon of Ba'arin), the eponymous ancestor of the Ba'arin (Bārin) tribe. See § 41. As explained by Mostaert, this Ba'aridai was the son of Činggis' ancestor Bodončar Mungqaq, but whereas Činggis was descended from him through Bodončar's principal wife, Ba'aridai was born from the Jarči'ut woman captured by Bodončar in a raid (§ 38). Ba'aridai must have been born before Qabiči Ba'atur, hence the respectful designation of *aqa* 'elder brother' employed here by Činggis Qan. See Cl, 157-158, n. 29; Cleaves 1963, 69. Cf. also Vlad.², 60-61.

'Who are from among us and senior to Us', lit. '*being* from among and above Us', i.e. being from the same family or kin (*uruq*) as Činggis, but 'higher', i.e. senior to him in age. The sectional summary merely says: 'Üsün, you are a senior descendant of the Ba'arin.' See Y² 9, 20b. This passage has been understood in various ways by different scholars and, unfortunately, it is not one of those discussed by Mostaert. Cf. Li, 100; Cl, 157-158; Oz¹, V, 219; On, 121 (cf. the 2001 ed., 207).

To wear a white dress, ride a white gelding and sit in an elevated position were marks of high status. For the significance of the colour white for the Mongols, see above, nn. 63, 111, 202. Riding a white gelding was also a special privilege. Cf. Cl, 158, n. 30; and below, n. 239. With regard to the high seat, i.e. the seat of honour, see above, n. 205.

'Yearly and monthly I shall hold discussions with you *to seek your advice*. Let it be so!', lit. 'Yearly and monthly discussing, thus let it be!' Cf. the same expression in § 204, and

Ligeti's pertinent remarks concerning the misinterpretation of this sentence by Haenisch. See Li, 174, n. 216. Ligeti points out that there is an inconsistency in Haenisch's translation of the same words in the two passages (Ha, 93, § 204, and 102, § 216). The same inconsistency is found in Kozin's work (Ko, 160 and 166). Both authors understand the text in § 216 to mean that Činggis would consult Old Üsün on the favourable years and months, i.e. in order to select a favourable one and avoid unlucky ones – through astrology and divination. It is my opinion that Haenisch's incorrect understanding of the sentence has passed into Kozin's translation (probably via HW, 132, s.v. 'satahu'); and that, in turn, this translation was uncritically adopted by Damdinsürēn (Da¹, 215; Da⁵, 181), whose heavy reliance on Ko is well known, and thence passed on to Ev-Pop (173, 186; 291, n. 68). Ultimately, the cause of the error is found in the Chinese sectional summary itself (Y² 9, 20b) which, departing somewhat from the earlier rendering (Y² 8, 34b), translates the Mongolian as follows: 'Choosing a good year and month, I shall consult with you and have you held in great esteem!' (你揀選箇好年月議論了教敬重者). This has mistakenly been interpreted as meaning that (as a soothsayer/shaman) Old Üsün should choose a favourable date for an undertaking. Cf. Pa, 123, 229, nn. 468, 469 (the translation in Wei, 149, is also off the mark); but Palladii himself (op. cit., n. 470) is not certain about the interpretation of the above sentence, which he describes as 'vague' (*neopredelennyi*). The Chinese is indeed deceptive, since there is no reference whatever to the 'choice' of a 'good' year and month in the Mongolian text. The rather loose paraphrase of the sectional summary must be understood in the sense that Činggis Qan will consult with Old Üsün (to obtain his advice on actions to take) 'at suitable (lit. "good") times or occasions (lit. "year and month") to be determined (lit. "choosing")', thus stating in effect what Činggis had said also to Father Mönglik in § 204. See Cleaves' rendering 'again, [with his] considering the year and the month³¹, let it be.' (Cl, 158.) Note 31 on the same page reads: 'To determine what

action it might be appropriate to take.’ Cf. his translation of the relevant words in § 204: ‘consulting [thee] in [each] year or in [each] moon’ (Cl, 145). The corresponding passage in AT¹, 69a, is unfortunately so corrupt as to be of no use whatsoever. The ambiguity of the sectional summary has led most translators astray, including Pao. See Pao 35 and 58, n. 68. Cf. also Heissig 1984, 319.

§ 217. This section merely repeats Činggis’ decree concerning the grant made to Quyildar’s children and descendants mentioned at the end of § 185. For other references to Quyildar’s services, see §§ 171 and 175. As stated by Ligeti, the decree has probably been repeated here for the sake of comprehensiveness. See Li, 174, n. 217.

§ 218. The death of Čaqān Qo’a (~ Čaqa’an U’a) of the Negüs (> Ne’üs) is mentioned in § 129, which relates how he was killed by Ĵamuqa at Dalan Baljut and his head dragged about attached to the tail of Ĵamuqa’s horse.

On Narin To’oril (= pmo. Toyoril, cf. above, n. 96), see HCG, 417, 421-422; Vlad.², 136; Li, 174, n. 218; Bese 1974, 94.

‘Was fighting zealously’, lit. ‘was fighting exerting himself (*kiči’eǰü*).’ For the verb *kiči’e-* (~ *kičiye-*) ‘to exert oneself, to apply oneself with zeal’, cf. HW, 101; TMEN, no. 350; ‘Quelques problèmes’, 258 (4); and above, n. 202.

For the grant of the bounty to orphans, cf. §§ 185 and 217. For Narin To’oril’s request to gather his scattered tribesmen, and for his hereditary appointment as their leader, cf. the same request by Önggür in § 213, where almost identical language is used.

‘To this’, lit. ‘being told *so*.’

In this, as in earlier sections (cf. §§ 208, 212), negative rhetorical questions are used in place of the imperative. Cf. §§ 203, 213: *či mede*.

§ 219. The famous episode that Činggis re-evokes is the one narrated in §§ 85-87. For the Tayiči’ut ‘kinsmen’ (*aqa de’ü*),

see § 76 and com. This is the first time that a reason, viz. jealousy, is given for the Tayiči’ut’s hostility towards Činggis Qan, then Temüjin. This ‘jealousy’ was due (as stated earlier) to the threat posed by Yisügei Ba’atur’s son to the chief of Tayiči’ut’s claims to the leadership of the Mongol clans. See above, n. 71. Sorqan Šira of the Suldus later joined Ĵamuqa’s camp, but eventually rallied to Činggis, as related in § 146, and Činggis accepted his explanation for his belated allegiance. However, he does not miss the opportunity of reminding him of this fact when he rewards him now for his services. Sorqan Šira is the twenty-seventh commander of a thousand listed in § 202, but his sons, strangely enough, are not listed among them, and were probably not appointed (Rašid al-Dīn does not mention any of them, not even Sorqan Šira, among the army commanders), even though Čila’un was one of the ‘four steeds.’ See Li, 174, n. 219. Cf. HCG, 153, 157. As rightly noted by Cleaves, the story as told in § 219 is somewhat at variance with the account in § 85, where it is stated that only Čimbai and Čila’un, displeased with their father’s words, made their younger sister Qada’an look after Temüjin. See Cl, 159, n. 35.

The verb *darqala-* ‘to be (= enjoy the privilege of being) a *darqan* (“freeman”)’ combined with *nuntuq* (= tu. *yurt*), i.e. the territory reserved for transmigration or ‘terrain de transhumance’ (Vlad.², 52, n. 1, 70 et passim; cf. TMEN, no. 1914), or with *nuntuqla-* ‘to set up a camp, to settle in a (particular) grazing ground’, means ‘to freely establish a camp or to encamp as a freeman’, i.e. to settle on, and make use of, a particular territory for grazing and hunting purposes without paying any of the dues to the ruler – the *darqan* being ‘free’ by definition from such obligations. For the special grant to Sorqan Šira and his sons, cf. Vlad.², 87; and Ratchnevsky 1987, 106. On the institution of *darqan* and the freeman’s privileges, see above, n. 51.

‘The territory of the Merkit on the Selengge River’, lit. ‘the Selengge – the territory (or country) of the Merkit.’

For the conferment of the hereditary privilege to carry a quiver and drink the ceremonial wine (*ötök*), see § 187 and com. concerning Badai and Kišiliq.

‘The words that you, Čila’un and Čimbai, once spoke’, i.e. the very words reported in § 85 that saved Činggis Qan’s life.

‘How will you be satisfied?’ (*ker qandaqu*), i.e. ‘what can I do to satisfy (= recompense) you?’ This simple question has caused much debate and controversy on account of the word *qandaqu* (the ‘handaqu’ of Pe, 86, is an incorrect transcription; cf. *ibid.*, n. 1), nomen futuri of the verb *qanda-* which has been variously rendered as 1) ‘to forget’ (Na², Ha, Ko, Da⁵, Li, Cl and others); 2) ‘to ignore’ (Mu, Pao, Ra, Ta); 3) ‘to treat (= recompense)’ (Do¹, Ma); 4) ‘to be satisfied’ (TH, Oz^{1,2}, El-Ar, On); 5) ‘to face (= address)’ (Če, Ev-Pop). The first interpretation is based on the free rendering of the sentence in question in the sectional summary (Y² 9, 27a): ‘How could I forget them?’ (如何忘得; but see below my comments on the meaning of this sentence). The second, on SH *qanda-* = mo. *qandu-* (cf. kh. and bur. *xanda-*) ‘to turn away (from something)’, i.e. to pretend not to know, to ignore. Cf. Kow., 725a: ‘détourner (les yeux), se détourner; prendre une autre direction.’ The third interpretation is based on another meaning of *qandu-* (*xanda-*) in the living languages, viz. ‘to treat.’ See, e.g., MED, 427a (2). The fourth, on the assumption that SH *qanda-* is the passive form in *-da-* of mo. *qan-* (*qang-*, *qanu-*) ‘to be satisfied.’ See Oz¹, V, 238-239, n. 8; and On, 123 and n. 285. Finally, the fifth is likewise based on SH *qanda-* = *qandu-* taken, however, in the sense of ‘to face’ → ‘to address.’ Cf. Les., 928a; MKT, 539b; MED, 427a (1). It should be noted that the Chinese gloss is rather puzzling, *qandaqu* being rendered with the expression *man li ti* 滿立的, lit. ‘which stands full.’ In Ra (IX, 137), I expressed the opinion that the character *man* 滿 is an error for *man* 瞞 ‘to close the eyes, conceal the truth, deceive’, so that this expression should be understood as ‘that stands closing the eyes’, i.e. purposely disregarding or ignoring. On

the other hand, Ozawa and Onon regard *li* 立 as an error for *tsu* 足, the second element in the common compound *man-tsu* ‘to be satisfied.’ The AT¹, 70a, has the corrupt form *aydaqu* for *qandaqu* (see ATL, 152), thus confirming the SH reading. Now, mo. *qan-* ‘to be satisfied’ occurs three times in the SH, twice in the factitive form *qangqa-* (= mo. *qangya-*) (§§ 145, 177), and once in the form *qang-* (§ 272), i.e. always as *qang-*, not *qan-*. See HW, 59, and 101, s.v. ‘kibḡanḡun’ (= *kib qangqun*). Furthermore, the interpretation ‘to be satisfied’ is unsupported by the sectional summary. One can point out that ch. *wang* 忘 ‘to forget’ is also used in the sense of ‘to neglect, be unmindful of’, and that this may well be the way it should be understood in the sectional summary (‘how can I neglect [= ignore] them [i.e. your words]?’). Cf. DCLC, 309a; CED, 1043b, no. 7036. Other arguments can be put forth in favour or against any of the above interpretations. Indeed, A. Mostaert (u.n.) has even hypothesized ‘*qanda-* pour *handa-* [cf. Pe, 86! – I.R.] = *anda-* = *ende-* “laisser échapper à son attention”; cf. lettre d’Öljeitü, l. 11. Cf. aussi § 200 *endegii*. *Andayu* ~ *endegii*.’ However, after having again reviewed all the published material, and on the grounds that 1) an emendation 滿足的 is definitely better than 瞞立的, and 2) one of the meanings of kalm. *xanda-*, previously unknown to me, is ‘to be satisfied’ (see KaRS, 575a [3]), I have now adopted, albeit with some reservations, the interpretation proposed by TH and Oz¹. This being so, the expression in Mongolian must be read *ker qandaqu ta* instead of *ker qandaqu*, i.e. with the pronoun *ta* ‘you’ belonging to *qandaqu*, not to the following sentence, as correctly punctuated in Pe, *ibid.*, but not in St, 110, line 9250.

‘What you have in mind’, lit. ‘your thoughts’, i.e. ‘your wishes.’

‘An intermediary’, lit. ‘a between-person (= middle-man)’ (*ja’ura gü’ün*).

'You in person', lit. 'You, by (= with) your own bodies (= persons)' (*ö'eriün beyes-iyer ... ta*). For *ö'esüt* 'yourselves, personally (pl.)', cf. DO, 541b.

For the poetic passage in this section, cf. the almost identical words of § 187. See above, n. 187.

For *haran* 'retainer', cf. the expression *haran tutqar* 'subject people and servants' in § 39.

On Yeke ('Big') Čeren, see §§ 51, 169; he is not to be confused with the homonymous Tatar chief of §§ 154-156.

'With my support' rather than 'you be my support', as understood by other translators (see, e.g., Če, 206, and Ev-Pop, 152), in view of the sectional summary paraphrase (Y² 9, 27a): 'Now, relying on me (= with my support), live happily!' (如今教倚仗着我快活者). For *turuq* 'prop, support', cf. above, n. 167. Do¹, 244, 246, n. 7, renders *turuq* as 'right-hand men' (股肱) – an unwarranted extrapolation.

§ 220. Old Širgötü (a contracted form of Širgü'etü; see below) of the Ničügüt Ba'arin (Bārin), with his two sons Alaḡ ('Mottled') and Naya'a (i.e. the Nayā Noyan of § 197), had been responsible for the capture and subsequent release of their former chief Tarqutai Kiriltuḡ, a leader of the Tayiči'ut tribe. The event, which is recalled here by Činggis Qan, is described in detail in § 149. Činggis at one point calls Širgötü's second son Naya'a Bilji'ur, i.e. Naya'a the Lark (for the meaning of *bilji'ur* ~ *bildu'ur*, see above, n. 160). The origin of this sobriquet is obscure, but it may have something to do with the episode of Qulan Qatun's 'abduction' described in § 197. See Pelliot's remarks in HCG, 162. The reference to the locality Qutuḡul Bend (Qutuḡul Nu'u), which is also mentioned in the original account in § 149, has been inadvertently left out in Cl, 259b (Index).

The 'great principle' (*yeke törö*) is not spelled out in the text, as is also the case in § 208 (and with *yeke yosu* 'the great norm' in § 252), because its meaning was obvious to Činggis' contemporaries. It is clear from the context that it refers always

to the cardinal principle of the *ḡasaḡ* governing the relationship and mutual obligations of lord (*qan*) and subject, and, specifically (in the present instance), to the loyalty due to one's chief. See above, n. 208. Cf. Ratchnevsky 1974, 473 and n. 10.

'I shall entrust him with an *important* task.' This statement is recorded in § 197 ad fin. There the text has *yeke üyile* (= *üile*), lit. 'a great matter', the reference being to his appointment as commander of the ten thousand of the centre, which is formally conferred on him in the present pronouncement. However, in our passage we have *niken üyile* 'a task' instead of *yeke üyile*. I think that the word *niken* is almost certainly an early scribal error (which has passed also into the text of the AT, see AT¹, 71a) for *yeke*, the two words bearing a very close resemblance to each other. In their written form, *yeke* and *nige(n)* (= mmo. *nike[n]*) are virtually indistinguishable.

With regard to his career, Naya'a is listed as the thirty-second commander of a thousand in § 202 (Alaḡ is the twenty-sixth). Furthermore, according to the SH, he was appointed to one of the highest positions in the army, that of commander of the division or myriarchy of the centre (*tüb-ün tümen*) – one, and the most important, of the three divisions of the Mongol army, the others being the myriarchy of the left or east wing (*je'ün qar-un tümen*) and the myriarchy of the right or west wing (*bara'un qar-un tümen*). For *tüb* (= mo. *töb*) 'centre, middle' as a military term, cf. TMEN, no. 995. Naya'a's appointment, however, is not recorded by Rašid al-Dīn, who mentions Naya'a only as one of the commanders of a thousand of the left wing and as a deputy of Muḡali, whom he replaced as commander of the left wing after Muḡali's death in 1223. See SL², I/2, 272. On the appointment of Bo'orču and Muḡali, see §§ 205 and 206.

Old Širgötü or Širgü'etü was the great-grandfather of the famous general Bayan of the Bārin. See Cleaves 1956, 194 and 202-203, n. 3, also on the various forms of Širgötü's name. For the name Alaḡ, cf. Rybatzki [2003], s.v.

§ 221. Ĵebe and Sübe'etei, two of the 'four hounds' of Činggis Qan and prominent military leaders, are naturally included in the list of § 202 (nos. 48 and 52). This section deals mainly with Činggis' order concerning the composition of their two units to the effect that these should be formed with men of their own tribes (Besüt and Uriangqai) of whom they were already in charge or, as the SH puts it, whom they themselves had 'acquired (or assembled) and constituted as their own patrimony.' For this expression, see above, n. 212, and below, n. 224. As noted in Li, 175, n. 221, Rašid al-Dīn lists Sübe'etei among the commanders of a thousand of the left wing, but not Ĵebe. See SL², I/2, 272.

§ 222. The 'shepherd' (on this epithet see below) Degei was a Besüt like Ĵebe, and first appears in § 120 as the brother of Küčügür and one of the early allies of Činggis Qan after the latter's separation from Ĵamuqa. See also above, n. 210. He is the eleventh commander in the list in § 202.

'Unregistered households' renders *bükde'ül* (= pmo. *bügdegül*; cf. AT¹, 71a: *bügdügül* < *bügdegül*), a term that occurs only once in the SH, where it is glossed *mai-mo* 埋沒 'conceal(ed)' (the 埋沒 in HW, 21, is a misprint), and the term is explained as 'unregistered people' (無戶籍的百姓) in the sectional summary (Y² 9, 30a). *Bükde'ül* is a deverbal noun in -'ül (-'ul; see JŚ, 53-54, § 80; GWM, 46, § 153) from *bükde-* 'to be hidden.' For *bük-* (= pmo. *büg-*) 'to hide, conceal; to lie in ambush', see HW, 21. It corresponds to mo. *büggü-* id. (see Les., 145a) and kh. *büg-* id. Thus *bükde'ül* literally means 'the concealed people' as a category or class of individuals. They included, no doubt, the many vagrant tribesmen or 'outcasts' (*o'orčaq* ~ *o'určaq*) mentioned in the SH (§§ 156, 200, 214), that had become homeless as a result of the breaking-up of their tribes by Činggis Qan. Cf. MI, 117 and n. 3; ISK, 149ff.; Vlad.², 141; and above, n. 214.

Regarding the epithet 'shepherd' (*qoniči*) given to Degei, see § 124, where Degei, declaring in what capacity he would serve the newly elected *qan*, says that he would 'tend the sheep.'

§ 223. The 'carpenter' Güčügür is none other than Degei's brother Küčügür mentioned with Degei in § 120. See above, n. 120, and n. 141 about his name. In § 124 he pledged to serve Činggis as manager of the tent-carts, hence his epithet of 'carpenter' (*moči*). Cf. the use of *moči* as a sobriquet prefixed to the name in the case of Moči Bedü'ün in § 120. Cf. also above, n. 209. Činggis' order is to the effect that a unit of a thousand was to be constituted for Küčügür, who had just been appointed a commander of a thousand (see § 202, no. 34), by levying a sufficient number of men from other commanders who had plenty (lit. 'from here and there'), the idea of gathering them in this way being regarded as equivalent to an exaction or levy, a meaning which is implicit in the verb *qubči-* used in this passage. For a discussion and translation of the entire § 223, see Mo, 131-135. Cf. also *ibid.*, 256, for Mostaert's further remarks on the meaning of *qubči-*.

Mulqalqu of the Ĵadaran was also mentioned in § 124 among those appointed to supervise the horseherds, but no separate military unit was assigned to him in 1206. He is now going to share the command of one with Küčügür (Güčügür). For other examples of joint leadership, see §§ 191, 209, 212, 225. Cf. Vlad.², 141. Mulqalqu is commended by Činggis for having been a 'perfect' (*ĵük-iyer*) companion to him. For the expression *ĵük-iyer* (= pmo. *ĵüg-iyer* or, more accurately, *ĵug-iyer*), lit. 'in a befitting manner', see Cleaves 1949, 101, n. 34; *idem* 1950, 108, n. 25; and 'Trois documents', 466.

§ 224. This, with §§ 191-192, is the most important section dealing with the early military system of Činggis Qan and the restructuring of the Guard (*kešik*). See above, n. 191, and the references given in n. 202 on the establishment of the one-thousand-man units. Further references will be given below.

The subject of the first long sentence in the text (*Ulus bayi'ululcaqsat ... bolju*) is Činggis Qan, who is mentioned immediately after as the subject of the next sentence (*Činggis Qa'an jarliq bolurun ...*). For stylistic reasons, in my translation I have transposed the subject to the beginning of the first sentence and divided the single sentence into several.

The formation of decimal units up to one thousand (*minqan*), following the model of the Kereyit army, is mentioned in § 191; one new development in the 1206 reorganization is the formal establishment of the three units of ten thousand or myriarchies (*tümen*), with their specific territorial control, and the appointment of their leaders. On the earlier *tümen*, see the remarks above, n. 104. Such comprehensive reorganization was determined also by the pressing need of breaking up the old clan ties and loyalties, as rightly pointed out by R. Hamayon (Hamayon 1979, 119 and n. 8). Cf. Vlad.², 139 and 156-158. The massive restructuring of the army is likewise intimately related to the rewards and commendations given by Činggis to his loyal followers which began in Chapter Eight and continue in the present one. I translate *soyurqal jarliq bol-*, lit. 'to order favour', as 'to commend.' For *soyurqal* 'favour, grace' → 'gracious deed, reward, privilege', see Murakami 1961, 311ff.; and above, n. 147.

With regard to the earlier recruitment of eighty nightguards (*kebt'e'ül*) and seventy dayguards (*turqa'ut*) to serve as bodyguards on roster (*kešigten*), see § 191 and com. for numerous references to the literature on the subject. In view of Činggis' exalted position now as supreme leader of all the tribes, i.e. of all the people of Mongolia, a much stronger contingent of picked warriors is called for to serve as bodyguards, attendants and service personnel. The rules and regulations governing the appointment of these élite guards form the substance of the present section, most of which has been translated by Cleaves (before the publication of CI) in Cleaves 1953, 46, n. 7; idem 1952, 108, n. 168; and by Mostaert in Mo, 256-257. For an important discussion of various technical terms and expressions

in this section, see the references given above, n. 191, and especially Mo, 250-257. For an excellent outline of the system in the early period, see YTSHT, 63-71, as well as MEYD, 36-38. Cf. also Vlad.², 156-158; and YShi, 78-80.

Činggis claims that now, by the strength (*or* might) of Eternal Heaven (*möngke tenggeri-yin güčün-tür*), his own power has been increased by Heaven and Earth (*tenggeri qajar-a güčü auqa nemegdeju*), and so he has brought the entire people to allegiance, causing them to come under his sole rule (*gür ulus-i šidurqutqaju qačča jilu'a-duriyan oro'uluqsan*). We encounter here, for the first time, the well-known 'initial formula' – i.e. the one often occurring at the beginning of Mongol decrees and official documents in the 13th century – *möngke tenggeri-yin güčün-tür* (= pmo. *möngke tngri-yin küčün-dür* [or *küčündür*]), about which much has been written. See 'Trois documents', 485-486; *Lettres*, 18-20; Hamilton 1972, 160-162; Cleaves 1979, 68; *Matériel II*, 19-20, 90-93. See also below, n. 275. I think that Hamilton, loc. cit., has convincingly shown that 1) the expression *küčün-dür* (SH *güčün-tür*) is a literal rendering of *tu. küčintä* 'thanks to (*or* by reason of) the strength' → 'from, through, because of, by' (cf. DTS, 323b); 2) the Chinese translation of *küčün-dür*, *ch'i-li li* 氣力裏, lit. 'in the strength', is a mere calque of the Mongolian expression and cannot, therefore, be understood in its literal sense; ergo 3) *küčün-dür* can only mean 'by (instr. = "thanks to, relying on, by means of") the strength', and not 'in (dat.-loc.) the strength.' We may add that, irrespective of the calque in the present instance, the use of the dative-locative for the instrumental, although rare in the ancient language, it is by no means unknown. See above, n. 152, for an example of this usage in the SH. And, with regard to the Chinese mechanical rendering of the Mongolian dative-locative with 裏, it is worth noting that in the case of the *dativus actoris* in passive constructions – grammatically indistinguishable from an *instrumentalis actoris* – the Chinese version also regularly employs *li*. A good example of the convergence of the

dative-locative with the instrumental case (which, incidentally, is also reflected in English) is found in the HIIY, IIa, 19v, 2: *qahan* (= *qa'an*) *anu qaraču tüšimel-ün qar-tur qoroqdabasu* 'When ... their emperor was harmed (= was killed) at the hands of (= by) a common official', glossed in Chinese as 皇帝他的下人 臣的手裏害被呵. Cf. *Matériel I*, 6, 21. No one would dispute that the idiomatic expression 'at (dat.: 裏) the hands of' = 'through (instr.) the action or agency of.' For the role of Heaven and Earth in supporting Činggis' actions and 'increasing his strength', cf. §§ 113, 121, 125, 201, 208, 254, 260, 281. For the 'mot-couple' *güčü auqa*, lit. 'strength – power' = 'power', see above, n. 199. For the expression 'to cause them (i.e. the entire people) to come under my sole rule' (*qaqča jilu'a-duriyan oro'ul-*), lit. 'to cause them to enter into my only reins (= control, rule)', cf. § 208 and com. See Cleaves 1952, 108, n. 168. For an earlier reference to the bringing to allegiance of the people, i.e. of the various tribes of Mongolia, and the establishment of a unified nation in connection with the new military appointments, see § 202. Cf. also Jamuqa's words in § 201.

The entire passage from 'Further, Činggis Qa'an proclaimed the following order to the various thousands' to 'as well as to the sons of ordinary people.' So he ordered.' has been translated and discussed in Mo, 250-257. The following are some additional comments on this passage. 'The various thousands', lit. 'the thousands and thousands.' 'To serve by Our side', i.e. to personally attend to Činggis Qan's needs and safeguard his person. The 'ordinary people' (*düri-yin gü'ün*) are the people of ordinary status already mentioned in § 191. See above, n. 191. For the particle *gü*, used again here with the meaning of 'also, likewise', see above, n. 117. For the 'mot-couple' *ula'a* (see above, n. 199) *güčü* 'mount, a riding horse requisitioned for such use', cf. Mo, 43, 254. 'They have personally acquired and constituted as their own patrimony' (*inu beye qad-iyar oluqsan jö'eksen*): for the understanding of this

sentence, and the expression *beye qat* (= pmo. *beye qad*) 'body, person', see Cleaves 1949, 126-127, n. 222; idem 1953, 78, n. 7; Mo, 242 and n. 224, 257, n. 244; and above, n. 212. 'Independently of (lit. "apart from") their personal share of goods' (*inu emčü qubi-ača anggida*). For these words, see Cleaves 1953, 78, n. 7; Mo, 246, n. 232, 257, n. 244. Cf. also Haenisch 1961, 146.

'The numerous ordinary people' (*olon gü'ün*) are the *duri-yin gü'ün* mentioned earlier.

'Who have received this order of Ours', lit. 'having caused one to deliver this Our order to them.'

'Anyone who transgresses it shall be guilty and liable to punishment.' See above, n. 203.

For the sentence 'As to the people ... out of Our sight', see Mo, 243-244, n. 228. Cf., however, the somewhat different interpretations of this sentence in Pao, 38-39; Oz¹, V, 269-271, n. 12; On, 125; Če, 209; and Ev-Pop, 190. See also Waley 1960, 528. 'To send a person to a distant place out of sight' (*nidün-ü ečine qolo qajar-a ile-*) is a paraphrase for 'to banish.'

'In order to learn', lit. 'saying that they would learn.'

§ 225. This section is a continuation of the ordinance on the appointment of the dayguards, the nightguards and their commanders. For the earlier appointment of the eighty nightguards (*kebte'ül*), see §§ 191 and 192.

'He brought their number up to', lit. 'he made them into.'

'Make up a full thousand', lit. 'fill a thousand', i.e. to form a unit of a thousand (*minqa*). Cf. §§ 207, 224.

Yeke Ne'ürin (AT¹, 72b: Yeke Negürin), the officer appointed as commander of the thousand nightguards, appears here for the first and only time in the SH. He is not mentioned by Rašid al-Din.

Whereas the earlier appointment of the eighty nightguards is recorded in the SH, there is no previous mention of the four hundred quiverbearers; however, their duties are set out in § 192. Yisün Te'e is the same personage as Yisün Tö'e of § 278.

His name means 'Nine Spans' (*yisün* 'nine'; *te'e* < *tö'e* 'span'). This son of Ĵelme reappears in §§ 230 and 234. He is mentioned in both the Chinese and Persian sources. See YS² 3, 45; SL², I/2, 267, 269; *Successors*, 138, 139, 180, 204, 213. He was executed in Möngke's post-election purges in 1251. Tüge, the Tüngge of § 137 and Tüge of § 202 (no. 10 in the list of commanders of a thousand), was the eldest son of Čila'un Qayıči, himself the second son of Telegetü Bayan of the Ĵalayir and uncle of Muqali. See above, n. 137. Thus, Tüge or Tüngge was Muqali's first cousin. On the variants of Tüge's name, see *ibid.* For Bügidei (~ Bükidei), see also §§ 230, 234 and 278.

'The various companies', lit. 'companies and companies' (*keşik keşik*). Cf. Cl, 164: 'the diverse companies'; On, 125: 'shift (by) shift.' For *keşik* 'company' or, more precisely, 'section ou compagnie alternantes de la garde', i.e. a 'watch', see Mo, 247.

Horqudaq, the leader of the third quiverbearers company, is also mentioned with Yisün Tö'e, Bükidei and Labalqa (~ Lablaqa) in § 278. Neither Horqudaq nor Lablaqa is mentioned by Rašid al-Dīn.

'These four shall make their quiverbearers join the various companies, etc.' This difficult passage is rendered differently by most translators. See Pao, 67-68, n. 95; Cl, 164; On, 125-126; Oz², II, 107; Če, 209; Ev-Pop, 190. To understand what the author means, we must take into account the similar passage in § 278, which runs as follows: *Basa qorč'in-i Yisün Tö'e Bükidei Horqudaq Labalqa dörben keşik keşik bolun qor aqsaqui-a turqa'ud-un dörben keşik keşik-tür ačid-un qorč'in-ıyan jasaju oroldutuqai ke'en jarliq bolba*. 'Further, he (Ögödei Qa'an) ordered, "As to the quiverbearers, Yisün Tö'e, Bükidei, Horqudaq and Labalqa (= Lablaqa), forming four separate companies and marshalling (*jasaju*) their quiverbearers of the bodyguards (*ačit*), they shall respectively join (*oroldutuqai*) the four separate companies of the dayguards to carry quivers (*qor aqsaqui-a*).'" The meaning of the passage is that the four companies (*keşik*) of quiverbearers led by Yisün Tö'e, etc. –

each company comprising two hundred and fifty men with Yisün Tö'e as commander-in-chief – were to join (lit. 'enter in, enrol') the four companies of dayguards (*turqa'ut*), each comprising two thousand men (on the establishment of the eight-thousand-strong dayguards force, see § 226), and share guard duties with them in the daytime. The reason for this move is given in both passages as *qor aqsaqui-a*, i.e. 'in order to carry (lit. "put on, attach") quivers'; in other words, in order that the dayguards, who did not carry quivers, had serving with them quiver-bearing guards – an élite group of warriors that would strengthen their effectiveness and overall capacity. At sunset, on completion of their dayguard duty (*üdür-ün yabudal*), the quiverbearers were to retire for the night, leaving their quivers with the incoming nightguards. See § 229.

§ 226. This section deals with the reorganization of the dayguards (*turqa'ut*), whose number had earlier (§ 191) been fixed at seventy, with Ögele Čerbi and Qudus Qalčan as joint commanders (lit. 'acting in consultation with each other').

'Bringing the number of dayguards ... up to a full thousand', lit. 'on top of the dayguards ... filling a thousand.' Cf. above, n. 225.

In the SH, Ögele (Čerbi) ~ Ögöle ~ Ögölei ~ Ögölen. See above, n. 120. Oz¹, V, 227, has adopted the incorrect reading 'Ögere.' 'From the family of Bo'orču' (*Bo'orču-yin uruq-ača*): see § 120, where it is stated that Ögölen Čerbi was Bo'orču's 'younger brother' (= cousin).

Buqa was Muqali's younger brother. See §§ 137, 227, 234 and 239. He must not be confused (as in Na², 280) with Buqa Güregen (no. 81 in the list in § 202), who was a Baya'ut. See HCG, 84-85, 370.

Alčidai is the younger brother (or cousin?) of Ilügei (no. 5 in § 202) of the Ĵalayir tribe. He is not to be confused with the homonymous nephew of Činggis Qan – the son of his younger brother Qači'un – on whom see below, n. 242. See SL², I/1, 95. Our Alčidai was executed with Yisün Te'e (Tö'e) and others in

1251. See YS² 3, 45; HWC, 580, 583; *Successors*, 66, 89, 211, 224, 264. His name is sometimes written Elčidei or Eljidei owing to the ambiguity of the Chinese and Persian transcriptions, and because there were several personages by this name. There is much confusion about these names, which makes identification difficult. See Li, 175, n. 227; *Chapitre CVII*, 29-30, n. 1. On him, cf. also MPa, 171-172, n. 3; NMP, II, 642; and below, nn. 255 and 277.

Dödei Čerbi and Doqolqu Čerbi were last mentioned in § 210. For the order in which these chamberlains appear in the SH, cf. Hambis 1975, 43, n. 64. For the erroneous statement concerning Doqolqu Čerbi's family in SL², 1/2, 272, see HCG, 353; Li, 175-176, n. 227.

Čanai, from the line of the Uru'ut chief Jürčedei (see § 130; last mentioned in § 209), will become a post-stations commissioner under Ögödei. See §§ 234, 279. His possible identification with the famous chancellor Čingqai (ca. 1169-1252), proposed in BNMAUT¹, 401, n. 1, is groundless.

Aqutai (AT¹, 73a: Ayutai) is mentioned again in § 234. On him, cf. MWESC 23, 5b; and Cleaves' remarks in Cleaves 1951, 23, n. 118.

Alči is probably Alči Noyan, Dei Sečen's eldest son and brother of Börte, but his identification with the Alči mentioned in §§ 202 (no. 71) and 253 is not certain, since Alči Noyan may well be the same person called Alči Güregen in § 202 (nos. 86, 87, 88), as suggested in Na², 281-282. See Pelliot 1935, 908-917 (esp. pp. 909, 916-917); and TP 21:1922, 67. Cf. Cleaves 1951, 15 and 23, n. 118.

As for the last commander of the dayguards, Arqai Qasar, in 1203-1204 he had already been appointed leader of an élite one-thousand-man corps which on the battlefield was to fight before Činggis Qan, and in time of peace was to serve as dayguards. See § 191. On 'the many days of peace', see above, n. 191.

'Attached to Us', lit. 'in the presence of Us' (*bidanu ča'ada*), since they were regarded as 'personal guards' (*emčü kešikten*), as clearly stated in § 231. For the word *ča'ada* (=

pmo. *čayada*; cf. AT¹, 73a, and ATL, 158), see de Rachewiltz 1997/98.

For the term *yeke qol* 'the main body of the army', cf. above, nn. 142, 170, and below, n. 247. With the establishment of the eight units of a thousand of the dayguards and the appointment of their commanders, an eight-thousand-man force was formed which, with the 'enrolment' of the two thousand nightguards and quiverbearers (1000 + 1000; see § 225), constituted the ten-thousand-man division, or myriarchy, known as *qol* or *yeke qol*. In this way, the Guard (*kešik*), as the *yeke qol*, became the main nucleus or central core of the whole Mongol army (*čerik*). This was a major innovation. See MEYD, 37ff.

§ 227. In this section we have the ordinance concerning the appointment of senior officers, called *ötögüs*, lit. 'elders', in charge of the four two-thousand-man strong companies of guards (*kešik*) who were to serve on a three days' roster. As we have seen (§ 225), they were assisted by the four two-hundred-and-fifty-man strong companies of quiverbearers. The four 'elders' were the above-mentioned Buqa, Alčidai, Dödei Čerbi and Doqolqu Čerbi, chosen from the commanders of the eight units of dayguards. See § 226.

'After spending three days and nights with them' (*qurban qonolduju*). This statement has been incorrectly understood as meaning simply 'three nights' by the authors of the sectional summary (Y² 9, 44a), as well as by Haenish (Ha, 106), followed by several other scholars (Po, 168; Li, 104; Cl, 165; On, 126; and LDAT, 160) including all the Japanese and Chinese translators. The meaning is 'three full days', even though, strictly speaking, *qono-* is 'to spend the night.' See above, n. 80. However, most Western translators, beginning with Kozin, have understood the text correctly. See Ko, 170; Te, 152; Ka, 145; Ta, 159; Fe, 143; Ev-Pop, 192. Indeed, given the context, no other interpretation is possible.

'A member of the Guard', lit. 'a man of the Guard' (*kešiktii gü'ün*). For this expression, see Mo, 247.

'That has so failed', lit. 'that has failed to take his turn of duty.'

'Shall be disciplined', lit. 'let one teach him', as in 'to teach a lesson.'

The passage 'If a member of the Guard ... out of *Our* sight', has been translated and discussed in Mo, 241-249. For the expression 'to send someone to a distant place, out of sight', i.e. to banish him, see above, n. 224.

The second ordinance in this section, regarding punishment (from beatings to banishment) for those who fail in their guard duty, is quoted almost verbatim in § 278. See Mo, 239-241.

'Every third turn of duty' (*quta'ar quta'ar*), i.e. every third shift, each shift (as just indicated in the ordinance) remaining on duty for three days. Cf. H. Serruys in *MS* 24:1965, 479 (reviewing Pao's translation). In § 278 it is further specified that the proclamation of the order takes place when the guards are relieved.

'Who have enrolled as guards equal (*sača'u*) to you', i.e. who, in their status as members of the Guard (*kešikten*), are equal to their chiefs, the company elders. This point is missed if one translates *sača'u* (= mo. *sačayu*) merely as 'equal in rank' (Ha, 107; Li, 104), since the elders were obviously superior in rank to the ordinary guards. Cf. Mu, III, 47.

'Merely on the ground of seniority', lit. 'only (*ele*) saying that (= because) they are excelled *by you* in seniority (= command)', i.e. 'only because you are their seniors (*or* superiors in rank; see below).' Cf. Cleaves 1953, 80, n. 12. For the use of *ele* 'only, simply' twice in this section, cf. Street 1986, 21-22 (36). Cf. also Pelliot 1949, 624, n. 28. As for the obsolete verb *hončit-* (*onžit-* in § 278) 'to reprimand', cf. Pelliot 1925, 221, no. 43; Oz¹, V, 298, n. 10.

'If *any of them* breaks the law' (*jaša[q] kōnde'esü*), i.e. if they transgress any of the principles and rules of the *jaša*q with regard to their duties. For the expression *jaša*q *kōnde-*, cf. Cleaves 2001a, 48-49, n. 79. See also on this issue, Pèrlée 1962, 29-31; Ratchnevsky 1974, 473, n. 8; idem 1987, 106; de

Rachewiltz 1993, 98-100. As evident from the text of the SH and the above discussions, a breach of the ordinances concerning the Guard constituted a violation of the *jaša*q, which was to be expected since the safety and protection of the *qan* depended entirely on the loyalty and reliability of his Guard. Cf. the same regulations to this effect repeated in § 278.

'Those liable to execution', lit. 'those whom it is proper (i.e. according to the *jaša*q) to execute.' For *mököri'ül-* 'to execute, cut down', cf. above, n. 149.

'If you yourself, ..., lay hands ... and strike', lit. 'If, causing your own hands – feet (= hands) to reach ... you strike.' For the 'mot-couple' *qar köl* 'hands', see above, n. 189.

'You shall be repaid with strokes of the rod ... with fists', i.e. with an equal number of strokes and with an equal number of blows. For the final passage of this section, cf. Mo, 110.

§ 228. By 'the outside (*qadanadus*) commanders of a thousand (hundred, ten)' are meant the commanders of the units of a thousand (hundred, ten) who did not belong to the Guard, i.e. the commanders of the two wings of the Mongol army who did not enjoy the privileged status of the members of the Guard. Cf. Vlad.², 157-158.

The attendants (*kötöčün*) were the retainers of the guards. Since the latter had an exalted position vis-à-vis the regular army men, their personal attendants also enjoyed a proportionately high status.

In this section, the commanders of a thousand (*minqad-un noyat*), lit. 'commanders of thousands', are also referred to as *minqali'ut*, which I render as 'leaders of a thousand.' *Minqali'ut* is the plural of *minqaliq* (= pmo. *minyaliq*), a denominal noun in *-liq* (= *-liy*) from *minqa(n)* 'a unit of a thousand men', sometimes referred to as a chiliarchy (see above, nn. 170, 191). The medieval Mongols had several related terms designating the same military functions and ranks. Another name for a commander of a thousand not found in the SH, but occurring in the HIIY, was *minyantu* (= mo. *mingyatu*). See *Matériel II*, 109

(19v, 2), 111 (20v, 2). Cf. also Mo, 247-248; and Poppe 1975, 166.

'Regarding themselves as equal to and a match for my guards', lit. 'making themselves equal to my guards and matching them.'

§ 229. This section contains further regulations concerning the duties of the guards protecting the *qan*'s tent, several of which are repeated with small variations in § 278. Following Cleaves (Cl, 166), I have added the stewards (*ba'urč'in*) to the quiverbearers (*qorč'in*) and dayguards (*turqa'ut*) in view of what follows, even though the *ba'urč'in* are not mentioned in the parallel passage of AT¹, 74a.

'Each at his respective post' renders *jük jük mör mör-tür-iyen*, lit. 'in their every direction and every way (= task, duty)', i.e. each in his assigned place and at his assigned duty. Cf. the *mün mün mör-dür-iyen* 'their respective tasks' of § 192.

'As the sun sets', lit. 'at the moment when the sun is fiery' (*naran-u qaltai-a*). Cf. the passage at the beginning of § 192: 'Before the sun sets ...'

'Beside Us', lit. 'by Us' (*bidan-tur*).

'The quiverbearers ... shall stay (lit. "sit") at the horse station (*kirü'e-tür*) while (lit. "until") We eat Our soup.' Cf. the corresponding ordinance in the earlier system as set out in § 192. For the *kirü'e* 'horse station', see above, n. 131.

'According to this ordinance' (*ene qauli-bar*). For *qauli* (transcribed *qa'uli*, as in 'ph.; cf. MMHS, 129a) 'ordinance, rule' (mo. id.), see TMEN, no. 261 (where, however, the reading '*qāvulī*' should, I think, be amended to '*qā'ulī*'); Les., 946a-b. Cf. also SG, 256.

'Who moves about crosswise at the rear or front of the Palace.' The text says: 'who goes crossing sideways (*ketügelen yabuqu*) at the rear and front (*qoyina'un urida'un*) of the Palace (*ordo*)', meaning any person who crosses the area south and north of the Palace precinct, i.e. the perimeter of the *qan*'s tents, coming from the side. Such an action would obviously be

regarded as suspicious. 'Palace' is the rather imperfect rendering of *ordo* (calqued on ch. *kung* 宮 id., the usual rendering of this term in the SH; cf. HW, 125), a term designating here the complex of tents and other structures forming the living quarters of the *qan* and his dependants – a forbidden precinct in the middle of the encampment (often on a slight elevation) guarded day and night by the *kešigten*, and several descriptions of which are given in medieval travellers' accounts. See, e.g., MM, 60-65, 126, 150-151, 175-180. For this early period I prefer to avoid the rendering 'imperial camp (or encampment)' used by other translators (e.g. Ev-Pop, 193 et passim) for obvious historical reasons: 'royal encampment' (as in NMP, I, 309) would be better. Other translators, like Cleaves, prefer to leave this well-known term untranslated. For this term, see above, n. 123. By *ger* 'tent', occurring later in this section, is meant the *ordo ger*, i.e. the 'Palace tent' of Činggis Qan. See *ibid*.

'For the night', lit. 'passing the night.' For *manaqari* ~ *manaqaru* 'the following morning', see above, nn. 159 and 192.

'Shall question him', lit. 'shall ask his words', i.e. of explanation.

'When the company is relieved (*kešik ye'ütkekdürün*) ... when relieved (*ye'ütgejü*)', lit. 'At the moment when the company changes place with the relief company ... changing place with the relief company.' Cf. Mo, 247.

'Their passes' (*belge anu*), i.e. their tokens of identification. For *belge*, see above, n. 66.

On the nightguards 'lying down all around the Palace' (*ordo horč'in gebte-*), and those 'standing at the door' (*e'üten-tür bayi-*), i.e. protecting the *qan*'s residence and guarding the entrance, see also § 192. 'Who stand guarding the door' is, literally, 'who stand securing (= barring) the door' (*e'üten daružu bayiqsat*). Cf. § 246.

'Shall hack any person entering at night until their heads are split open and their shoulders fall apart', lit. 'hacking (or cutting) people who shall enter at night until their heads are split asunder (*dalbaru*) and their shoulders fall.' For the adverb

dalbaru ‘split open along a vertical line’, formed on *dalba* ‘split open’ (adv.) + the suffix of direction *-ru* (on which see GWM, 59, § 215; Mo, 17, n. 11, 47), see Bese 1969, 123. Cf. mo. *dalbara-* ‘to split open’, and *darbaγar* ‘wide open, gaping, split up’ (MKT, 1134a,c; Les., 232a). Cf. ma. *dalbarame* ‘along the side’ (CMEL, 53a), and jü. *dalbara* (ma. *dalba*) ‘side’ (SSJ, 99b). In the SH, the Ming translators have rendered the expression *dalbaru čabči-* once as ‘to cut breaking (apart)’ (§ 229: 打破...砍), and twice as ‘to cut (split) open’ (§§ 255, 278: 劈開). See HW, 31. In the sectional summary of § 229 (Y² 9, 49b), it is rendered less accurately as ‘to break (or smash)’ (打破). This has misled several translators, including myself in Ra, IX, 126. The same expression is used in the poetic passage in § 255. As for those ‘entering at night’, the reference is to persons who try to enter without due authorization in the form of a token or mark of identification (*belge*), or a verbal permission (*kele*, lit. ‘word’; see below).

For the ordinance concerning the delivery of urgent messages, cf. § 169 and com.

‘No one is to sit in a place above the nightguards’, lit. ‘No one is to sit in a seat above (*de’ere*) the nightguards’, i.e. no one is allowed to stop and stay anywhere beyond and behind the sentries, in other words, past the limit between these and the tent.

‘Without permission’, lit. ‘without word’ (*kelen ügei*), i.e. without the nightguards’ authorization.

‘No one is to walk up beyond (*dege’ün*) the nightguards’: just as one was not allowed to stop and sit in the area between the sentries and the tent, so one is also not allowed to walk in that same area. For *dege’ün* ‘on the upper side, above, higher than’ = ‘beyond’, cf. Ligeti 1971, 146-147; Oz¹, V, 310-313, n. 7. This entire sentence is omitted in Pao’s translation (p. 41).

‘One must not walk between (*jaqa’un*) the nightguards.’ For *jaqa’un* ‘between’, cf. Ligeti 1971, 147; Oz¹, V, 313-314, n. 7.

For the removal of the gear and clothing of enemies (and culprits in general), cf. Serruys 1982a, 126. Some translators understand this passage to mean that not only the gear and clothing of the transgressor shall be seized by the nightguards, but he will also be arrested. See Cl, 167; On, 128; Street 1990, 175; Oz², II, 113. However, the sectional summary (Y² 9, 49b) specifically omits the transgressor, as rightly noted by Haenisch and Ligeti (Ha, 108; Li, 105), and he is also not included in the seizure in most other translations. Cf., e.g., Do¹, 255; Ta, 161; Ev-Pop, 194.

Some of the above regulations, as well as the reference to Eljigedei’s misadventure – about which nothing else is known – are quoted by Ögödei in § 278. For these regulations, cf. also Pérlée 1962, 31-32. Eljigedei (~ Eljigidei, meaning ‘Donkey’) reappears in § 275 as the father of Harqasun. They are both well-known personages. See below, nn. 275 and 278. The Western travellers to the Mongol court in the 13th century bear witness to the strict observance of those regulations and the harsh treatment meted out to those who unwittingly infringed them. See, e.g., MM, 61-62.

‘Was he not arrested?’, lit. ‘how was he arrested ...?’

§ 230. This section is almost entirely taken up with Činggis’ words of praise for his faithful nightguards.

‘Lying down around’, lit. ‘Lying down surrounding’ (*e’eren kebtejü*). Cf. §§ 192 and 229, and a few lines below in the present section, where *horčün* ‘(all) around’, is used instead of *e’eren*. For *kebte-* ~ *gebte-*, see “Quelques problèmes”, 241.

‘Vented tent’, lit. ‘tent having a smoke-hole (*örügetei*).’ For *örüge* ~ *erüge* (HW, 46, 128) ‘smoke-hole on top of the yurt’, cf. mo. *erüke* ~ *örüke* id. See also RH, 70, no. 29; SG, 152; DO, 538b; ‘Quelques problèmes’, 268; and above, n. 21. .

‘Ensured that I slept’, lit. ‘Let (or made, caused) me to sleep.’

‘In quiet and peace’ (*örüik nuta*). *Örüik* (w.f. *örüg*) is a borrowing from uig. *örüg* ‘quiet, rest.’ See ED, 222b; DTS, 390b.

Cf. Mo, 145; and below, n. 255. *Nuta* in Written Mongolian and the living languages (cf. kh. *nut*) means ‘firm, strong.’ See Les., 596b; Cév., 390a. This meaning is clearly related to the ancient meaning of ‘(at) peace, (at) rest’, from which derives ‘not movable’, hence ‘firm.’

For the ‘Palace tent’ (*ordo ger*), see above, n. 229.

‘Ensured that I was without fear’, lit. ‘You have not made me afraid’ (*ese oqjatqaqsan*), i.e. ‘you have caused me not to be afraid.’ For the verb *oqjatqa-* ‘to frighten’, see above, n. 193.

‘In the swirling snowstorm,/In shivering cold, in pouring rain’, lit. ‘in the snowstorm that is moving (i.e. changing position),/In the cold that makes one shiver, in rain that is pouring.’ For *ǰü’en* ‘cold’, cf. Cleaves 1996, 40, n. 333. For *šilgütke-*, factitive of *šilgüt-* (= mo. *silgüd-*) ‘to tremble, shiver’, see Les., 706b. Cf. Mostaert 1939, 329; Cleaves 1991, 140, n. 47; Oz¹, VI, 10-12, n. 6.

‘Taking no rest’ (*ǰirim ülü kin*), lit. ‘not making *ǰirim*.’ The word *ǰirim*, glossed as ‘a short rest’ (略歇息), is apparently unattested elsewhere in Mongolian. As pointed out by N. Poppe (p.c.), Karaim has a word *čirim* meaning ‘slumber.’ See VWTD, III, 2126b. Cf. TH, 300-301 (= JYT, 522-523); Oz¹, VI, 13, n. 8. *Čirim* is actually the form found in AT¹, 75a. See ATL, 162. Poppe has suggested a possible relationship with ord. *Džirmī-* ‘regarder en fermant à moitié les yeux’ (DO, 202b) < *ǰirim-ii-* = mo. *ǰirmeyi-* ‘to squint’ (Gol., III, 369c). Thus, there are two possibilities: 1) ‘not making slumber’ = ‘without even slumbering’; and 2) ‘not blinking’ = ‘without even blinking’ – both of them fitting the context. In view of the fact that the expression ‘not blinking an eye’ occurs a few lines below, I have rendered *ǰirim ülü kin* as ‘taking no rest.’

‘Latticed tent’ (*šiltesütei ger*), i.e. with a lattice frame (*šiltesü*, mo. *süldesü[n]* ‘splints or strips of bamboo’), as the traditional tents are made. See Les., 743a. The entry on *süldesü* is misplaced in MKeT, 2146b.

‘Trouble-making enemies’ (*ibulun* [? *ibülün*] *büküi dayi-sun*), i.e. who are causing great commotion and disorder – on the basis of the Chinese glosses. See HW, 80, s.v. ‘ibuľgu.’ However, On, 129, takes this expression to mean ‘simmering enemies’ (‘surging foe’ in the 2001 ed., 218), and Oz², II, 126, renders it as ‘swarming enemies.’ Cf. Oz¹, VI, 13-15, n. 9. The whole section from *ibulun* to the end of the poetic passage (*ke’ekdün*) is translated and discussed in Mo, 135-142. The following are a few additional remarks on individual words and expressions.

‘Felt-girt tent’, lit. ‘tent having (= with) *irge*’ (*irgetei ger*), *irge* being the broad protective felt band surrounding the lower portion of the tent on the outside. On this word, cf. also Oz¹, VI, 15-16, n. 10. ‘My watchful nightguards’ (*uriyarqun kebte’ül minu*). For the word *uriyarqun* ‘watchful, alert’, cf. Mostaert 1962, 221, n. 84. For the image of the enemy’s quivers rattling (in our passage, lit. ‘barely shaking’), see § 105. For the words ‘My swift-moving nightguards ... too late’, see also *Lettres*, 77.

For their merits, the original eighty nightguards (see §§ 191, 192) are henceforth designated with a title of seniority appropriate to the ‘old guard’ (*ötögüs kebte’ül*). Ögöle (~ Ögele, Ögölei, Ögölen) Čerbi and the original seventy dayguards (§ 191) are called ‘the great dayguards’ (*yekes turqa’ut*) to distinguish them from the new recruits. The ‘brave warriors’ (*ba’atut*) of Arqai (= Arqai Qasar), i.e. the élite one-thousand-man corps created in 1203-1204 (§ 191), are now called ‘the elder brave warriors’ (*ötögüs ba’atut*). Finally, Yisün Te’e (Tö’e), Bügidei (Bükidei) ‘and the others’, i.e. the four hundred quiverbearers led by Yisün Te’e and Bügidei whose duties are set out in § 192, are renamed ‘the great quiverbearers’ (*yekes qorčın*). Cf. Li, 176, n. 230. The epithet ‘great’ (*yekes*) in the present context refers to seniority, just like *ötögüs*. For this usage of *yekes*, cf. the HC, 8b et passim. See de Rachewiltz 1982, 43, 63, n. 94; Cleaves 1993, 33, n. 33.

§ 231. 'Considering these guards as a keepsake *from me*', lit. 'thinking of these guards like a souvenir (*geri'es*)' – the guards being those previously attached to the very person of Činggis Qan. Cf. above, § 226. For *geri'es*, see above, n. 208.

'Give them no cause for dissatisfaction', lit. 'do not make them displeased' (*ülü gemüri'ülün*). For *gemüri'ül-*, the factitive form of *gemüri-* 'to be displeased, have a grievance against s.', see Mo, 197-198; L. Ligeti in *AOH* 14:1962, 324; Serruys 1969, 394, n. 2 (with further references); Oz¹, VI, 25, n. 3. With regard to Činggis' recommendation, cf. Vlad.², 120.

For the expression 'beneficent spirits' (*nendü'üt qutuq*), see above, n. 202.

This section ends with a rhetorical question in the negative: 'will they not be called ...?' (... *ke'ejü ülü'ü aqdu'ai*), implying a strong affirmation. Ozawa has assumed that *aqdu'ai* is a textual error for *aldu'ai* (*aldu'ai = a-ldu-'ai*), nomen imperfecti of the reciprocal form of *a-* 'to be.' See Oz¹, VI, 19, 25-26, n. 5. Cf. St, 116, n. 834. In my view this emendation is not necessary. The Chinese interlinear gloss clearly indicates that the word in question is an imperative form of *a-* (有者麼). The AT¹, 75b, has *aydaqui*, an old polite imperative, confirming at the same time that the initial *a* is followed by a velar stop. Furthermore, the form *aldu'ai* proposed by Ozawa is syntactically awkward in the context as it has no ergative connotations. I think that the SH *aqdu'ai = aqda'ai* (w.f. *aydayai*), the nomen imperfecti of the passive of *a-* (polite imperative). The *-qdu-* for *-qda-* may not necessarily be a textual error either. Cf. rec. *-ldu-* ~ *-lda-* (c.g., mo. *jarγulda-* and *jöbsiyelde-*; see Kow., 2305b, 2410b). In the present instance we may have a very rare example of a similar phenomenon (*-qdu-* ~ *-qda-*).

It should be further noted that, in both the SH and the corresponding section of the AT (see AT¹, 75b), the opening sentence *basa Činggis Qa'an ügüleriin* (or *jarliq bolurun*), or even a shortened form of it (*basa jarliq bolurun*, or simply *basa*), is lacking. This is in all likelihood an early involuntary scribal omission.

§ 232. 'Female attendants', lit. 'čerbi-maids' (*čerbin ökit*; AT¹, 75b: *čerbi ökid*). These were young women who served in various capacities as servants and 'stewardesses' in the *ordo*, but their degree of servitude is not known. For the designation *ordo-yin čerbin ökit*, cf. Hambis 1975, 43, n. 64; cf. also Kałużyński 1978, 125, n. 4. *Čerbin* is an ancient plural of *čerbi*. See GWM, 72, § 272. As for the 'sons of the household', lit. 'sons of the tent' (*ger-ün kö'üt*), in this period they were almost certainly young domestic slaves. That they were domestics is confirmed by the interlinear gloss (Y² 10, 4b). The expression *ger-ün kö'ü(t)*, its Chinese transcription in the later Yüan texts (*ch'ieh-lien k'ou* 怯隣口), and its Turkic equivalent in the Persian texts (*čev oylān*), have been the subject of investigation by various scholars. See, in particular, Cleaves 1950, 51-52, n. 170 (where earlier literature on the subject is discussed); TMEN, nos. 675, 676; Ebisawa 1969; Mu, III, 72-73, n. 8; Murakami 1973; MTSK, 16, 136, 149, 303; and CEME, 32. The term *kö'ü(n)* (pl. *kö'üt*), lit. 'son' (= mo. *köbegün*), in this context means 'servant, slave.' See Vlad.², 213, 214; Kałużyński, loc. cit. Also, from the context in which these categories of service personnel are mentioned, i.e. together with camel-keepers and cowherds, it would appear that their functions in Činggis Qan's time were rather menial. It is interesting that in Ordos the term *k'öwāt* designated an 'esclave du dernier rang' rather than a servant – a usage that may have an early origin. See DO, 433b. For other interpretations and renderings of *ordo-yin čerbin ökit* and *ger-ün kö'üt*, cf. On, 130, and Ev-Pop, 198. Whereas Onon's definition of 'house-boys' for *ger-ün kö'üt* is acceptable (cf. TMEN, no. 675), I find Even and Pop's 'servantes des chambellans' for *čerbin ökit* grammatically incorrect; it is also contradicted by both the interlinear gloss and the sectional summary (Y² 10, 6a). It will be remembered that in § 124, Dödei Čerbi was put in charge of 'domestics and servants in the tent' (*ger dotora gergen tutqar*), i.e. in Činggis Qan's yurt. Dödei was subsequently (1206) appointed as one of the 'elders'

(*ötögüs*) of the (four) companies of dayguards (§ 227). The functions of all these different classes of servants are unfortunately not described in any of our sources.

For the term *hükeči* (< *hüker* 'cow'; pl. *hükečün*) 'cowherd, ox-drover', cf. Cleaves 1953, 103, n. 3.

For the 'tent-carts' (*ger tergen*), see above, n. 121.

'The standards and drums, and the spears arranged beneath them' (*tuq gü'ürge dōro jida*). Cf. § 278, where this ordinance is quoted again, with the 'bowls and vessels' mentioned immediately after the spears (*jida*). Cl, 169-170, translated the entire sentence thus: 'Let the nightguards collect the spears at the foot of⁶ the standards and drums.' In note 6 on p. 169, he writes: 'This interpretation of *doro* [i.e. *dōro* – I.R.] as a postposition was suggested by the Reverend Antoine Mostaert in an oral communication of 8 September 1953.' While I prefer to render *asara-* with 'to take care of (or to be responsible for)' instead of 'to collect', I think that Mostaert and Cleaves are undoubtedly correct in their interpretation of *dōro*; indeed, a similar, if not identical, interpretation had been adopted by Haenisch. See Ha, 110, where *dōro* is rendered with 'darunter.' (If we exclude Palladii's unpublished translation [see Section Seven of the Introduction], the first correct rendering is actually found in Čendü Güng's version. See Cè, 501.) However, N. Poppe (p.c.) is inclined to see in the four words in question four or three direct objects, '*doro*' being in his view either a weapon or an attribute of *jida*, following in this Kozin's doubtful interpretation. See Ko, 173: 'banners, drums and pikestaffs.' Cf. also *ibid.*, 564 and 608, where *doro jida* is listed as a compound meaning 'pikestaff (?).' Several other scholars take *dōro*, which they variously read *döröge* (kh. *döröö*), *dörö*, *dörü*, as meaning 'stirrups' (Da¹, 227; Da⁵, 193; cf., however, Da², 230, where *döröge* is left untranslated; Mu, III, 65; Γa, 164), 'halberds' (Oz¹, VI, 29, 32-34, n. 4), 'pikes' (On, 130, and n. 292), and 'lances à crochet' (Ev-Pop, 232, with a note [6] on p. 295 reading '*Doro (?) jida*. Peut-être faut-il y voir les "lances armées d'un croc à la douille, pour pouvoir éventuellement

désarçonner leur homme", que mentionne Jean de Plan Carpin (p. 77).' Cf. also Do¹, 232; El-Ar, 760; Če, 216; and others following the same or similar interpretations (a convenient listing is given in Γa, 387, n. 620). However, mo. *dörö* (*dörü*) means 'iron or rope nose-ring, or wood pin (for cattle); lead rope (for cattle); basket; handle or cross-bar to lift a basket; splint; cotter pin' (Les., 269a; cf. Kow., 1941b; TH, 285 [= JYT, 494-495]); a word related to it, *dörebči* (= *döre* [> *dörö*] + den. noun suff. *-bči*) '(nose) ring', occurs in § 135. See above, n. 135. To see in the word *dörö* a 'pike', 'pikestaff' or 'halberd' is stretching the ring too far. Furthermore, in the SH, *doro* (= *dōro*, mo. *doora*) is regularly glossed *hsia* 下 'under, below' (see HW, 37), as is the case in §§ 232 and 278. Irinčin (Irinchen) is virtually alone among the contemporary Mongolian scholars in correctly transcribing *dōro* as *doora*. See Ir, 200. It would therefore seem that, at the time, in the tent(s) or cart(s) where this equipment was kept, the spears were placed 'under', i.e. arranged on the ground (or floor) at the foot of the standards and drums. The nightguards were also responsible for the custody of the *qan*'s precious bowls and vessels (*ayaqa saba*) which were apparently also kept beneath the standards and drums. It is not clear from the text whether we are dealing here with several standards and drums, or with the white standard with nine tails (see § 202) and the great war drum (cf. § 106), the two paramount symbols of the *qan*'s power, hence sacred objects. If so, the translation should be amended accordingly. For *gü'ürge* (= *kö'ürge*) 'drum' and its variants in the SH, cf. Oz¹, VI, 31-32, n. 3; and above, n. 106.

'Uncut meat and food as well', lit. 'thick meat and food as well' (*öiken ber miqan ide'en*), i.e. the meat and foodstuff before being cut and prepared for cooking by the *ba'určün*. The words in question are understood differently by other translators who render them as 'meat for the sacrificial offerings' (Da¹, 227, and Da⁵, 193, after Ko, 173; Mu, III, 65 and 73, n. 10; El-Ar, 761, n. 5); 'clear [= plain – I.R.] meat' (Li, 107); 'thick meatfood (= thick meat soup)' (Oz¹, VI, 29, 34-36, n. 5; Oz², II,

128, 150-151, n. 2 – after Do¹, 260; cf. also Ja, 348); ‘pièces de viande’ (Ev-Pop, 198; note 7 on p. 295 reads: ‘Ödgen-ber miqan idegen: probablement la viande coupée en morceaux aux articulations, par opposition à la viande entrant en petits morceaux ou hachée dans la composition d’un plat’). However, as shown by the parallel passage in § 278, *ötken miqa(n)* forms a single compound without *ide’en*; the latter must therefore be considered a separate noun. Thus the nightguards also had to supervise both the supply of raw foodstuff and the preparation of the same. This sentence is related to the next one, which implies that the nightguards would be held responsible for any scarcity (*qor qomsa*) of food. Regarding the expression *qor qomsa*, lit. ‘little (quantity) – scanty’ = ‘lacking, wanting; scarcity’, cf. DO, 357b; Vietze 1990, 386 (where, however, the word *qor* has been inadvertently dropped from the sentence).

‘We shall seek them from the nightguards who have been entrusted with their supervision’, i.e. ‘we shall seek *and obtain* them from the nightguards’ For this sentence, cf. Poppe 1964, 367.

‘Shall stand right next to the tent.’ For these words, see *Lettres*, 77.

‘Shall ... oversee the large *kumis* pitchers’, lit. ‘shall ... be holding in hand (= controlling) the large *kumis* pitchers (*yeke tüsürge*).’ For these pitchers, see above, n. 213.

‘The ‘campmasters’ (*nuntu’učin*), i.e. the officers in charge of laying out the camp and setting up the *qan*’s tents. The term *nuntu’učin* (= pmo. *nuntuçučin*), plural of *nuntu’uçi* (= pmo. *nuntuçuçi*), occurs again in §§ 278 and 279, also (§ 279) in the form *nuntüčitan* (< *nuntu’učitan* < *nuntuçučitan*). For this term, cf. HCWLYTT, 99-104, no. 22; Oz¹, VI, 37-38, n. 8. For the plural suffix *-tan/-ten*, cf. Mo, 30.

‘Exactly one half of them shall stay at the carts’, lit. ‘measuring (= counting) their half (*jarimud-ıyan*), they shall place it at the carts.’ In other words, exactly one half of the nightguards must remain to guard the tent-carts, while the other half goes hunting with the *qan*. *Jarimut* (pl. of *jarim* – with

reference to the nightguards) means ‘half’, not ‘some (in number)’ (*nanigashı*) as in Oz¹, VI, 30. See HW, 86; the sectional summary (Y² 10, 6b); *Matériel I*, 65; MA, 201b. The error has been corrected in Oz², II, 129. Several of the above ordinances, including the present one, will be reconfirmed by Ögödei (§ 278).

§ 233. This section is the continuation of the ordinance (*jarliq*) concerning the duties of the nightguards. The injunction against going to fight without the *qan*’s participation is repeated in § 278. The entire § 233 is translated and discussed in Mo, 142-153. The following are additional comments and elucidations.

For the words ‘If We Ourselves (= in person) do not go on a military campaign’ (*bidanu beye çerik ese qaru’asu*), cf. Mo, 184.

‘After being thus instructed by *Us*’, lit. ‘having let themselves be told (= ordered) in this way’ (*eyin ke’e’ülü’et*), or ‘après qu’ils se sont laissé donner un ordre conçu en de tels termes’ [A.M.]. For this expression, cf. also Cleaves 1953, 48-49, n. 17; Ligeti 1971, 152.

‘The chamberlains (*čerbin*, pl.) in charge of troops.’ Besides their duties as chamberlains and stewards in the *ordo*, the *čerbis* were also military chiefs as the occasion demanded. See § 234. Cf. Hambis 1975, 43, n. 64.

‘My golden life’ (*minu altan amin*). For *altan* ‘gold(en)’ = ‘royal’, see above, n. 21. This sentence is emphasized by the particle *lü*. See Street 1986a, 14-15.

‘Whether this is moving or stationary (*örük-tiir*)’, i.e. when the *qan* is travelling or when he has pitched camp. *Öriik-tür* is, literally, ‘at rest.’ Cf. Cleaves 1957, 441, n. 44; and above, n. 230.

‘The main base camp’, lit. ‘the great *a’uruq*’ (*yeke a’uruq*). This was the base or ‘rear’ camp belonging to the *qan*’s *ordo*. Cf. above, n. 136. The epithet *yeke* ‘great’ also indicates, as usual, that the establishment in question pertains to the *qan*.

'The reason why We say ... duties', lit. 'Saying to *Ourselves* that *the nightguards* have such double (*dabqur*, i.e. manifold) and quite distinct (*qaqas qaqas*) tasks (*yabudaltan*, i.e. duties), the reason why We say, "Let them not go on a military campaign apart and separately from Us" is such (= this).' For *qaqas qaqas* (= mo. *qayas qayas*), besides Mo, 146-151, cf. also Bese 1969, 126-127, n. 5. For Ozawa, the expression (*-ača*) *anggida ö'ere*, lit. 'apart and separately (from)', or 'apart (from) and separately', which occurs also in §§ 199 and 278, is a compound meaning only 'separately' or 'apart (from)'. See Oz¹, VI, 56-57, n. 7.

§ 234. 'Some of the nightguards shall decide on judicial matters together with Šigi Qutuqu', lit. 'As to judicial matters (*jarqu*) with Šigi Qutuqu, from among the nightguards some shall hear judicial matters with *him*', i.e. certain officers chosen from among the nightguards were to be appointed to assist Šigi Qutuqu in hearing legal cases and passing judgements. As we have already seen (§ 203 and com.), Šigi Qutuqu had earlier been appointed grand judge (*jarquči*).

'Quivers, bows, breastplates and weapons (*jebe*).' The word *jebe* has two meanings: 1) a particular type of arrow (see § 147 and com.), and 2) 'weapons' in general, including arrows. Cf. TMEN, no. 156; and Khomonov 1970, 39 (also for remarks on *quyaq* 'breastplate, armour'). Although there is some ambiguity in the Chinese sectional summary (Y² 10, 10a) which speaks of 'arrows and weapons', I follow the interlinear gloss and render *jebe* as 'weapons' as most of the translators have done.

'The hunting nets' (*hö'öšin* = mo. *ögesin*; not listed in Pelliot 1925) were nets, or snares, used for catching birds and other animals. Cf. Ma, 316-317, n. 6; TH, 198 (= JYT, 343). The 'a'oga' of HW, 8 (see also H, 78, § 234) is an incorrect reading due to a faulty transcription of the original Mongol word.

A'urasun 'satin' corresponds to mo. *aγurasun* 'chattels, belongings, possessions' (Les., 18a). Cf. mo. *aγurasutai* 'having

possessions, rich' (ibid., 1197a). For this word, which occurs but seldom in ancient texts, cf. Khomonov 1970, 40; TH, 85 (= JYT, 150); CEME, 27. For its later usage, cf. ETI, 6a. The distribution of satin, a valuable commodity, was as a reward or in payment for services to officials, a practice that continued until modern times.

'To take up duty' is, literally, 'to go' (*yabu-*), i.e. 'to undertake, perform; to serve.' Cf. Cleaves 1950, 96 [14]; DO, 399b.

On the commanders of the quiverbearers and the dayguards, and on Arqai's 'brave warriors' (*ba'atut*) mentioned in this section, see §§ 225-227, 230. The ordinance regarding the stationing of the nightguards near the *ordo*, on the left (= eastern) side, has been inadvertently omitted in L², 203, first line. Cf. R, 135, lines 9229-9230; St, 117, lines X095-X097.

'The tent-carts of the Palace' (*ordo ger terge*). Some scholars (e.g. Li, 108; Cleaves 1955, 37, n. 26), separate *ordo* from *ger tergen* and translate 'the palace (*ordo*) and the tent-carts.' However, *ordo ger tergen* = *ordo-yin ger tergen*, as is clearly shown by the examples quoted by Cleaves (loc. cit.), and by his own translation of the passage in § 278 (ibid.). The translation has, in fact, been rectified in Cl, 171.

'Constantly' (*darun*). On this term, a fossilized converbum modale of *daru-* 'to press' used adverbially, see Cleaves 1953a, 248.

'Scraps of leftovers' renders Mongolian *qoq* (= mo. *qoy*). The literal meaning of the Chinese interlinear gloss is 'cuttings of grass' (碎草), but the actual meaning is 'sweepings, scraps, remnants of food, garbage', which we find in the living languages and dialects as well as in the literary language. This word is a borrowing from uig. *qoy* 'dust, dirt, ashes.' See DTS, 452b, 457a; ED, 609a. The word for 'dried dung' (used for fuel) is here *qoma'ul*, which alliterates with *qoq*. *Qoma'ul* corresponds to mo. *qomoyol*, *qomool*, *qomol* (= *qomöl*) id. (mainly used with reference to horse, donkey and mule dung).

See Kow., 936a; Les., 961a; MKT, 659a-b. Cf. also Vietze 1990, 386; DO, 351a.

The ordinances in this section provide for the security of the *qan's ordo* by distributing the reorganized detachments of nightguards, chamberlains, quiverbearers and dayguards around it. This enables us to get a much clearer picture of the topography of the Mongol camp. The right or western side of the *ordo* – the entrance of which faced south – was jointly guarded by the quiverbearers of Yisün Te'e and Bükidei (see §§ 225, 230), and by the dayguards under the command of Alčidai, Ögöle and Aqtai (see §§ 226, 227, 230). The left or eastern side was guarded by the dayguards led by Buqa, Dödei Čerbi, Doqolqu Čerbi and Čanai (see §§ 226, 227). In front of the *ordo*, i.e. on the southern side, were deployed the élite guards of Arqai Qasar (see §§ 226, 230). Moreover, Dödei Čerbi was appointed to control all the dayguards on duty, as well as the numerous auxiliary personnel attached to the *ordo*, an office that obviously carried great responsibility and constant vigilance – hence the 'poetic' image of a busy official who, as Onon says (On, 131, n. 294; cf. the 2001 ed., 220, n. 517) 'will have no time to look after himself properly' and will have to make do with scraps of food and self-gathered fuel while he is at his station at the rear of Činggis' tent. As seen earlier (§§ 169, 229), the back of the tent was the place used for conveying confidential and urgent verbal messages to the *qan*. Further details on the organization of the Mongol camp can be gleaned from the HTSL and from the Western travellers' accounts. See CG, 185-186; and SF, 624b-625a, s.v. 'curia.' Cf. also Li, 176, n. 234.

§ 235. The Qarluq Turks were mentioned in § 198 in connection with the flight to Central Asia of Güčülük, the Naiman prince, son of Tayang Qan. For bibliographical references to that important people, see above, n. 151. Cf. also YTWHTLCT, 4-6, for the episode described in this section. Their chief was called Arslan ('Lion') Qan, but this was probably a royal title rather

than his name. He ruled in the Qarluq capital Qayalıq (or Qayalıy) in the lower Ili valley, identified with the site of Dungen, 18 km south-west of Taldy-Kurgan in southeastern Kazakhstan. Arslan Qan was wise enough to submit peacefully to Qubilai Noyan – the commander of a thousand of the Barulas (on whom see §§ 202 [no. 8], 209) – thus becoming a subordinate ally of the Mongols. Činggis gave him one of his daughters in marriage, sealing in this way their alliance by making him a royal son-in-law (*güregen*). He did the same with the rulers of the Uighur and Önggüt Turks, who had also not 'rebelled' (*bulqaba*), i.e. who had not offered resistance. See § 238, and above, n. 182. For the term *bulqa-* and its implications, see above, n. 150. Upon Arslan's submission, Činggis renamed him Arslan Sartaqtai, i.e. 'Arslan the Sartaq.' See SL², I/1, 151. For the designation 'Sartaqtai', see above, nn. 152 and 182. For the background of Arslan's submission, see HWC, 74-77. According to the Chinese sources and Rašid al-Dīn (SL², I/2, 163), the submission took place in the spring of the Year of the Sheep (*hsin-wei* 辛未), i.e. 1211. See Na², 337; FSHCA, 33.

As for the identity of Činggis' daughter, it is noteworthy that her name is not given in any of the sources, whereas the princesses given to the rulers of the Uighurs (§ 238) and the Önggüt (§ 239) are named. A Mongol princess called Töre is mentioned in YS² 109, 2761d, as the wife of Arslan's son Yesü Buqa. Činggis is not known to have had a daughter by that name; it is difficult to say, therefore, whether she was the daughter who went to Yesü Buqa after Arslan Qan's death. See MWESC 151, 5b-6a.

In Da¹, 229-230 (cf. Da⁵, 194-195), there follows a poetic passage taken from AT¹, 85b-86a. For the Russian translation of the same, see LDAT, 182. However, this passage is a later interpolation: it confuses Töre with Alaqa Beki, the princess given in marriage to the Önggüt ruler. See § 239; LDAT, 353, n. 2.

§ 236. § 199 relates how in the Year of the Ox, i.e. in 1205, Činggis sent Sübe’etei in pursuit of Toqto’a sons Qudu (~ Qutu, or better, Qodu; see above, n. 141), Qal and Čila’un, providing him with ‘an iron cart.’ See above, n. 199. As I explained in my note, the date is wrong as this event must be placed s.a. 1217. For a detailed chronology of these events, which is at variance with that presented in Buell 1992, see Appendix One. For the Čui, i.e. the Chu River in Kazakhstan, see §§ 152, 177 and 198, and above, n. 152.

‘Destroyed them and came back’ (*muqutqaǰu irebe*). For *muqutqa-* (~ *moqutqa-*) ‘to destroy, finish off’, see above, n. 153. As shown in Appendix One, the Mongol army, led by Joči and Sübe’etei and sent against the Merkit remnants, first defeated Qodu at the Chu and, finally, at a place that the Chinese sources call Yü-yü 玉峪 (? Yü[γ]ü[r]) in the Qipčaq territory whither Qodu and his followers had fled. Cf. TDMI, 369-371. According to Buell 1992, 12, the destruction of the last Merkit occurred in the spring of 1209.

§ 237. As with the event recorded in the preceding section, this episode is also misplaced. Ĵebe’s expedition against Güčülük of the Naiman, already briefly referred to in § 202, actually took place in 1218. Again we have here an error of a full twelve-year cycle (1206 for 1218). See Appendix One. For the various accounts of Güčülük’s death, see HWC, 66-68; SL², I/2, 183-184; TDMI, 400-403; EM, 224-225; ES, 294-296; HCSL, 653-654; and Buell 1992, 27-28.

In the SH, the place where Güčülük met his death is called Sariq Qun, a Turkic-Mongol hybrid name meaning ‘Yellow Cliff’ (*sariq* = tu. *sariγ* ‘yellow’, cf. TMEN, no. 1207; *qun* [= pmo. *γun*] means ‘cliff, steep bank, slope’, cf. above, n. 26). As already noted in Pelliot 1930b, 55, the name of the place found in the Persian sources as well as in the corresponding passage of the AT (AT¹, 86a; cf. ATL, 167: ‘Sariγ-γoola’, the first element of which is incorrectly read ‘Khiris’ in LDAT, 183) is Sariq Qöl (= Sariq Fool), i.e. ‘Yellow River.’ This, in turn, may be an

error for Sariγ Köl (or Sar-i Köl), the ‘Yellow Lake’, i.e. Lake Victoria or Zor Kul (Zorkul’) in the Pamir, on the Tajikistan-Afghanistan border, in that same region – the Pamir River valley – where Güčülük is supposed to have been captured by local hunters and delivered to Ĵebe’s horsemen. On the other hand, the Sarikol Range at the eastern edge of the Pamir cannot be excluded, even though this location seems too far to the east. The identification remains uncertain. For a discussion of the problem, see Boyle in HWC, 67-68, n. 18; and Yao TL 1981. Sübe’etei’s and Ĵebe’s expeditions in Central Asia in 1216/17 and 1218 respectively put the Mongols directly in contact with the Khwārazmian empire (the ‘Sarta’ul people’ – *Sarta’ul irgen* – of the SH) and were a prelude to the great Western Campaign launched by Činggis Qan soon after their return to Mongolia, following the so-called ‘Otrar incident.’ However, the first clash between the troops of Muḥammad Šāh of Khwārazm and the Mongols led by Joči and Sübe’etei apparently took place in 1216/17 in the course of the Mongol campaign against Qodu in Qipčaq country, between the rivers Qaili and Qaimich (? Irgiz and Turghai). See HWC, 69-70, 370-373; TDMI, 371; FSHCA, 36. Cf. below, n. 254, and Appendix One. For the name Khwārazm (Xvārazm), see above, n. 152. For Otrar (Uṭrār), see below, n. 257.

§ 238. *Idu’ut* was the title of the Uighur ruler. The written Mongolian form of the word was *iduγud* (> *idu’ut*), a form confirmed by the AT¹, 86a (see ATL, 167, where ‘Iduqud’ = ‘Iduγud’), which corresponds to uig. *ïduqut*. In other preclassical texts we find the *lectio plena iduγ qud* (see, e.g., Cleaves 1949, 73b), corresponding to uig. *ïduq qut* (> *ïduqut*), meaning ‘the sacred favour (of Heaven)’, or ‘grâce ou fortune envoyé ou octroyé [*sic*] (par le Ciel)’ (Geng & Hamilton 1981, 49b), i.e. ‘divine majesty.’ On this title and its various connotations, see TMEN, nos. 238, 1936; DTS, 217b; ED, 46a; CLC, 316-317 (see also Han Ju-lin in SS 1:1940/41, 53-76); Cleaves

1949, 43, n. 28; Mori 1981, 69ff.; MBT, 229a-b; Rybatzki 2000, 269-273.

As in previous occurrences of this name, 'Uighurs' is written Ui'ut, the plural of Ui'ur < Uiqur (= Uiγur). See above, n. 151.

The ruler of the Uighurs who in 1209 submitted voluntarily to Činggis Qan was Barčuq Art Tegin (*tegin* being his princely title; cf. above, n. 182). On his name, see Cleaves 1949, 43, n. 29, 100, n. 28; Geng & Hamilton 1981, 48b. See also *Chapitre CVIII*, 133, n. 9; Rybatzki 2000, 253. His capital was Beš Baliq ('Five Cities'), Beš Baliγ and Biš Baliγ in Mongolian, known as Pei-t'ing 北庭 or 'Northern Court' in Chinese, situated in the area of modern Jimasa/Jimsar north-east of Urumchi in Sinkiang. See de Rachewiltz 1962, 48, n. 56; YShi, 10. That this, and not the 'southern capital' Qara Qočo (Qarā Qōjo, Qarā Hōjah, east of Turfan) was his residence is clearly stated by Juvainī. See HWC, 47. (For Qara Qočo, see NMP, III, 220a, 221a-b [Index].) Barčuq's submission to, and subsequent relations with, Činggis Qan are related in HWC, 44-48; SL², I/1, 147-149; I/2, 152-154, as well as in the Chinese sources. For a discussion of these relations, see the important contribution of Th. T. Allsen in CAE (Allsen 1983); and Tang PH 1998. However, our sources do not agree on the names of the envoys sent by Barčuq to Činggis. In the SH their names are given as Atkīraq and Darbai. Pelliot suggested a possible emendation of the former into 'At-buīruq' (Pe, 93, n. 1), but gives no reason. AT¹, 86a, gives the corrupt form 'Abīrya' (ATL, 167: '[= Adkīray]'). Adkīray is undoubtedly the correct written form, corresponding to tu. *adyīraq* 'a young stallion.' See ED, 49a. Cf. Bese 1978, 356, no. 5. The discrepancies between the SH and the Persian sources are discussed by Boyle in HWC, 45, n. 9. Cf. also Li, 176-177, n. 238; Mu, III, 85-86, n. 8; Buell 1992, 10-11, n. 28. The confusion is largely due to the fact that there was an exchange of envoys from both sides on more than one occasion.

'Mother Sun' (*eke naran* poetical, because of the alliteration, for *naran eke*). For the epithet *eke* 'mother', given to deities that are personifications of nature, such as the Earth, see Mostaert 1957a, 99, 101, n. 8; idem 1962, 201, 218, n. 21.

'Came upon', lit. 'found.'

For the '*mot-couple*' *nere aldar* 'name – fame' = 'fame', cf. *Lettres*, 31.

'If I were to obtain/But a ring from your golden belt,/But a thread from your crimson coat', lit. 'If I obtained/But one from the rings (*qorgid-ača*) of the golden belt,/But one from the shreds (*hūrtesün-eče*) of the crimson coat of yours.' For *qorgit*, plural of *qorgi(n)* (= mo. *γorki[n]*) 'ring or hook of a belt, buckle, clasp', cf. Oz¹, VI, 85-86, n. 3; Les., 361b. However, these rings decorating the leather belt must not be confused with the metal buckle (as in Ev-Pop, 200). Cf. Pelliot 1929a, 141, 144ff. In view of the plural form *γorgis-ača* of AT¹, 86a, Pelliot's 'qorgid-ača' (read 'qorgid-ača') is correct (Pe, 93), hence the reading 'qorgi-dača' of H, 78 ('hōrgi dāca'); R, line 9310; L², 204; Daš, line 3408 ('γorqi-dača'); and St, line X126, must be amended. *Hūrtesün* = mo. *ūrtesü(n)*, *üredesü(n)* 'scrap, shred, rag, etc.' See Les., 1011b; Khomonov 1970, 34. For the symbolism of Barčuq's request, see CEME, 49-50, 64-65.

In Mongolian medieval terminology (as also in Chinese traditional usage), 'to become a son' (*kō'ün bol-*) meant 'to become a subject or vassal', and it is in this sense that Barčuq employs this expression. See Mo, 209.

For *subut* (= mo. *subud*) '(small or smaller) pearl', see *Matériel I*, 96; MA, 498a, s.v.; RH, 303, no. 11; Kara 1990, 325. Cf. Clauson 1966, 33-34; Huang SC 1984, 210. For *tana* (pl. *tanās*) 'big pearl', see above, n. 133. For *načit* '(gold) brocade(s)', see Pelliot 1927a, 269-271, n. 1; CEME, 2-4, 28-29 et passim; Cleaves 1991a, 135; Moriyasu 1994, 88-89. This gold brocade – the medieval 'Tartar cloth' *par excellence* – was a cloth of gold and silk, i.e. a brocade with ornamental threads made of gold; however, in its restricted meaning it designated gilded cloth or brocade and, in several sources, it is often paired

with the term *nakh* (i.e. pers. *nax*, mmo. *naq*; see below, n. 274), also referring to cloth woven of silk and gold. Although *načit* (w.f. *načid*), a word originally borrowed from pers. *nasīj* and, ultimately, arab. *nasj*, is already a plural (of **načis* or **načiš*), we find its double plural form *načidut* (w.f. *načidud*) in § 274. Being obsolete in the 17th-18th centuries, this word is substituted with *način* ‘falcon(s)’ in AT¹, 86b (cf. ATL, 168; for *način*, see TMEN, no. 1728). For double plurals in Mongolian, see GWM, 73, § 277. For *dardas* ‘damasks’, a plural of *darda*, cf. mo. *darda* ‘a kind of flowered Chinese silk (ch. *chuang-tuan* 粧緞) (Les., 233a). On this word, see CEME, 28; Moriyasu 1994, 84-91, no. 11. For *torqat* ‘silks’, a plural of *torqan*, see above, n. 135. A further item, satins (*a’urasun*), is included among the ‘gifts’ brought by Barčuq to Činggis Qan. For *a’urasun*, see above, n. 234. These were only some of the regular articles supplied by tributary nations. Cf., e.g., MR, II, 124-125; MP³, 138. See also § 274. Other gifts, such as white gerfalcons, white geldings and black sables, are mentioned in the next section (§ 239). Cf. also §§ 248, 249, 250, 252, 260, 264, 265, 267. The items varied, but they were always the most precious things that a subject people could offer (besides the people themselves, as slaves), and the ones which were especially valued by the court at the time.

The daughter of Činggis Qan who was given in marriage to Barčuq is called Al Altun in the SH, a reading only partly confirmed by the AT¹, 86b, which gives Ilqaltun (*read* Ilaltun) Beki (*or* Begi), amended to Al-altun-beki in ATL, 168. A comparison of the various forms of the name in the Persian and Chinese sources indicates that her name was probably Altan (‘Gold’) in Mongolian and Altun (‘Gold’) or El (~ Il) Altun (‘Peace-Gold’) in Turkic; for the title of *begi* or princess, see above, n. 49. Cf. RCAC, 128 ad fin.; Boyle’s remarks in HWC, 47, n. 17; Li, 176, n. 238. See also Huang WP 1964, 34 and [40], line 11. On the common Turkic name Altun (used in this form also by the Mongols), see OuECD, 145-146, no. 2; Pelliot 1944a, 175; *Chapitre CVII*, 72, n. 3; and Rybatzki [2003], s.v.

The name Al Altun of the SH appears to be a mongolized form (*el* → *al*) of her Turkic name. However, L. Bese (p.c.) is of the opinion that the name Al Altun must be interpreted as ‘Flame-scarlet Gold’, which may well be the case. For tu. *al* ‘scarlet, vermilion’ > mo. *al* id., cf. Poppe 1955, 38; TMEN, no. 517; Rybatzki [2003], s.v. ‘Al.’ According to Rašid al-Dīn (SL², I/2, 70), she was the fifth and favourite daughter of Činggis Qan. Cf. YS² 109, 2760a. For her marriage vicissitudes owing to Barčuq’s premature death, see RCAC, 128. Cf. Li, 176, n. 238; Mu, III, 87, n. 10.

§ 239. This section has been translated in full and richly annotated by Paul Pelliot in NCHK, I, 5, 55-64. See also his NHHO, 141-142; Li, 177, n. 239; and Mu, III, 92-104. As pointed out by Pelliot, the SH account of the expedition against the so-called People of the Forest (*hoi-yin irgen*) and other tribes inhabiting the region of the Irtysh, Angara and Yenisei (Kem) rivers is in reality a conflation of two separate events which occurred in 1207/08 and 1218/19 respectively.

The voluntary submission of Quduqa Beki of the Oyirat and his tribe, the Tümen (‘Ten Thousand’) Oyirat, belongs to the former date, whereas Joči’s expedition – with Buqa’s participation – against the rebellious forest tribes belongs to the latter date. Quduqa Beki had previously allied himself with Jamuqa, the Naiman and the Merkit (see §§ 141-144). His territory was the region along the Šišgid (Shishhid) Gol (the ‘Šisgis’ of § 144 and the ‘Šiqšit’ of our § 239; see below), just west of Lake Khubsugul (Xövsgöl Nuur) and flowing into the Dod (Dood Nuur); however, it must have extended considerably to the south-west. When the army led by Činggis Qan, Joči and others moved in 1200 against the Naiman and Merkit forces assembled in northwestern Mongolia, its vanguard (possibly led by Joči) reached Quduqa’s territory, whereupon Quduqa not only submitted without resistance, but also agreed to guide the Mongol army to the place where his former allies had in the meantime gathered, i.e. the area of the Irtysh and Bukhtarma rivers about

700-800 km to the south-west. The famous battle on the Irtysh, the death of Toqto'a and the rout of the Naiman-Merkit army are vividly recounted in § 198 of the SH, albeit s.a. 1205 (see n. 198). At this stage of the operations there is no possibility of another major expedition much further north in the Angara-Yenisei region against the forest tribes, involving Boroqul and Dörbei as well as Joči. Of these tribes, the Kirghiz (in our text: Kirgisut, pl. of Kirgis) had offered their submission to Činggis in 1207, following a Mongol embassy there. Rašīd says that they revolted twelve years later and that Joči was sent to subjugate them. Joči crossed the frozen Selenga and Yenisei rivers, and brought the Kirghiz and their neighbouring tribes (Urasut, Telengüt, Keštimi, etc.) back to allegiance. See SL², I/1, 123; I/2, 256. Surely, the Kirghiz' revolt and Joči's campaign of 1218/19 were directly related to the reverse suffered by Boroqul and his death in 1217 during the campaign against the Qori Tumat. The latter had apparently refused to acknowledge Mongol suzerainty over their people and had seized Qorči Noyan and Quduqa Beki (§ 241). Boroqul and Dörbei Doqšin were sent to deal with them, but Boroqul was killed in an ambush. The SH (§ 240) makes Dörbei successfully complete the subjugation of the Tumat. According to other accounts, the Mongols asked the help of the Kirghiz against the Tumat, but they refused, whereupon Joči was sent to bring all the rebellious forest tribes into submissions: this, then, is the winter 1218/19 expedition, with Buqa leading the vanguard. Kirghiz, Tumat and other People of the Forest were brought into submission. This final campaign is the one referred to in the present section of the SH, s.a. 1207. For a different view, see Buell 1992, 4ff.; and the Editorial Note in ČK², 254-255. The SH chronology and presentation of facts for all these events is quite unreliable. The reference to a rebellion that took place exactly twelve years later, as well as repetitions in the SH account, make us suspect that we have here the same error of a full twelve-year cycle that occurs also in the previous sections (§§ 231 and 237). Cf. NCHK, I, 60, n. 58. However, there is also a strong possibility

that these events have been purposely anticipated, or brought forward, in the SH. See Appendix One. According to Pelliot, op. cit., 57, n. 30, Šiqšit – the place where the Oyirat's submission took place – may refer to either campaign; but in my opinion it can only refer to the 1208 submission of Quduqa Beki prior to the expedition to the Irtysh. In the Chinese interlinear version Šiqšit is glossed as 'a place-name', and in the sectional summary (Y² 10, 17a) it is referred to as 'a territory' (地面). However, as stated in Hambis 1956, 286-287, and Pèrlée², 10, this is undoubtedly the Šišgid Gol, already mentioned as 'Šisgis' in § 144 in connection with Quduqa Beki's movements. Šisgis (= Šišyis) is a metathetical form of Šiqšit (= Širyšid). For final *d* ~ *s*, see IMCS, 109. The AT¹, 42a, 87a, has the corrupt forms Sigsig and Singsing. For this river see also above, n. 144.

In the sentence 'Quduqa Beki ... made them submit at the Šiqšit River', the Mongolian for 'to make submit' is *oro'ul-* (= mo. *oroγul-*), lit. 'to make enter (as subjects).' Cf. Cleaves 1951, 88, n. 82. Following the Chinese sectional summary, Pelliot (NCHK, I, 5) translated: 'Qudugha-bāki ... le fit arriver à Šikhšit.' Oz¹, VI, 93-95 (cf. Oz², II, 134), Do¹, 269, and Ev-Pop, 201, also take *oro'ul-* literally in the sense of 'to make enter, penetrate, etc.', on the assumption that Šiqšit was a region, territory or valley. However, the Ming translators were not aware that Šiqšit was in fact a river, hence their misinterpretation of *oro'ul-*, a verb that occurs immediately after with the meaning of 'to cause to submit, bring under submission', and simply as *oro-* 'to submit' immediately before. If taken literally, *Šiqšit-tur oro'ulba* would mean 'he made them enter into the Šiqšit River', which was certainly not the case here.

According to § 207, Qorči was given authority over the People of the Forest from his base on the Irtysh, and was ordered to bring these people under control – obviously not an easy task judging by later developments, Mongol authority over the whole region between the Irtysh, the Yenisei, the Angara and the Selenga being still rather loose. The Tö'ölös and Telengüt people were also to form part of Qorči's new

myriarchy. Qorči is mentioned again in § 241, but only in connection with the submission of the Qori Tumat.

We do not know which Buqa is the one mentioned as Joči's guide. Some scholars, such as Wang Kuo-wei and Ligeti, believe that Muqali's younger brother is meant; others claim that he is to be identified with Buqa Güregen (no. 81 in the list in § 202). See Pelliot's comments, *op. cit.*, 56, n. 37; Li, 218, s.v. 'Buka.' Subsequently Pelliot took the view that this Buqa was 'probably' Muqali's brother. See HCG, 370. For the verb *qajārčila-* (= mo. *γajārčila-*) 'to accompany someone to show him the way', see Cleaves 1956a, 394, n. 17. Quduqa Beki, the chief of the Tümen Oyirat, is known also as the father of a son who married a daughter of Činggis Qan (see below), and of a daughter called Oqul (w.f. Oγul) Qaimiš – not to be confused with the homonymous wife of Güyük – who married Möngke Qa'an. Quduqa eventually became one of the commanders of a thousand of the right wing in Činggis' army – his unit, recruited from Oyirat tribesmen, actually numbering four thousand men. See SL², I/2, 269.

As noted by Pelliot, *op. cit.*, 56, n. 38, *tümen* 'ten thousand' is merely an epithet prefixed to names of tribes; cf. Tümen Tübegen ('The Ten Thousand Tübegen'), Olon Dongqayit ('The Many Dongqayit'), etc. See above, n. 150. The Oyirat are the historical Oirat ancestors of the Kalmucks, and the Buriyat the ancestors of the modern Buriats. The former had first been mentioned in § 141 also in connection with Quduqa Beki; the latter's name appears here for the first and only time. Cf. Bese 1988, 21-22. The Barqun (the plural form Barqut is the one used by Rašīd al-Dīn) are to be identified with the ancestors of the present-day Barguzin Buriat and the Bargu(t) of NW Manchuria. See above, n. 8. The Ursut (Rašīd al-Dīn's Urāsūt) lived apparently next to the Kirghiz and the Qabqanas, whose territory was at the very sources of the Yenisei. Cf. Ligeti 1966, 124; Hambis 1957, 25-30. For the Qabqanas ~ Qamqanas, see also Cleaves 1956a; Hambis 1957, 30-31, and *idem* 1970a. The Qangqas, about whom nothing is known, are omitted from the

corresponding passage in AT¹, 87, as also, inadvertently, in H, 79, and Ra, X, 44. The Tubas are the ancestors of the modern Tuba, the so-called Black Forest Tatars, of the Altai Republic (Respublika Altaï, RF). Cf. IAL, 41. The Tümen ('Ten Thousand') Kirgisut (tu. Qırqız) are the 'true' Kirghiz, not those sometimes referred to as Kirghiz who are in reality Kazakh. Cf. Čeveng 2000, 81-82. Their territory at the time was 'five post stations' from that of the Oyirat, beyond the Yenisei. See NCHK, I, 58-59, n. 45. For this people and their name, cf. also CLC, 335-382; CKMKSCK, 286-293; Poppe 1955, 39-40; BT, II, 344; Pulleyblank 1990 (with a useful bibliography on pp. 107-108). Yedi Inal and Aldi Er's mission is mentioned in the YS² 1, 14, s.a. 1207; cf. also the SWCCL¹, 57b-58a. The names Yedi Inal ('Seven' + the tribal chief's title *inal*), Aldi Er ('Six Men') and Örebek Digin ('Prince Örebek') are all Turkic. On Aldi Er, cf. Rybatzki [2003], s.v. 'Al.' For the title *digin* (pl. *digit* = *tigin*, *tigit*), see above, n. 182; for that of *inal*, see TMEN, no. 1900; Zieme 1978, 72-73, 79. Cf. also BT, II, 139. The Šibir are the Sibir (Rašīd al-Dīn's 'Ibir Sibir') beyond the Kirghiz and further north in northwestern Siberia. Cf. also Pritsak 1989. The Kesdim are the Kestimi or Keštimi of Rašīd al-Dīn. Cf. Ligeti 1966, 124-128; CLC, 332-334. 'Tenlek' is a mistake for Teleng (pl. Telengüt; cf. § 207), the modern Telengit in the Altai Republic. The Tö'eles (~ Tö'ölös; cf. § 207) are the Töleş, another Turkic tribe of the Altai. Cf. above, n. 207, for these two tribes. The Baĵigit correspond to the Bašgirt, i.e. the modern Bashkir. Cf. P.B. Golden in *AEMA* 1:1975, 34-35. The other names listed in § 239 cannot be easily identified. However, *pace* Pelliot (HCG, 87-89; NCHK, I, 60, n. 52), the Bayit may well be related to the modern Bayat or Bait (on which see Čeveng 1996, 112-113, 118), cf. Bese 1988, 19; the puzzling 'Tuqas' may correspond to either the Kazakh Toghas clan, or the Ordos *Byχas* clan; and there is another Kazakh clan called Tas, as noted by Aristov. See NCHK, I, 60, nn. 53, 56; Hambis 1970a. For the above identifications and further literature on the subject, besides NCHK, I, 57-60, nn. 40-57, and NHHO, 141-

142 and notes, see Han Ju-lin in CLC, 335-382, and Cleaves 1956a, both containing also important notes on other forest peoples (apart from the Kirghiz and Qabqanas) mentioned in this section; and NNRS, Index, s.vv. The articles by K. Sodnom in *Mongolica* 2 (23):1991, 256-266, on the Oirat and by A. Očir in MNT, I, 70-72, on the Oirat and Buriat mentioned in the SH cannot be regarded as scholarly contributions to the subject. For the distribution of the tribes as given by Rašid al-Dīn, see SL², I/1, 121-123, 150-151. Most of these tribes were Turkic-speaking, or at least predominantly so.

'Up to this side', lit. 'hither' (*inaqši*), i.e. 'up to our side (= territory)', in other words, from the furthest to the nearest tribes.

For 'gifts', i.e. tribute in the form of rare and valuable articles, cf. above, n. 238. In the present section are listed (twice) white gerfalcons, white geldings and black sables. White gerfalcons were especially prized, also for their symbolic (good omen) value. See above, n. 63. For the use of (ger)-falcons by the Mongols in the 13th century, cf. the references in Marco Polo's account. See MP³, 426a (Index); and the important contribution by S. Jacquesson (Jacquesson 2000). White being a colour of good omen, white geldings were regarded as a favoured mount, reserved for high officials such as *bekis*. Cf. § 216. And black sable furs were, of course, a very valuable commodity and luxury items, as they have always been, and as shown also in §§ 96, 104 above. It should be noted that the pre-eminent position of the white gerfalcons as gifts is confirmed by the fact that they are the only ones mentioned in the shorter version of this event in SWCCL¹, 58b. The passage with the second reference to the gifts brought to Činggis Qan by the leaders of the People of the Forest is translated and discussed in Mo, 223.

Čečcyigen who, according to Rašid al-Dīn (SL², I/2, 70) was Činggis' second daughter, was given to the Oyirat chief to cement the alliance with the People of the Forest. This chief was Quduqa Beki's eldest son Inalči according to the SH account or, if we follow Rašid al-Dīn (SL², I/1, 119; I/2, 70), his

younger son Törölči. The YS supports the latter's version. See YS² 109, 2762. According to the YS and other Chinese sources, Princess Qolui (Qoluiqan is the diminutive and endearment form), a granddaughter of Činggis, was married to one Qada. The disagreement between the various sources has been discussed by Pelliot (NCHK, I, 61-62, n. 59). The name Qoluiqan is written 'Holuiqan' in the SH and this orthographically incorrect form has been adopted in Cl, 173, and Oz¹, VI, 89; however, the correct form with initial *q* (Qoluyiqan) is confirmed by AT¹, 87a. The name Inalči is Turkic and may represent an original Inalčiq, or even Inanč, both names deriving from official titles. See HCG, 102; ED, 184b, 187a; TMEN, nos. 669, N34=1979. Cf. also EM, 486. As for Čečeyigen (= Čečeiken), Poucha claims that this name is a diminutive form of *čečeg* 'flower.' See GGMGL, 83. Cf. Rybatzki [2003]; s.v. In Poucha's opinion, the intermediate *-i-* is an hypocoristic suffix used in conjunction with '*-gän*', i.e. *-ken*. There are several problems with Poucha's interpretation, tempting as it may be and earlier adopted in Ra, X, 68, following a personal communication from N. Poppe who referred to Vladimircov 1925a, where it is stated that the suffix *-qan/-ken* functions not only as a diminutive suffix, but also as a feminine ending. Cf. GWM, 42, § 124. Poppe gave as an example of this usage the name of Dayan Qayan's wife Jimisken ('Fruit') Qatun in the inscription of Čayan Baišing. See ITB, 31, line 6. However, as pointed out by L. Bese (p.c.; cf. Bese 1978, 365, no. 15), the suffix in question is essentially a diminutive suffix, since there are plenty of masculine names also ending in *-qan/-ken*. Furthermore, it is morphologically unusual in both Turkic and Mongolian for the final *-kl-g* (*čeček/čečeg*) to disappear before suffixes; and the *-i-ken* of Čečeiken is a Turkic, not a Mongolian, double suffix (cf. tat., kaz. Urazaikai, Urazaiqan, from *uraza* 'gift'). We are, therefore, in the presence of an original name Čeče ~ Seče (cf. AT¹, 87a: Sečeyiken). This is confirmed by Rašid al-Dīn and Juvainī, who give the form Čečeken throughout. See SL², I/1, 119; I/2, 70 ('Čičigan' = Čečeken);

HWC, 274, n. 7, 506, 608, 611, n. 21. Both Čeče and Seče, and the latter's 'diminutive' form Sečeken, are found as proper names in the sources of the Mongol period. See SH, § 120: Seče Domoq; *Successors*, 171: 'Cheche'; *Chapitre CVII*, t. 23: 'Čäčä (= *Säčä[n])'; *Chapitre CVIII*, 22 and t. 2: 'Säčägän.' Initial *s* > *č* and/or *s* ~ *č* before the initial *č* of the second syllable is regular in Turkic and Mongolian words; it follows, then, that AT Sečeyiken is also correct and, from another point of view, it may indeed represent the older form in respect to SH Čečeyigen. The ambiguity is reflected in the double name Sečen Sečeyikün (for Sečeyiken) of ET³, 42v05, and Sečen Čečeyiken of GOM, 110. One should add that the alternation in suffixes, such as we observe in SH Čečeyigen v. SL Čečeken is also quite common in Turkic names. However, the name Čeče ~ Seče does not, at least in the present instance, necessarily correspond to Mongolian *čečen* ~ *sečen* 'wise', but, in Bese's opinion, to tu. **sečä* ~ **čečä* 'mother, aunt'; cf. kirg. *čeče*, kaz. *šeše* 'mother', etc. As for Qoluiqan, a similarly formed name, Bese suggests a derivation from tu. *qul* 'slave' (p.c.; cf. Bese 1978, 365, no. 15). On the other hand, Even and Pop (Ev-Pop, 201, 297, n. 38) relate it to *qolui* (= mo. *qoyolai*, kh. *xooloi*) 'throat', and render it as 'Jolie-Voix.' I am not convinced by either derivation. Cf. Rybatzki [2003], s.v., for a further etymology (< mo. *qol* 'centre, main, etc.').

The reference to Činggis' daughter Alaqa Beki (read, as usual, Begi) being given in marriage to the ruler of the Önggüt in the south, although historically correct, is not actually related to the events described in this section, viz. the submission of the People of the Forest up north. It has clearly been added, for the sake of completeness, in the context of marriage alliances concluded with Činggis Qan.

The alliance with the Önggüt raises several problems that have been discussed at length by Pelliot in NCHK, I, 63-64, n. 60; and RCAC, 263-267. Cf. also the more recent investigations by Chou Ch'ing-shu 周清澍 and Hung Yung-pin 洪用斌 in CKMKSC, 147-206 and 207-229 respectively; and, especially,

Chou CS 1981. Princess Alaqa, or Alaqai, married the Önggüt prince Jinguê, the earlier mentioned nephew of Alaquš Digit Quri (see §§ 182, 190, and above, n. 202), ca. 1211. Alaqa(i) was then about twenty years old. Cf. also the important notice on 'Alaqai-bägi' in Chou CS 1981, 164-168, no. 1. For the name Alaqa(i), 'Siberian marmot', see Bese 1978, 355-356, no. 3; Rybatzki [2003], s.v.

'You, eldest of my sons ... the fortunate People of the Forest.' This passage has been translated and discussed in Cleaves 1949, 106-107, n. 64; cf. also Cleaves 1949a, 530-531; and *Lettres*, 31. 'Who only now for the first time have left home (lit. "the tent")', i.e. to go to war, indicating that Joči had thus reached manhood. Cf. Ögödei's words addressed to Güyük in § 277. At the time (1207/08), Joči must have been twenty-three years old, but this was his first important campaign, and one in which he played a leading role. 'You have been lucky', lit. 'you have had a good "way" (*mör*). For *mör* 'way' = 'luck', see A. Mostaert *apud* Cleaves 1949, 107, n. 64. For the expression *ere aqta* (= pmo. *ere ayta*) 'man or/and gelding', cf. Cleaves 1949, 106-107, n. 64; idem 1952, 108, n. 168; TMEN, no. 638. The use of the term 'fortunate' (*öljeitü*) with reference to the People of the Forest may sound strange, but it is appropriate because, by submitting as they did, they were not only spared death and destruction, but their chiefs also became closely related to the Mongol ruling family through marriage. No greater fortune could befall a subject of Činggis Qan than to become his son-in-law (*gürengen*). For Činggis' granting the People of the Forest as patrimony to his eldest son Joči – a sort of 'investiture' – see Vlad.², 130. Cf. also Jackson 1999, 18-19.

§ 240. The Tumat or Qori Tumat (the Qori being one of their main subtribes) were mentioned at the beginning of the SH (§§ 8 and 9) in connection with their chief Qorilartai Mergen, the husband of Barqujin Qo'a and father of Činggis Qan's ancestress Alan Qo'a. They lived in northern Mongolia, chiefly on the southwestern shore of Lake Baikal and in the forest region

between this lake and Lake Khubsugul. Rašīd al-Dīn places them in the Barqujīn Tögüm, i.e. the Barqujīn Lowland further east, between the Selenga and Barguzin rivers. See SL², I/1, 122. The association of the Tumat with the Barqujīn territory is confirmed, *inter alia*, by the very name of Qorilartai Mergen's wife. We must, therefore, assume that this forest tribe was scattered over a wide area at the time.

The campaign against the Tumat and the death of Boroqul (Boro'ul) must be placed s.a. 1217. See SL², I/2, 178, 255-256; SWCCL¹, 72b; and YS² 1, 20, where the account of these events is at variance with the SH version. Cf. HCG, 375; Li, 177, n. 240; Cleaves 1956a, 393-394 and n. 12; and Appendix One. In this section, Boroqul's name appears in both forms (Boroqul and Boro'ul). Cf. §§ 213 and 214.

Daiduqul Soqor and Botoqui Tarqun mean Daiduqul the Blind and Botoqui the Fat respectively; however, the two epithets 'blind (*or* "one-eyed")' and 'fat' are not necessarily disparaging attributes given by the Mongols to the Tumat chief and his wife, as I previously stated (Ra, X, 69, n. 240), but they were probably an integral part of their names. Cf. the name Du'a Soqor in § 3. See also Bese 1988, 34-35. For the name Botoqui, cf. Rybatzki [2003], s.vv. 'Botoqui' and 'Tarqun.'

'Upon reaching *their territory*, Boroqul Noyan *with two others* – three men *altogether* – set out from the main army to proceed ahead of it', lit. 'When Boroqul Noyan arrived, three men set out from the great army to go before it' (*Boroqul Noyan gürčü qurban haran yeke čerig-eče urida yabura otču*). This sentence has been misunderstood by most translators (beginning with Na¹, 404), who took it to mean either that Boroqul and three other men set out, or that Boroqul set out *leading* three other men – in both cases forming a four-man advance party. Cf., e.g., Ha, 113; Ko, 175; Da¹, 231 (see also Da⁵, 196); LDAT, 185; Po, 178; Ka, 152; El-Ar, 773 and 774, n. 3 (quoting Ko); Ja, 359; Ma, 306; Oz¹, VI, 102 (see also Oz², II, 135); Ev-Pop, 202. Ozawa also renders *haran* with 'retainers' (家人), i.e. 'Boroqul Noyan, together with three retainers,' See his

discussion in Oz¹, VI, 103-106. The Chinese sectional summary appears to support such an interpretation, insofar as it renders the Mongolian text as follows: 'When Boroqul arrived, he ordered (令) three men to go in front of the great army' (Y² 10, 20a). See Pa, 132; Wei, 157; Wa, 287. However, Ligeti (Li, 110) and Murakami (Mu, III, 89) have understood the text correctly, whereas Cleaves' translation is ambiguous ('When Boroqul Noyan arrived, three men departing from the great army to go in front'). See Cl, 174. If we examine the original, we notice that it has no word for 'and', '(together) with', or 'ordered, sent,' etc.; it is a simple case of apposition, quite common in Mongolian: 'Boroqul Noyan – three persons ...', Boroqul Noyan being one of the three persons. (There is no need to render the word *haran* as 'retainer', since 'person' or 'man' is its most likely meaning here; cf. the interlinear gloss and the sectional summary [三人], and for the primary meaning of *haran* as 'person, individual', cf. now also the RH, 203, no. 9.) For this type of apposition, see, e.g., Mo, 29-30 (§ 90). Unfortunately, the sectional summary misled Haenisch and many after him who have misunderstood the Chinese text. The word *ling* 令 'to order' stands here, as it often does, for *ling* 領 'to lead, be at the head of', so that the text must be rendered 'When Boroqul arrived, he, leading three men (i.e. a three-man party [consisting of himself and two others]), went in front (= ahead) of the great army.' For 令=領, see DKJ, I, 387.1 (2). On the basis of information contained in § 241, Murakami (loc. cit.) identifies the other two members of the party as Quduqa Beki and Qorči, but this is by no means certain in view of the conflicting accounts. See below, n. 241.

'In the evening' (*üde jilda*). For the expression *üde jilda* = *jilda* 'evening', see Mo, 172-173. Cf. above, n. 177.

'In the dense forest', lit. 'in the difficult (*berke*) forest.'

'And were off guard', lit. 'without realizing (*or* unaware)' (*uqamsar*). *Uqamsar* < *uqa-* 'to realize, perceive, understand' + dev. noun suff. *-msar* (= eng. '-less'). For this expression and

the 'suffixe privatif' *-msarl-mser*, see Oz¹, VI, 106-8, n. 2; and above, n. 56.

'And prepared to move.' For the verb *tu'urbi-* (= *mo. tuγurbi-*) 'to prepare oneself, to get ready (to do something)', see 'Trois documents', 474-475.

'Pleaded with him', lit. 'persuaded (or advised) Činggis Qa'an.'

Dörbei Noyan of the Dörben tribe, known also as Dörbei Doqšin ('the Fierce'), reappears in § 261. On him, see Pelliot's remarks in HCG, 402; and below, nn. 257 and 261. The notice of his appointment as leader of the punitive mission against the Qori Tumat is followed by certain data of a military and ritual nature which are worth noting. First comes the injunction of marshalling the troops 'in strict order' (lit. 'with severity'), the expression used being *qatangqui-a ĵasaĵu*, which implies the enforcement of the *ĵasaq* in cases of breach of discipline. This is, in fact, confirmed by the disciplinary measures that Dörbei introduced 'by ordinance' (*ĵasaqla-*) when the army made its way into the forest area. See Ratchnevsky 1974, 476. Secondly, the injunction to pray to Eternal Heaven before starting the campaign in order to obtain its protection and increase Dörbei's strength and power. Cf. § 199. This is the first and only time that the SH uses the word *ĵalbari-* 'to pray' at the beginning of a military expedition, but we know from other sources that prayer was a regular feature of their worship of Heaven, *pace* John of Pian di Carpine. See MTPL, 17a; HTSL, 21a (cf. CG, 77, 140, 141, 187); MM, 9. Cf. also *Lettres*, 29; and above, n. 172. Thirdly, the strategy used on this occasion to confuse the enemy. The expression *hoqtorqui erbegelĵe'ül-* designates the well-known tactic of moving troops to feign an attack from a certain direction, while the main army makes a detour and attacks from the direction where the enemy least expects it. Its meaning is 'to make a false (= simulated) troop movement', lit. 'falsely (*hoqtorqui*) to cause *troops* to move (*erbegelĵe'ül-*)', i.e. to make a decoy movement or manoeuvre. I have discussed this technical expression in detail in Ra, X, 69-70, n. 240. Cf. Oz¹,

VI, 110-114, n. 7. See also HTSL, 22b (cf. CG, 191); MM, 36; and above, n. 195, for other military tactics. It should be mentioned, however, that for Cleaves the expression in question meant 'to spread false rumors abroad.' See Cl, 174 and n. 27. For the deployment of patrolmen or scouts (*qara'ul*) in a typical situation as described here, see HTSL, 20a-b. Cf. CG, 183.

'To advance', lit. 'to go (or proceed)' (*yabuqu*).

'By paths trodden by the red bull' (*hula'an buqa-yin yabuqsan mör-iyer*). These words occur again a few lines further down and all between is parenthetical. However, for stylistic purposes I have had to break the long passage into separate sentences. The interpretation of the expression *hula'an buqa*, lit. 'red bull (or ox)' presents some difficulties. It is certainly not a place-name, as Pa, 132 and Wei, 157, have assumed it to be owing to a misinterpretation of the Chinese sectional summary. See Y² 10, 20b. The reference is undoubtedly to a particular animal, as both the interlinear gloss and the sectional summary clearly indicate. It was the tracks made by these animals in the mountain forest that the Mongol soldiers followed, enlarging them as they went by felling trees, etc., so as to allow the army to get through and reach the top of the mountain in order to fall upon the Tumat encamped on the other side of the range. To identify the animal with a wild ox or buffalo, as some have done (e.g. Na², 350; Ha, 113; Ko, 175; Li, 110; Mu, III, 90; Yao-Ja, III, 359) is a mistake, because this animal did not inhabit that part of northern Mongolia. Since these events took place in the mountain taiga and forest region of the Baikal, the animal in question was almost certainly one of the large species of deer that still inhabit the area. In my view there are only two possibilities: the Manchurian red deer (*Cervus elaphus xanthopygos*) and the larger elk (*Alces alces*), both common in the Barguzin district, a fact recorded even by Marco Polo. See MP³, 88. *Hula'an* (= *mo. ulayan*) 'red' may also designate various shades of brown. See Poppe 1977, 125-126. Cf. MA, 363a: *ulān görēsün* 'deer', lit. 'red wild animal', and bur. *ulaan güröohen* 'winter or red roe-deer' (BRS, 466b).

'Carry ten rods', lit. 'carry ten rods on the back.'

For some interesting remarks on the words *uqali* 'adze', *ši'üči* 'chisel' and *jer jebsek* 'weapons', see Khomonov 1970, 37, 38. Cf. also RH, 283, nos. 10 (*hüli* = *uqali*) and 11 (*kirê* = *kirü'e*). For *jer jebsek* = mo. *jer jebes*, see Cleaves 1966, 41-42, n. 348. Cf. also TMEN, no. 170.

'They took them by surprise', lit. 'unprepared' (*genet*). On *genet*, a plural of *genen* 'unprepared for something unexpected', see above, nn. 104 and 170.

As noted by Ligeti (Li, 177, n. 240), the SH account of the second campaign against the Tumat has a strong epic flavour.

§ 241. § 207 relates how Qorči, in reward for his services, obtained permission from Činggis Qan to take thirty beautiful women from among the people who had submitted to the Mongols. In the same section Qorči had also been entrusted by Činggis with the creation of a myriarchy drawn from various forest tribes. Neither his capture by the Tumat, nor the capture of Quduqa Beki by the same people, were mentioned before. The narrative of these events is somewhat fragmentary and, as we have seen, chronologically out of order. Since this is also the case with the AT text of the SH, the 'disarrangement' of the material must have occurred at an early date. See AT¹, 88a-88b (ATL, 170-171); LDAT, 185-186. Cf. Appendix One. It will be remembered that in § 121 Qorči had asked Činggis Qan to allow him 'to take freely beautiful and fine girls from among the people', and to let him have thirty as wives in reward for his correct prophecy of Činggis' becoming 'lord of all.' In the present passage, the sentence *Tumat irgen-ü ökit qo'astan qučin emes abtuqai* has been rendered in different ways. Cf. Ha, 114; Ko, 175; Li, 110; Ra, X, 46; Cl, 175; Oz¹, VI, 122; Ev-Pop, 203. I now follow Mostaert (u.n.) in translating *qo'astan* (pl. in -s of *qo'a* 'beautiful' [cf. § 121] + -tan) as 'sont belles', an interpretation supported by the sectional summary (Y² 10, 22a: 'Qorči, knowing that the Tumat women were very beautiful, wanted to take thirty as wives'). For *qo'astan ökit* [sic!], cf.

Rassadin 1995, 114. For the words *Tumat irgen-ü ökit abqu ke'en otqu bolun*, see the remarks in Aalto 1973, 35. The nomen futuri (-qu) followed by *bol-* indicates intention, purpose or future action (= ch. *yao* 要). See Y², loc. cit. In Cleaves' translation, the word 'people' after 'of the Tumat' is missing. See Cl, 175. On Qorči's reward, cf. also Ratchnevsky 1976, 514, 527, n. 32.

'Because of the death', lit. 'because of the bones.' Cf. the expressions 'my dead bones' and 'to take the bones (= body)' in § 201, and 'to place the bones', i.e. 'to bury' in § 175, where the word 'bones' (*yasun*) is used to designate the body of the deceased and, by extension (as in the present instance), his death. This way of referring to the death of a person is rooted in the shamanistic beliefs of the medieval Mongols and in the tendency to avoid direct references to death. Also, as stated earlier (n. 201 above), the skeleton was regarded as the seat of a soul and had, therefore, numenous connotations. Boroqul's death is related in § 240.

For the granting of slaves to the family of a fallen hero, cf. the case of Quyildar, to whose widow and children Činggis Qan had also granted one hundred people taken from the Ĵirgin tribe (§ 185).

§ 242. 'Gathering the people' (*ulus quriya'an*), i.e. rallying the clansmen and subjects who had become disaffected after the death of Yisügei. See § 73. However, I think that Činggis may also allude here to the support and advice he received from his mother during the arduous years when he strove to establish his authority over all the tribes of Mongolia. Cf. Ratchnevsky 1976, 523.

The distribution of subjects among members of his family is mentioned by Rašid al-Dīn, but Rašid's figures are at variance with those given by the SH and at times the difference is quite considerable. Chinese sources such as the YS provide additional information. The SH figures appear to be inflated. They have been compared and discussed in Li, 177-178, n. 242; Mu,

III, 108ff.; and in great detail in Sugiyama 1978. Otčigin's, i.e. Temüge Otčigin's share (*qubi*) is put together with that of Mother Hö'elün (10,000 people according to the SH; 5,000 and 3,000 respectively according to Rašid) because Otčigin, being the youngest son, was the one who 'stayed home' and who by tradition inherited the hearth. See Vlad.², 60, 67, 126, 130; and above, n. 48. (In this section and in §§ 243 and 245, Otčigin is written Otčikin.) It is noteworthy that Joči, as Činggis' eldest son, is among the first three members of his family to receive a share.

'The mother was dissatisfied' (*eke čimatču*). Cl, 175, translates: '[although] considering the number too few', but *čimat-* (= mo. *čimad-*) implies dissatisfaction, resentment and, indeed, blame. Cf. HW, 27; Les., 184a; MKeT, 2780b.

'Did not complain', lit. 'did not utter a sound.'

Joči received 9,000 people (Rašid: 4,000); Ča'adai 8,000 (Rašid: 4,000); Ögödei 5,000 (Rašid: 4,000); Tolui 5,000 (Rašid: not given); Qasar, i.e. Joči Qasar, 4,000 (Rašid: 1,000 to Qasar's three sons); Alčidai 2,000 (Rašid: 3,000). Cf. SL², I/2, 274-277.

While Joči has been mentioned in the SH several times before (§§ 165, 210, 239), Činggis Qan's second son Ča'adai is mentioned for the first time in this passage. He was born ca. 1184 (see above, n. 104) and died in 1242, a year after Ögödei (see, however, *Successors*, 149 and n. 37). Compared with the wealth of information in the eastern sources, there is little on him in western languages; on the other hand, there is a vast literature on his *ulus*, i.e. the so-called Chaghatay Khanate of Central Asia which lasted until the middle of the 14th century. See EINE, II, 2a-4a; GSE, VIII, 540a; FSHCA, 172b (Index); and HTAC, 145ff. Cf. also NMP, I, 254. On particular issues concerning Ča'adai himself and his name, cf. *Chapitre CVII*, 57-64; NMP, I, 250-254, 287; NHHO, 63-64; HCG, 189, 265, 410; BT, II, 310; Cleaves 1949b, 417-418; Boyle 1975a, 36-37; MNT, I, 108; and YShi, 13-14. It is generally assumed that his

name derives from **ča'an* (= mo. *čayan*) 'white' + the denominational noun suffix *-dai* (on which see 'Trois documents', 473-474; Poppe 1975, 162, § 2A), thus meaning 'the White.' However, mmo. 'white' is regularly transcribed as *čaqān* or *čaqa'an* (> *čaqān*) (= pmo. *čayayan* > mo. *čayan*). See, e.g., R, 206a; *Matériel I*, 45; MA, 464b; VMI, 23; RH, 257, no. 26. Cf. IMCS, 27, 61; MXTXÜ, 40, 84-85. Bese 1978, 362-365, no. 13, was of the opinion that Ča'adai derives from tu. *čaqa/čaga* (tat., kaz., turkm.) 'child' + the (tu.) denominational noun suffix *-dail-tai*. Since in the SH we find forms like Ča'a'an (§ 153), Čahan (= Ča'ān) (ibid.), and Ča'alun (§ 157), a derivation from *ča'ān* 'white' (+ *-dai*) is likely. See above, n. 153. Cf. HCG, 283. The irregular form *ča'ān* (v. *čaqān*) is possibly due to popular or dialect pronunciation. In view of their still doubtful etymology, the names Ča'alun and Ča'adai are transcribed as such instead of Ča'ālun and Ča'ādai which, in my view, are the correct readings. The Written Mongolian form of SH Ča'adai is Čayatai (= Čayātai) < pmo. Čayadai (= Čayādai). Cf. Cleaves 1949b, 417-418.

The Alčidai mentioned in this passage was Činggis Qan's nephew, the son of his younger brother Qači'un, not to be confused with the military leader Alčidai of the Jalayir, closely related to the commander of a thousand Ilügei (no. 5 in the list in § 202), on whom see above, n. 226 (also for the confusion and alternative readings of their name). On Činggis' nephew, and his name, cf. *Chapitre CVII*, 29-30, n. 1; Li, 178, n. 242; Poppe 1975, 162.

Belgütei, Činggis' half-brother, received 1,500 people (Rašid: not given).

Dāritai, the 'disloyal' uncle of Činggis Qan, was last mentioned in §§ 153-154, where it is related how he fell foul of Činggis for having disobeyed his orders concerning the plundering of the defeated Tatars. From Rašid al-Dīn (SL², I/2, 48) we learn that soon after this incident Dāritai left the Mongol camp and went over to the Tayiči'ut, then to the Kereyit

(‘Gereyit’ in our passage, see above, n. 134) and, eventually, to the Naiman and Dörben.

‘I shall wipe him from my sight (lit. “eyes”)’ – a euphemism for ‘I shall get rid of him’, i.e. ‘I shall kill him’, as evident from the three *nököt*’s question ‘How can you do away with him?’ (*ker tebčigü*). Their argument is that to kill Dāritai, the youngest son of Bartan Ba’atur and guardian of the hearth, would be like destroying Činggis’ own hearth; furthermore, since Dāritai was the only surviving brother of Yisügei, it would also mean severing the last remaining link (lit. ‘reminder’) with his late father – both powerful arguments. For Činggis’ attitude towards the alienated kinsman, cf. Ratchnevsky 1987, 102-103. For the word *geri’es* ~ *geriyes* ‘souvenir, remembrance, etc.’, cf. above, n. 208. For *sayin* ‘good’ = ‘late, deceased’, see above, n. 73.

‘He acted without thinking, so spare him’, lit. ‘In (= because of) his not considering (i.e. because he acted without realizing the consequences of his action), let him be!’

‘Allow the youngest brother (*nilqa*) of your good father ...’: here the word *nilqa* has the same meaning as the *nilqa* applied to Temüge Otčigin at the beginning of this section. Cf. above, n. 142. However, the phrase has been understood differently by Ozawa, ultimately following Ko, 176. Cf. Oz¹, VI, 132-135, n. 6; On, 135. But see ‘Trois documents’, 455, for the correct interpretation.

‘To let the smoke of their camp swirl up’, i.e. so that he and his family and kinsmen could go on living as before. See *ibid*.

‘They reasoned with him’, lit. ‘they argued clearly (or reasonably) with him.’ See Mo, 147, 150.

‘Until he was so moved that/He snuffled, as if/He had smoke in his nose’, i.e. until he was so moved by his *nököt*’s plea that he began snuffling as if he were affected by smoke in his nose. The expression *qabar-ača huni qangši-*, lit. ‘to snuffle out smoke from the nose’ = ‘to be(come) deeply moved’, must be an ancient idiom. (The equivalence is supported by the sectional summary [Y² 10, 25a] which says, ‘Thereupon, T’aitu [i.e. Činggis Qan] was deeply moved.’) The whole sentence

has been rendered in different ways by other translators, the problem centering around the puzzling word *qangšitala*, converbum terminale of *qangši-*. I have discussed this problem in Ra, X, 73-74, n. 242; the following are additional comments and clarifications. Written Mongolian has a verb *yangsi-* ‘to yelp, howl (of dogs)’, cf. kh. *ganši-* ‘to whine, whimper’; and *yongsi-* (kh. *gonši-*, *gunši-*) ‘to speak through the nose.’ See Lcs., 349b, 360b. Cf. Vietze 1990, 380. According to Lcs., 929b, the latter appears also in the form *qangsa-*. Although this form is doubtful, Yakut has a verb *xaŋsyi-* ‘to speak through the nose, snuffle’, which S. Kałużyński (MEJS, 109) has related to the SH *qangši-*, and which obviously cannot be separated from mo. *yangsi-*. Indeed, the unusual transcription of *qangšitala* in the SH (with initial *k* rather than *q*) may point to a word beginning with the voiced velar stop *ɣ*. Cf. Y³ 12, 5b; L², 208. Thus it is uncertain whether the verb in question began with *qa* or *ɣa*. Since in Mongolian a considerable number of words with front vocalism occur also with back vocalism and vice versa (cf. above, n. 204), it has been suggested that SH *qangši-* (? *yangši-*) = mo. *kengsi-* ‘to have a dry cough.’ See Oz¹, VI, 137-138, n. 7. It has further been suggested that SH *qangši-* = kh. *xan xiix* ‘to emit a strong odour.’ See TH, 164 (= JYT, 286). While I do not share this last interpretation, one cannot exclude that *qangši-* ~ *kengši-*, if the verb in question had initial *qa*, particularly since the meaning ‘to cough’ is supported by the interlinear gloss which has *ch’iang* 搶 ‘to rob, plunder’, an obvious error for *ch’iang* 嗆 ‘to cough, choke.’ Cf. Do¹, 273, 275, n. 4. Although the precise translation of the SH idiom is still subject to discussion, its meaning is perfectly clear.

‘Right!’ renders the Mongolian *je deli* (= *teli*), lit. ‘So that!’ = ‘Let that be so!’, ‘Enough of that!’, etc. On this expression, by which the subject indicates that he has finally made up his mind, see Mo, 173 and n. 156 (where the entire sentence is translated). Cf. §§ 242, 246, 256, 265, 277.

For Šigi Qutuqu's role in this episode, see Ratchnevsky 1965, 97-98; cf. ISK, 80.

§ 243. In this section Činggis Qan nominates the chiefs in charge of the people distributed among his family. The list given by the SH complements and, at the same time, supplements the information found in Rašid al-Dīn's work, on which see Li, 178, n. 243. All the chiefs are mentioned among the commanders of a thousand listed in § 202: Güčü (no. 17), Kōkōčü (no. 18), Ĵungsai (= Ĵungsoi, no. 33) and Qorqasun (= Qorqosun, no. 19; on this name see Bese 1974, 92); Qunan (no. 7), Mōngke'ür (= Mōnggü'ür, no. 40) and Kete (no. 51); Qaračar (no. 29), Mōngke (= ? Mōngkō Qalja, no. 53) and Idoqudai (= Iduqadai, no. 66; on this name see Poppe 1975, 162, and Bese 1978, 367, no. 18); Kōke Čos (= Kōkō Čos, no. 30); Ilüge (= Ilügei, no. 5; on this name see *ibid.*, 367-368, no. 19) and Degei (no. 11); Ĵedei (= Ĵetei, no. 23) and Bala (no. 35); Ĵebke (no. 45); Ča'urqai (no. 59).

'Ča'adai is headstrong and is, by nature, punctilious' is, I believe, a more accurate rendering of the Mongolian *Ča'adai keče'ü buyu narin aburitu buyu* than my previous translation ('Ča'adai is obstinate and petty-minded'). See Ra, X, 47. For the words *keče'ü* (= mo. *kečegüü*) 'hard, headstrong', and *narin* 'meticulous, punctilious', cf. TMEN, nos. 327, 380; and Mo, 187, n. 169. The Persian sources confirm that Ča'adai was headstrong and severe, and excessively preoccupied with the proper observance of the rules of etiquette and the enforcement of the Mongol customary law. Cf. HWG, 271ff.; *Successors*, 137-138, 147-148. Cf. also Heissig 1976a, 278, 287, nn. 10, 11; Vlad.², 139; and the SH, §§ 270-271. Because of his difficult and unbending character, Činggis wanted him to have constantly at his side a reasonable and level-headed man like Kōkō Čos, whose skill in 'thinking', i.e. in sound advice, is well illustrated in § 254.

It is not certain whether the Ča'urqai mentioned in this section and in § 202 is the same person as Ča'urqan, the elder

brother of Sübe'etei, on whom see §§ 120, 124 and 127; as well as §§ 183, 184 and 185, where he is called Čačurqan (= pmo. Čačurqan > Ča'urqan, see above, n. 183). Murakami, following Naka, assumes that he was. See Na², 278; Mu, I, 228-229, n. 11; II, 380, 65. Pelliot is inclined to take the same view (HCG, 164); and, although Cleaves lists Ča'urqai and Ča'urqan as separate personages in Cl, 236b (Index), I am personally convinced that they are one and the same person. See above, nn. 120 and 183.

§ 244. Mōnglik Eči'e (= Ečige), or Father Mōnglik, was last mentioned in § 204. Some of his sons are well known: Tolun Čerbi and Söyiketü (~ Süyiketü) Čerbi are mentioned several times in the SH, and these and the other offspring are also mentioned in the Persian and Chinese sources. See Hambis 1975, 40-45 (where, however, the author, by wrongly identifying Söyiketü Čerbi with Sutu [? Sütü], i.e. Rašid al-Dīn's Sutu Noyan [see SL², I/2, 272; cf. Li, 179, n. 244] in his genealogical table on page 45, reduces the number of Mōnglik's sons from seven to six). Mōnglik's most famous, or rather notorious, offspring was undoubtedly his fourth son Kōkōčü, who had gained immense prestige among the Mongols on the strength of his supernatural powers. Relying on his authority and influence over Činggis Qan, in whose enthronement in 1206 he had apparently played an important role (see above, nn. 123, 202), Kōkōčü overreached himself and went as far as challenging Činggis' leadership, but failed and was destroyed, as vividly narrated in the sequel to the present section of the SH. For the Persian accounts, see HWC, 39; SL², I/1, 167-168; I/2, 150 and n. 4. Cf. D'Ohsson, I, 99-100; Hambis 1975, 8ff. Although Kōkōčü is generally referred to as a shaman (also, more recently, in ČK¹, 38 et passim; Kitagawa 1984, 67; ČQT, 652; ČXC, 120), W. Heissig and E. Endicott have pointed out that this is a later assumption made on the strength of his designation as a 'magician/shaman' (*wu* 巫) in the Chinese summary of the present section of the SH (Y² 10, 31b), with the interlinear

gloss explaining the appellation Teb Tenggeri as a ‘magician/shaman’s title’ (*wu-ming* 巫名). See Heissig 1984, 319; Endicott-West 1999, 224 and n. 3. Rašīd al-Dīn (SL¹, 15 [1888], 112; SL², I/2, 253) describes Kōkōčü as a wonder-worker and a man endowed (or believed to be endowed) with prophetic powers, but neither the SH nor the Persian authors ever refer to him as a real shaman (mmo. *bö’e*; pers. *böve* [read *bö’e*], see TMEN, no. 112). His prophetic skill may be compared to that of Qorči (see §§ 121, 207), who was certainly not a *bö’e*. Nevertheless, Kōkōčü bore an appellation or epithet which beyond doubt reflected his unusual qualities and powers but the exact meaning of which is still a subject of controversy. Pelliot and others following him (Grousset, Hambis, etc.) are of the opinion that Teb Tenggeri means ‘the Very (or Most) Celestial (or Divine).’ See Pelliot 1944d, 182-184 (refuting Vladimircov’s previous interpretations); CW, 176; ČK¹, 88 (where the reference to ‘Pelliot, *Sur la légende d’Uyuz-khan*’ in note 27 is incorrect; the correct reference being to Pelliot 1944d cited above. The error has passed into ČK², 248, n. 30). For a review of all the interpretations proposed before 1967, see Cleaves 1967, 248ff. Cf. also Heissig, loc. cit., where Teb Tenggeri is translated as ‘the fully heavenly.’ In FTC, 21, H. Franke renders it ‘Arch-Heaven.’ The section on Kōkōčü in Humphrey 1994, 202-203, is an assemblage of errors and misinterpretations. Pelliot’s interpretation has been challenged by Cleaves who, in his learned article (pp. 259-260), reached the conclusion that Kōkōčü’s epithet actually means ‘Lord Cunning.’ I expressed my reservations on Cleaves’ argument in Ra, X, 75-76, and concluded my discussion as follows (p. 76): ‘Thus, in spite of certain difficulties, which I think can be solved, Pelliot’s interpretation in my view still holds true. Even though it is not grammatically correct in Mongolian to strengthen a substantive – as opposed to an adjective or colour-name – by means of a reduplicative prefix like *teb* (before a word beginning with the syllable *te*), Teb-Tenggeri may well be an *ad hoc* expression, i.e. coined, as it were, in order to express a

certain idea for a special purpose. “The Very Divine” is, indeed, a most appropriate designation for such an eminent personality as Kōkōčü undoubtedly was. Furthermore, as already pointed out by other scholars (see Cleaves, op. cit., p. 253), the epithet, so understood, finds a correspondence in the shaman’s real name Kōkōčü, which derives from *kökö* “blue.” The major difficulty to which I referred, i.e. the ‘improper’ use of the reduplicative prefix in the expression *teb tenggeri* ‘the very divine’, is no longer insurmountable, since we find in Preclassical Mongolian expressions like *juḅ juḅgiyer* ‘in the most befitting manner’, with the prefix *juḅ* reinforcing the following noun *juḅ* ‘manner’, which by itself is not an adverb. See Cleaves 1949, 101, n. 34. Cf. also Gaadamba 1969, 169. Furthermore, as noted in Pelliot 1944d, 182-184, the Mongolian expression apparently has its exact counterpart in Uighur, which, if correct, shows that the Mongolian expression is merely a calque of the Turkic one, not surprising in the circumstances. (The word *činggis* of Činggis Qan, the title which according to Rašīd al-Dīn was chosen for Temüjin by Teb Tenggeri, is also a Turkic, not a Mongolian, word; see above, n. 123.) The other serious problem raised by Cleaves is the use of Teb instead of Teb Tenggeri twice in § 246: if Teb is a prefix, it obviously cannot stand alone. See Cleaves 1967, 257. However, as clearly shown by the sectional summary (Y² 10, 45a) and the corresponding passage in AT¹, 98a, 98b, it is simply due to a scribal error that on two occasions the word Tenggeri is missing after Teb in § 246: the manuscripts used by the compiler(s) of the sectional summary and by the author of the AT both had the full form. Although, in view of the above, one may assume with Pelliot that Teb Tenggeri is ‘une expression toute faite’ meaning ‘the Very Divine’ or, perhaps better, ‘the All-Divine’, I have now a different interpretation to propose that combines, as it were, those of Pelliot and Cleaves. The latter, extrapolating from Pelliot 1944d, is of the opinion that the word *tenggeri* must be taken here with the meaning not of ‘Heaven’, but of ‘Lord’, an opinion which I share. But I still take *teb* as the reduplicative

(intensive) prefix, and render the whole expression as ‘the very lord’, or ‘the lord of all.’ This brings immediately to mind the still puzzling Turkic title *qapγan* (? < **qabqan* = red. pref. *qab* + *qan*) ‘? the very ruler, the ruler of all, the *qan* of *qans*’, which may be formed like the later *teb tenggeri*. Cf. TMEN, III, 177-178; de Rachewiltz 1989, 296-297 (5). This is largely hypothetical, but such a title or epithet borne by Kōkōčū at the time when Činggis was himself elected *qan* of the Mongol nation or confederation was bound to cause trouble. It is obvious from Kōkōčū *Teb Tenggeri*’s pronouncement (as the interpreter of ‘heavenly signs’) in which Činggis Qan is called *Temüjin*, that either the event took place before the latter’s election, or that Kōkōčū is being purposefully disrespectful to his master. Ligeti has pointed out that the story of *Teb Tenggeri* is chronologically out of place, and that the SH account of his demise has an epic colouring. See Li, 179, n. 244. The date ‘AD 1210’ in On, 137 (cf. the 2001 ed., 228, n. 537), is extrapolated from the sequence of events in the SH, the next recorded date being 1211 (§ 247), and is purely arbitrary. I cannot close the discussion without quoting the following remarks contained in a letter from Prof. M. Erdal of 24 October 1982: ‘For the reason you give, Cleaves’ explanation is probably unacceptable; I think, however, that I have a better suggestion than the grammatically very awkward Pelliot explanation (in Old Turkic, too, the intensifying reduplication applies only to adjectives and particularly colour names). Iranian *dēv*, a cognate of Sanskrit *deva*, is attested in Middle Persian, Parthian and Soghdian with the meaning “devil” and, more commonly, “demon.” It has also been borrowed into some modern Turkish languages and I seem to remember having seen it in some Old Turkic text published sometime during the last years. (There have early been thoughts on how the gods of the Indo-Iranian tribes your side of the Indus became demons on my side of it, in grey antiquity.) “Demon-God” or “God of the Demons” is, I submit, an even likelier appellation for a prestigious chief shaman than “The Very Divine”, even if that were a grammatically possible rendering. (I don’t see any

problems with the qualities of the consonants).’ I should add that a possible derivation of *teb* from skr. *deva* had also been proposed by G. Clauson in *JRAS*, 1956, 76. Cf. Cleaves 1967, 252.

‘Ganged up’ (*ömerejü*): cf. above, n. 78.

Qasar is Joči Qasar, Činggis’ younger brother, famous for his physical strength and skill in archery, on whom see above, n. 60 and § 195; Hambis 1975, 8-9, n. 13 et passim.

‘While Qasar was *still* talking, Činggis Qa’an in his anger said to him’, lit. ‘While he was talking, Činggis Qa’an in his anger said to Qasar.’

‘At this’, lit. ‘being *so* told’ (*ke’egdejü*). Cf. Poppe 1964, 368.

‘Concerning the ruler (*qan*).’ Here *qan* (~ *qa*) does not refer to Činggis Qan, but to the ruler(ship), i.e. governance, of the Mongol nation (*ulus*). For this use of *qan*, see de Rachewiltz 1983, 273 (e). Cf. above, n. 57, and below, n. 249. For H. Franke (FTC, 21), the words *möngke tenggeri-yin jarliq qan* form a meaningful unit which he renders as ‘order-king of eternal Heaven’, but *möngke tenggeri-yin jarliq* is a standard formula of which the Chinese counterpart is 長生天的聖旨. See Y² 10, 32a. Cf., e.g., YTPHPCL, 21, no. 21 (opening line).

‘Has been *foretold* by heavenly signs’, lit. ‘heavenly signs *foretell*.’ Cf. §§ 121, 206. In § 206, *ja’arin* ‘sign, portent’ is actually preceded by *tenggeri-yin* ‘heavenly’ (see below).

‘Once they say that ..., once that (lit. “they say that”)’ *Teb Tenggeri*’s words forecasting either Činggis Qan’s hold on the supreme power, or Qasar’s assumption of that power, have been discussed both in the context of the Mongol perception of Heaven’s role with regard to Činggis’ political designs, and of his own enunciation of a world-conquest program sanctioned by Heaven. Cf. de Rachewiltz 1973, 27; Smith 1994, 207, 212, n. 8 (Smith’s criticism of my rendering of the word *ulus* with ‘empire’ as anachronistic is well justified). However, I think that the chief value of the SH account lies in the fact that it highlights an existing rivalry between Činggis and his younger

brother for which there is supporting evidence also from other sources. See above, n. 183.

‘If you don’t strike at Qasar by surprise’ (*Qasar-i ese nende’esü*). For *nende-* ‘to attack by surprise’, see above, n. 166.

With regard to Güčü and Kököčü (of the Besüt), we know from the previous section (§ 243) that they had been appointed with Jungsai and Qorqasun as commanders in charge of the subjects assigned to Hö’elün and Temüge Otčigin.

‘When the mother heard *this*’, lit. ‘The mother having learned *this*.’

‘At sunrise’, lit. ‘with the sun rising.’

To remove one’s hat and belt was an act of abdication of power and of total submission. Cf. §§ 103 and com., 117; CEME, 48. In the present instance, Činggis was humiliating his brother to an extreme degree, for he had also tied up the opening of his sleeves, so as to immobilize him – a very powerful man – during the interrogation, which was no doubt a brutal one. ‘To interrogate’, lit., ‘to question *one’s* word(s)’ (*üge asaq-*).

‘By the mother descending upon him’, lit. ‘being reached by the mother.’

‘Qasar’s sleeves, the opening of which had been tied up’ (*Qasar-un huyaqsat qanču*). For these words, see Mo, 184.

‘Laid them over her knees’, lit. ‘made them extend over and beyond the two knees’ (*qoyar ebüdük dege’ün bisari’ulju*). For *dege’ün* ‘over’, cf. Ligeti 1971, 146-147. For *bisari-* ~ *bisqari-* ‘to overflow, run over’, cf. Mostaert 1939, 328; de Rachewiltz 1982, 60-61, n. 60; Cleaves 1991, 132, n. 18, 133, n. 24. *Bisari’ulju* is the nomen imperfecti of the factitive of *bisari-*. In the corresponding passage of the AT, we find *bis<a>yarıjulju*. See AT¹, 95a.

‘They are the breasts that suckled you’, lit. ‘The breast that you have sucked is this.’

After ‘these’ (*ede*) – referring to Činggis Qan and Qasar – there follow the two puzzling words *qadalun da’un*, which are not glossed in the interlinear translation and are also not rendered in the sectional summary. I have discussed them in Ra, X,

79, and tentatively rendered them (following suggestions made by Pelliot [Pe, 96, n. 5] and N. Poppe [p.c.]) as ‘she stressed quoting *ancient words*’ (ibid., 48). Other interpretations have since been proposed (Do¹, 276, 280-281, n. 6 [cf. Do², 180 and n. 7]; El-Ar, 784, 787, n. 16; Oz¹, VI, 152, 161-162, n. 12; Če, 224, 462, n. 552), none of them satisfactory in my opinion. Cl, 177, has wisely refrained from translating them. The corresponding passage in AT¹, 95a, has *ɣadaɣun qarbisun*. *ɣadaɣun* = mmo. *qada’un* ‘outside.’ Cf. SH, § 124: *qada’un* id.; see HW, 56. *Qada’un qarbisun*, ‘outside afterbirth’, is something of a tautology, but quite acceptable insofar as it designates the placenta *after* it has been released outside. It is possible, I think, that the AT has retained the original correct reading, and that *this* has subsequently been corrupted through scribal error. But *this* would not explain the presence of the word *da’un* in the SH. By some stretch of the imagination one could take *da’un* (= mo. *dayun*) as a mere dittography, viz. the repetition by a careless copyist of the last two syllables of *ɣadaɣun*, and ignore it. This is a remote possibility, whereas the change of *ɣadaɣun* to *qadalun* may have been made under the influence of the text in § 78 where the poetic image of the fierce *qasar* dog ‘snapping at its own afterbirth’ first occurs, and where the very word *qadalun* ‘citing’ is also found, applied to Hö’elün. Otherwise it could be a simple orthographic fault due to the addition of an upper hook for *l*. Whatever the case, the Ming translators encountered two words spelled (in Uighur script) Q’T’LWN T’QWN which they transcribed *qadalun da’un* and, not knowing what to make of them, left them untranslated. I am now in favour of reading the two words as *qada’un ta’un*, *qada’un* (= Q’T’QWN, i.e. *ɣadaɣun*) meaning ‘outside’ as explained above, and *ta’un* (T’QWN, i.e. *taɣun*) meaning ‘rushing’, lit. ‘driving (or pursuing)’, converbum modale of *ta’u-* (= mo. *taɣu-*) ‘to drive, chase, pursue’, the resulting compound thus meaning ‘rushing out’, i.e. out of the womb. (Cf. ch. *kan* 趕 – the standard gloss of *ta’u-* [*taɣu-*] – meaning both ‘to rush’ and ‘to drive.’ See HW,

145; MKT, 993c). The same idea is expressed at the very beginning of 'Hö'elün's Lament' in § 78: *qala'un-ača minu qalat qarurun* 'From the warmth of my womb, / When he broke forth fiercely.' The Qasar episode treated here and Mother Hö'elün's second 'lament' which, through poetic imagery, relates it to the first – the reference to the *qasar* dog biting its own afterbirth and Joci Qasar is, again, not a fortuitous one – has been analysed and discussed from various angles. Cf. Ratchnevsky 1976, 520; idem 1987, 102, 105; Sárközi 1978, 151.

'Birth cord', lit. 'navel' (*küi*). Hö'elün means: you are bent on destroying your own flesh and blood – the same message conveyed in § 78. See the sectional summary (Y² 10, 32a-b); cf. Wa, 288. In translating this passage, Hambis 1975, 11, has followed the sectional summary, not the Mongol text.

Qači'un and (Temüge) Otčigin were Hö'elün's two younger sons (see § 60), and what the mother means is that they were not as voracious, i.e. fierce, as Temüjin and Qasar.

'Between them', lit. 'the two of them together.'

'Until my bosom relaxed', lit. 'until my bosom (*če'eji*) became wide (*a'ui boltala*).' For *a'u*, *a'ui* (= mo. *aγuu*, *aγui*) 'wide, broad', cf. *Matériel I*, 37.

'Has skill of mind (*če'eji*)', lit., 'Has skill of bosom': there is a word-play here, *če'eji* (= mo. *čegeji*) meaning both 'chest, breast, bosom' and 'mind, intellect.' See MKcT, 2733, (1) and (3). Cf. our 'heart' = 'mind.'

'Has skill in archery/And might' (*qabu güčü erdemtü*). *Qabu* 'arrow-shooting' and *güčü* 'might', here = 'physical strength', are two separate nouns as clearly shown by the sectional summary (Y² 10, 32b), not a compound meaning 'good archery' as understood in Oz¹, VI, 153 (cf. also Oz², II, 142), and Ev-Pop, 205. *Qabu* (= mo. *qabu*, *qaba* 'skill in hunting, handling a bow, etc. '; see Les., 900a) is incorrectly transcribed 'harbu' in H, 81, and 'harbul' in HW, 61, and correctly as 'habu' in HW, 55. Pelliot has commented: 'Haenisch a lu qarbu et qarbul (gloss.), mais cf. le mot kitan pour "tirer à l'arc."'

[P.P.- C.R.A.C.]. For the Kitan word to which Pelliot refers, see F.W. Cleaves in *HJAS* 13:1950, 231. For *qabu*, cf. also TMEN, no. 257. For a previous poetic description of Qasar's feats with the bow and his prodigious strength, see § 195. For the word *hontuča-* 'to shoot arrows at a long distance', which occurs again in § 254, see de Rachewiltz 1976, 490, 500-501, nn. 25-28 (with regard to n. 28, the correct reading in AT¹, 95a, is *ontudču*, as stated on p. 490).

'Those on the run', lit. 'those who went out.' 'To go out' (*qar-*, mo. *γar-*) is the opposite of 'to go in' (*oro-*) = 'to submit, join.' Thus, 'those who went out (or escaped)' were rebel or fugitive tribesmen (*bulqa irgen*), i.e. enemies (*daisun* [= *dayisun*] *gü'ün*), whom Temüjin was in the process of bringing under control. Hö'elün (or, rather, the anonymous author of this piece) wishes to emphasize here the capital role that Qasar, the redoubtable champion archer and great warrior, had played in the 'rallying of the tribes' by his brother, the future Činggis Qan, with an implicit criticism of the latter. For the last two lines of the poetic passage, cf. Poppe 1969, 274.

'But now, saying that you have destroyed the enemy people, you can no longer bear the sight of Qasar', lit. 'Now, saying, "I have destroyed the enemy people", you cannot behold Qasar.'

'He stealthily (*ečine'ün*) took away.' For *ečine'ün* (= pmo. *ačinegün*) 'by stealth, secretly', see Ligeti 1971, 146-147.

'Let Qasar have', lit. 'gave to Qasar.' As stated earlier in the SH (§ 242), Qasar had originally been granted 4,000 people, but after the ugly incident related in this section, Činggis, obviously not appeased by his mother's entreaties, dispossessed him of about two-thirds of this force in order to weaken him and, in this way, remove the threat he allegedly posed. However, as pointed out by Hambis (op. cit., 13), Qasar was subsequently appointed one of the leaders in the war against Chin, in the course of which he apparently died. The circumstances of his death are obscure, but not necessarily suspicious. His three sons were treated without favour by Činggis, who appointed them

only as commanders of a thousand. See HCG, 172-173. Cf. EM, 206 and n. 3.

'The thought of it made her go quickly *into decline*', lit. 'by that thought she went quickly straight (= straightaway) *into old age*', i.e. she aged quickly and died before long. Jebke of the Jalayir tribe, who belonged to Qasar's apanage or yurt, was one of the commanders of Qasar's people appointed by Činggis. See §§ 137, 243.

§ 245. In this section we reach the inevitable climax of the confrontation between Kōkōčü Teb Tenggeri and Činggis Qan, resulting in the former's downfall and death. It is clear from the beginning of the section that Teb Tenggeri and his clan – the Qongqotan – were enticing entire groups of tribesmen belonging to Činggis and his family to leave their masters and join them. Among the people thus enticed were also some from those minding Činggis' 'horse station' (*kirü'e*; see above, n. 229) and from Temüge Otčigin's subjects. Who the defectors were is not clear (perhaps deliberately so): the text refers to them cumulatively as the 'people of nine tongues', lit. 'people having nine tongues (= languages)' (*yisün keleten irgen*), an expression that occurs only (and twice) in this very section of the SH. Since the word 'nine' (*yisün*), having the connotation of completeness, also has the meaning of 'many, various, all' (cf. above, n. 60), it has been generally assumed that the expression in question designates various groups of tribesmen within the Mongol confederation speaking different languages or dialects, in other words 'all sorts of people.' See Pa, 238, n. 519; Wa, 289; Ha, 162, n. 245; Da⁵, 201; Mu, III, 116; Oz¹, VI, 180, n. 1; Га, 393, n. 643. Cf. Ratchnevsky 1968a, 127, 132, n. 2; ČK¹, 82, n. 1 (where, however, Ratchnevsky's suggestion that the nine 'tails' of the great white standard [*tuq*; see above, n. 73] represented the nine subdivisions or tribes of the Mongol people is, in my view, anachronistic and unwarranted since it is related to the later tradition of the *Čayan teiike*, see WG, 304ff.); Fletcher 1986, 13. The number 'nine' is also often associated

with particular ethnic groups or confederations of tribes in both Turkic- and Mongol-speaking Central Asia, such as the Nine Oγuz (Toquz Oγuz), identified with the Nine-clan Turks (*Chiu-hsing T'u-ch'üeh* 九姓突厥), and the Nine-clan Tatars (*Chiu-hsing Ta-ta* 九姓鞑靼) of the Chinese sources. See Pelliot 1929a, 125-126 and n. 1; Sinor 1985, 155-156. Cf. also the later Nine Great People (*Yisiin Yeke Ulus*) of the *Čayan teiike*. See WG, 304-317. As for tribes or people possessing various kinds of tongues, in the AT (anon.) of the late Ming we find those referred to as 'having dark-brown tongues' (*barān keletü*), 'having many tongues' (*olan keletü*) and 'having good tongues' (*sayin keletü*). See ČQČ, 115; MCAT, 189. The ones characterized as 'having many tongues' are the Kereyit, no doubt because of their multi-ethno-linguistic components. In view of the fact that 1) the SH text seems to refer to a *specific* group, which included the personnel of Činggis Qan's horse station and Temüge Otčigin's subjects, and 2) the Kereyit as a distinct tribal grouping no longer existed by then (they are not mentioned as such after §§ 186-187), I wonder whether the expression *yisün keleten irgen* of the SH may not be an oblique reference to a particular group of clans which were formerly part of the Kereyit tribal confederation and which, taking advantage of Teb Tenggeri's rise to power, decided to leave Činggis Qan and join Teb Tenggeri's camp. We know from §§ 186-187 that after Ong Qan's defeat, Činggis Qan distributed the Kereyit people 'on all sides' and 'among each other so that nobody went short', and that Taqai Ba'atur of the Sulduš received one hundred Ĵirgin in reward for his services. It is worth nothing, in this connection, that Teb Tenggeri's wife was herself a Ĵirgin, i.e. she belonged to one of the major subtribes of the Kereyit (see above, n. 170), as clearly stated by Rašid al-Dīn, a fact that would further strengthen the interpretation just proposed. See SL², I/1, 132 (where 'Khirkun', i.e. Ĥirqūn, must be read Ĵirqīn). Cf. ČK¹, 64, n. 115 (= ČK², 69); SC, I/1, 217. For Ĵirqīn ~ Ĵirgin, cf. HCG, 56-57, 398. To conclude, it should be mentioned that several later Mongol chronicles and epics, such as the ET, the

Geser Qan and Khalkha epics, also mention people speaking a variety of tongues, a subject that requires further study. Cf. ET³, 68r01-02, GOM, 201 ('three tongues'); TBGC, 11 ('different tongues'); KMGĖ, 103, and HEKM, 146 ('nine tongues'). For a further reference to 'a different tongue', cf. also Cleaves 1986, 192, n. 8.

In this section, Temüğe Otčigin is called Otčigin as well as Otčigin Noyan. Cf. above, § 195.

'Gathered under', lit. 'gathered at (Teb Tenggeri's camp)', i.e. they went over to him.

'To request' (*quyira*). For *quyi-* (= mo. *yuyu-*) 'to ask, request', cf. BGĖG, 167-168, § 5.

'I am grateful to both Otčigin and you' renders *Otčigin ta jirin elčiten* (read *ačitan*) *bolju'ui*. The emendation *ačitan* 'deserving gratitude' (lit. 'having benefit') has been suggested by A. Mostaert on the basis of the AT reading *ači-tan* (AT¹, 96b; the 'elči-ten' of ATL, 175, is an arbitrary and misleading emendation), also because the text as it stands does not make much sense. See Ra, X, 81; Cl, 179, n. 53. The expression *ačitan bolju'ui* corresponds to modern *ačitai bolula* 'I am very grateful', 'thank you.' See Les., 8b; DO, 35b. Teb Tenggeri sarcastically thanks Temüğe Otčigin and Soqor for the 'gift' of the horse which he has just seized from the latter. I have no doubt that Mostaert's interpretation is the correct one, but there is by no means agreement among modern scholars, some of whom prefer to read *elčiten*, and (in the case of Ligeti and Bese) understand the sentence in question as 'You have to send two envoys, Otčigin.' See Li, 112; Bese 1987, 48-51. Bese, op. cit., 50-51, claims that the point of Teb Tenggeri's remark concerns 'the diplomatic customs' of the nomadic peoples which required 'sending two envoys on the basis of mutual agreement.' In the present instance, Temüğe Otčigin 'violated this rule by sending only one envoy to Teb Tenggeri, who took revenge by humiliating the envoy.' Against Bese's argument one can point out that in § 181 of the SH there is a clear indication that a single messenger can be sent instead of two on a diplomatic mission,

and other examples can be adduced. The word *jirin* 'two, both' is also understood differently by other scholars. Cf. On, 137 and n. 309 (cf. the 2001 ed., 228, n. 539), where the opinion is expressed that since *jirin* is usually employed in the feminine (cf. above, n. 70), Teb Tenggeri is deliberately insulting Temüğe and Soqor by calling them 'ladies', thus also 'implying that they have an exaggerated idea of their own importance.' However, the word *jirin* is also used as a masculine or neutral form. See SH, § 278 (R, 169, lines 11637, 11701); ET³, 25r01-02, 59r01, 87v04, 100r19. For further discussions on the interpretation of Teb Tenggeri's words, cf. Do¹, 281, n. 8; Oz¹, VI, 180-183, n. 2; Oz², II, 157, n. 2.

As noted by Ligeti, to make a horseman carry the saddle on his back and send him home on foot is a humiliation; even more so is to force someone to apologize kneeling behind one's back, as Temüğe Otčigin was subsequently compelled to do. See Li, 179, n. 245.

'From all sides', lit. "from here and from there" (*endeče tendeče*).

'You were right to send ... I was wrong to send', lit. 'Your sending ... is right ... My sending ... is wrong.'

'Sat up in bed', lit. 'raised herself and sat.' *Öngdeyi-* 'to raise oneself' corresponds to mo. *öndeyi-* id.

'She *herself* shed tears', lit. 'she let tears fall.'

'What are those Qongqotan doing?' lit. 'They are Qongqotan doing what, those?'

'What kind of behaviour is this?', lit. 'What sort of manner (*yosun*) is it?'

'They covertly injure (*oyisulaldumui*) even (*bel*) these younger brothers of yours.' For the verb *oyisula-* ~ *oyisulat-* 'to secretly harm', see above, n. 68.

For the passage 'And truly ... view *all this*', see Mo. 155-159. The following are a few additional remarks. 'Like a great old tree': both the ideas of 'great' and 'old' are implicit in the word *ne'üle* (= mo. *negüle[n]*), hence my rendering. Cf. Mo, 156. 'Like the stone base of a pillar' renders *tulu metü*. The

word *tulu*, glossed in the Chinese interlinear version as *chu-chüeh* 柱脚 ‘base of a pillar’, is used metaphorically here for ‘the mainstay (of the nation).’ This is an image which the Mongols almost certainly borrowed from the Chinese, since pillars and bases of pillars are alien features in a nomadic culture. Just as we would speak of a great man being ‘a pillar of the state’, the Chinese, using the same metaphor, would refer to him as either ‘a pillar of the state’ (*kuo-chu* 國柱) or ‘a pillar-base’ (*chu-shih* 柱石, lit. ‘pillar-stone’), because the supporting strength of the (wooden) pillar resided in its stone base. The expression *chu-shih* corresponds to the *chu-chüeh* of the SH gloss. It should be noted that in the Ölot Kalmuck dialect, *tul* actually means ‘supporting beam; pillar.’ See KW, 409b. It is therefore possible that, in spite of the Chinese gloss, this was also the original meaning of *tulu*. The reading *tulu* is confirmed by the corrupt form *toli* of AT¹, 97a. The regular word for ‘pillar, column’ in Preclassical and Middle Mongolian is *tulya* (= mmo. *tulqa*). See above, n. 167. Cf. also MKAT, 21; and bur. *tulga*, id. The poetic passage in this section is repeated in slightly modified wording in § 254. By comparing the subject people to tangled hemp and a flock of birds, Börte indicates that they are troublesome and difficult to rule. Cf. the words of Inanča Bilge Qan of the Naiman in § 189: ‘Will he (i.e. Tayang) be able to care for and control/My numerous, base and unruly people?’

For the words ‘By whom will they let govern your people ...’, see also Mo, 186, n. 167.

‘How will people ... ever allow’, lit. ‘People ... how will those (*tede*) allow.’ The pronoun ‘those’ (= ‘they’) is expressed following *ya’u mede’ülkün*, but Cl, 180, joins this *tede* to the next sentence, which already has one. Cf. the previous *ken-e mede’ülkün tede*. See Mostaert *apud* Cleaves 1949, 133, n. 266, also for *ki’ül-* (= mo. *kigül-*) ‘maltraiter.’

‘Little “naughty ones”’ (*üčüget ma’un*) is a term of endearment for one’s sons. See Mo, 158. Cf. above, n. 177; and Street 1990, 193, n. 29.

For Börte’s role in the whole affair, see Hambis 1975, 14, n. 23. Cf. above, n. 118. The entire passage is also translated in Hambis, *op. cit.*, 13-14.

‘Whatever you may wish to do to him within your power (or to the best of your ability), it is for you to decide!’, lit. ‘However you may act, as much as you are able, you decide!’ (*čidaqui-ača ker ba üiyiletdü’esü čī mede*). For *čidaqui-ača*, cf. TDB, 28, 118 (F 11r), and 167, n. 122. For *üiyiletdü’esü*, AT¹, 97b, has *üiledbesü*. Mostaert (u.n.) writes: ‘A propos de la gémation de *n*, quelque chose d’analogue se remarque dans § 245 *üiyiletdü’esü*.’ Činggis tells his brother that it is up to him to do what he can – in other words, Temüge is free to act and can even kill Teb Tenggeri if he finds the means. It is understood, however, from the oblique phraseology employed, that this has to be done in an appropriate way. I think that, given the exalted status of the personage, a bloodless death is implied.

‘Whereupon’, lit. ‘At that.’

‘Three strong men’ (*qurban bökös*). Some translators prefer to render *bökös* (pl. of *bökö*) as ‘wrestlers’ or ‘wrestling champions’ (see, e.g., Li, 113), since *bökö* means both ‘strong man’ and ‘wrestler.’ See above, n. 41. However, both the interlinear gloss and the sectional summary (Y² 10, 42a) translate it as ‘strong men’ (*li-shih* 力士), hence my rendering.

For *öčigen üdür* ‘yesterday’, cf. MA, 273a; RH, 238, no. 7; DO, 765b. (*Öčigen* alone means ‘the other day; lately, recently’; cf. §§ 77, 84, and earlier on in this section. See HW, 121.)

‘In front of the fireplace’ (*qolumta teri’ün-e*). *Qolumta* (= mo. *γolumta*) is the fireplace, or hearth, in the centre of the tent; the expression *teri’ün-e* literally means ‘at the head’, thus *qolumta teri’ün-e* is ‘at the head (= in the front part) of the fireplace’, rather than ‘on top of the fireplace’, as the interlinear gloss leads us to believe. To render *teri’ün-e* with ‘on the edge’ and ‘at (or by) the side’, on the basis of the Chinese sectional summary (Y² 10, 42a), is also not accurate. It seems to me that the Ming translators were themselves not sure as to the meaning

of *teri'ün-e*. To take this expression as referring to the back or north side of the fireplace (On, 138; Ev-Pop, 208) would imply that Temüğe Otčigin and Teb Tenggeri were wrestling at the back of the tent, which is not the case since, as the SH informs us, they were then near the door, i.e. in the south side of the tent, with Father Mönglik sitting next to the wine table, also in the south side. This, as we know from earlier references in the SH and Rašīd al-Dīn, was not Mönglik's usual place (see above, n. 208), but it may have been an exceptional circumstance and, in any event, if we are dealing with a semifictional account (as is probably the case), we cannot expect strict accuracy. Thus, as correctly stated in El-Al, 800, n. 34, and Oz¹, VI, 191-192, n. 14, *terigün-e* can only mean *emüne-e* 'in front.' The losing of the hat on the part of Teb Tenggeri is clearly a bad omen, the hat as covering symbolizing protection, as well as – together with one's belt – power and authority. See above, nn. 103, 244. As A. Sárközi says, Father Mönglik 'knew his son had met his fate' (Sárközi 1978, 148). To enhance the pathos of the scene we have an additional touch with Mönglik's smelling of the hat, a personal garment, also a symbolic act of remembrance and love, and one we have already encountered in § 55, in the famous episode of Yeke Čiledü and Hö'elün's shirt.

'Match each other's strength and might', lit. 'compete with each other for the strong man's might.'

'At the threshold of the door.' The text has 'between (*ja'ura*) the threshold of the door', which is not clear. The author probably means 'within the threshold', i.e. in the area immediately adjacent to the threshold, hence just outside the door of the tent. At any rate, this is how the Ming translators of the SH seem to have understood the phrase. See Y² 10, 42a. Cf. Wei, 160.

On the two lines of carts placed to the right (= west) and left (= east) sides of the tent, see Mo, 163.

For the correct meaning of *arqalaju* 'pretending, making the excuse that (as a reason for refusing a request)', see Waley 1960, 527.

'Not much of a companion, is he!' (*čaqtu nökör aju'u*): cf. above, § 170 and com. Temüğe Otčigin's sarcastic remark is to the effect that he expected a better performance from a person like Teb Tenggeri who now, instead of fighting, lies on the ground pretending that he cannot get up. Temüğe is adding insult to injury by implying that his opponent is behaving like a coward. It should be noted that, as in the case of Ĵamuqa, the other great friend of Činggis Qan turned enemy, the SH makes Činggis liquidate the opponent by somebody else *and* without the shedding of blood. Cf. Uray-Köhalmi 1970, 257-262; Clark 1978, 54, n. 42.

For the section from 'Father Mönglik understood' to the end of § 245, see Mo, 160-164. The following are a few additional remarks on the text. The alliterative passage (in *da*) has also been discussed in Cérénsodnom 1986, 74-75. For the expression *dayir etügen* 'brown earth', besides Mo, 162, 191, cf. Cleaves 1949a, 501, 531-532; and Mostaert 1962, 202. 'Since the brown earth, etc.', i.e. from the very beginning. The term for the 'funeral tent' of Teb Tenggeri is *qošiliq* (L², 214: *qošliq*, but the correct reading is *qošiliq* = pmo. *qosiliy*, as confirmed by AT¹, 98a; cf. ATL, 178), a word already encountered in § 80; in § 169 we find the related form *qoš* 'travel-tent.' See above, nn. 80, 169; and ATI, 237b. For the custom of laying the dead in a conical felt tent, cf. CG, 105, n. 1; Li, 179, n. 245. However, as indicated by statements in § 246, the *qošiliq* in question had a regular smoke-hole (*erüge*). The reason for moving camp after the slaying of Teb Tenggeri (and the subsequent disappearance of his body) is no doubt to be found in the ancient Mongols' taboo on the site of a death – particularly relevant in this case, since the violent death of a powerful man had taken place just outside Činggis' tent. Cf. MM, 185; MCPA, 64-67; and below, n. 246. It may also have been a prudent move, I think, in view of a possible retaliation on the part of Teb Tenggeri's numerous followers. The 'disappearance' of the body, i.e. the removal and obliteration of the *corpus delicti* must, I am sure,

also be explained in this light. However, since the entire episode as described in the SH is of doubtful historicity and uncertain chronology, one can only speculate. For a brief but perceptive summary of the whole affair, see ŽCTZ, II, 45-47. The word ‘*šimiliya-’ in Mo, 162, second line from bottom, is a misprint for ‘*šimaliya-’

§ 246. This entire section has been translated and discussed in Mo, 164-175. The following are a few additional remarks.

‘At dusk’, lit. ‘when the *brightness of day* was yellow.’ ‘Bodily’, lit. ‘together with his body’ (*beye selte*). It is debatable whether the text implies that his ‘soul’ left the tent through the smoke-hole, as in the classic shaman’s ascent or ‘flight’, but in this case together with the body, as suggested in Humphrey 1994, 204. Cf. IBŠ, 245. I think the text merely says that Teb Tenggeri left the tent with his body, i.e. physically, although supernaturally since he was dead; this happened ‘three days’ after his death, and at the moment when the light of day ‘was yellow.’ All these elements are symbolic and introduced in the story to point at Heaven’s direct involvement in the affair. Cf. §§ 21, 80. In other words, Heaven was so displeased with Teb Tenggeri that it not only caused his demise, but also bodily removed him from the scene so that nothing of him was left behind. Cf. Činggis’ words ‘he was no longer loved by Heaven, and his life (*ami-yan*), together with his body (*beye selte*), has been taken away.’ The ‘taking away’ of his life clearly occurred *before* that of his body, since the covering of the smoke-hole, the blocking of the door and the placing of ‘people’ (*hara = harat*) to guard the tent are all procedures connected with the taboo on sickness and the site of death. Cf. MM, 12, 14, 183; MP³, 181; Ratchnevsky 1987, 76; and above, n. 245. Iščamc 1975, 133 (following Ko, 179), reinterprets the text and makes Činggis Qan say that Heaven was so displeased with Teb Tenggeri that ‘it took away not only his soul but his very body!’ For *ami(n)* ‘life’ = ‘soul’, cf. also Pyurbiev 2000. All in all,

within its legendary framework, the SH account is as consequential as that of Ĵamuqa’s end. For the words *ami-yan beye selte* ..., cf. also Cleaves 1953, 87, n. 29. For the withdrawal of Heaven’s favour and the dire consequences that follow, cf. §§ 143, 167. See also de Rachewiltz 1973, 27. ‘In that part of *the tent*’, lit. ‘in that place of it (= the tent).’ For the verb *jinggü-* (*jingkü-* in § 160) ‘to slander’, see also Ligeti 1972, 2-3, n. 3. ‘You have paid *for this* with Teb Tenggeri’s life’, lit. ‘you have come to *pay with* Teb Tenggeri’s head.’ Cf. the same usage (‘head’ = ‘life’) in English and other languages. ‘You would have been dealt with like Ĵamuqa, Altan, Qučar and the others’, i.e. they (Mönglik and his other sons) would have been executed. For the fate of Altan and Qučar – the sons of Qutula Qan and Nekün Taiši respectively – about which this passage of the SH leaves no doubt, see § 181. ‘If one retracts’, lit. ‘If one demolishes (*or* undoes).’ The words for ‘morning’ in the idiom quoted by Činggis Qan (and about which cf. Cérésodnom 1986, 72; and Street 1986, 46-47 [92]) are *manaqaru* and *manaqar*, the former being merely a variant of the latter, as noted by Mostaert (Mo, 17-18), and not a faulty reading as indicated by Ligeti (L², 215). For these two words, see above, n. 159. Regarding the ‘earlier pledge’ of Činggis Qan to Mönglik, see § 204. ‘Enough of this matter!’ (*je teli*). For this expression, cf. § 242, where it is rendered as ‘Right!’ because of the context. See above, n. 242. For a different interpretation of Činggis’ words ‘Had you restrained ...’, see Li, 114, 179, n. 246. Ligeti understands: ‘If you had restrained their (i.e. your sons’) unbridled nature, who could have competed with Father Mönglik’s clan?’ This is indeed the rendering favoured by most translators before and after Ligeti, from Naka to Even and Pop, with the notable exceptions of Mostaert and Cleaves. The reason why I rejected this otherwise plausible interpretation is (as, I think, correctly surmised by Mostaert) that such a statement on Činggis’ part would have acknowledged the superiority of the Qongqotan clan over all the other clans – including Činggis Qan’s own clan – which is most unlikely in

the circumstances. Moreover – and I regard this as conclusive – Činggis' statement is logically related to the one in the previous paragraph, viz. 'By not restraining your sons' nature, you *and your sons* began thinking that you were equal to me.' In both instances it is the Qongqotan daring to challenge Činggis Qan's authority because of their ambitious nature. 'The *proud* air', lit. 'the mien' (*čirai*). Cf. above, nn. 196 and 208.

For another French translation of, and interesting notes and remarks on, § 246, see Hambis 1975, 15, 19, 33, 37.

§ 247. With this section – the first of Chapter Eleven (= Sup. 1: 續集卷一) – begins the account of Činggis' campaign in north China against the Jurchens who, since 1115, had established themselves there as rulers of the Chin 金 state, replacing the Kitan/Liao 遼 (907-1115) and enlarging their kingdom at the expense of the Southern Sung 南宋 (1127-1279). The account in the SH covers the period 1211-1215 (§§ 247-253). This is followed by Činggis' Western Campaign, i.e. the expedition against Muḥammad Šāh of Khwārazm in Central and Western Asia of 1218/19-1225 (§§ 254-264), and by his final war against the Tangut state of Hsi Hsia 西夏 in 1226-1227 (§§ 265-268) ending with the conqueror's death in 1227. These three phases are treated very superficially in the SH, which is principally concerned with domestic matters and internal developments within Mongolia itself, and they contain also many historical and geographical inaccuracies. See Section Six of the Introduction. The chief value of the SH narrative lies not in its historical reliability, but in providing us with an insight into these momentous events straight from the Mongol camp, as it were, and in enlivening them with numerous human elements, personal touches and important details which are lacking in the Chinese sources. These, together with the rich Persian sources, are much more accurate and complete as records of political and military events for this period, certainly one of the most confused in the history of Asia. Cf. Ligeti's pertinent remarks in Li, 180, n. 247. Insofar as the war with Chin is concerned, the

fullest account in any western language is still Martin which, owing to the fact that the author did not know Chinese, must be used with great care (even though H.D. Martin had two competent Chinese scholars to assist him in translating most of the sources, the reconstruction of proper names from the Chinese transcriptions is often unreliable). For the events under discussion, see especially pp. 130-180. A good survey of the campaign in north China is found in CCHC, 249-309. See also the important historical and geographical commentary by Naka in Na², 369ff.; the detailed notes to the relevant sections in Mu, III, 138ff.; as well as specialised studies such as Franke H 1978; Uray-Köhalmi 1984a; and Jagchid 1982. For the Mongol invasion of Chin, cf. also YTS, 137-145; LIC, 257a (Index); JTCC, 90, 96, 105, 109, 115; and ISK, 765a, 777b (Index). For general studies of the period and issues concerning Chin governance, economy, etc., also in relation to the Mongol conquest, see the works of Japanese scholars like Mikami Tsugio 三上次男 and Ikeuchi Isao 池内功 cited in the excellent bibliographies in LIC, 230-248; JTCC, 177-206; and FJC, 156-165. Numerous studies on various aspects of Jurchen culture and history have also appeared in China in recent decades, in publications like *YSLT*, *CKMKSCK*, *CKMKS*, and as monographs, the titles and/or summaries of which are found in the relevant issues of *CKSYCTT*, *CKYSYC*, and in the *JSYS*.

In the SH, the inhabitants of north China belonging to the Jurchen/Chin state are always called 'Kitat' or 'the Kitat people' (*Kitat irgen*). See § 53, where these terms occur for the first time; cf. n. 53 above, and NMP, I, 386-387. They included both Jurchen and Chinese people as well as sinicised Kitans who had been living in the northern provinces since the beginning of the tenth century. Further on in this section we encounter for the first time the designation 'Jürčet' (pl. of 'Jürčen'). On this name, see CLC, 466; SJR, vii-viii, n. 1. On its use by the Mongols, see below.

Vujiu, i.e. Fu-chou 撫州, was the northernmost outpost of Chin and therefore the first to take the brunt of the advancing

Mongol army in 1211. The site of Fu-chou has been identified in Chang-pei hsien 張北縣, in the former province of Chahar, now the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region. Its ruins are in present-day Hsing-ho ch'eng 興和城, known also by its Mongolian name of Qara Balyasun or 'Black Town', some 50 km north of Chang-chia k'ou 張家口 (formerly Kalgan). See GMCDN, 244-245. Cf. Serruys 1990/91, 219, no. 8.

Hünege Daba'an (= mo. Ünege Dabayān), i.e. 'Fox Ridge', is the Mongolian translation of Chinese Yeh-hu ling 野狐嶺 ('Wild Fox Ridge'), the defile about 15 km north-west of Chang-chia k'ou and 20 km north-east of Wan-ch'üan 萬全, known in Yüan times as E-hu ling 扼胡嶺. See YC 13, 1b-3a; YCPC 13, 1a; YSCK 10, 40a; and YTL 13, 1b. Passage through the Yeh-hu ling was by the strategic Te-sheng k'ou 得勝口, the pass known in the Yüan as Huan-erh tsui 獾兒嘴 ('Badger's Snout'). It was one of the main gateways to China from Mongolia and a regular route for invaders.

Söndiivü, i.e. Hsüan-te fu 宣德府, is the present-day Hsüan-hua hsien 宣化縣 in Hopei, on the road from Chang-chia k'ou to Peking. The name Hsüan-te fu is apparently anachronistic since this place was then officially known as Hsüan-te chou (州), the name being changed to Hsüan-te fu only in 1263. The change in the text would seem to have occurred after this date. See Hung 1951, 489-490; Li, 180, n. 247. For some evidence to the contrary see de Rachewiltz 1965, 196. The reconstructed Middle Mongolian forms in the transcriptions of the two towns of Fu-chou and Hsüan-te fu are variously given as Vu-ju and Sün-dä-vu (Pe, 99); Vu-jiu and Söndeivu (L², 216; but Fudzsiu [= Fujiu] and Szöndejfu [= Söndeyfu] in Li, 115); Wujiu and Söndiivu (Cl, 183); Vijyu and Söndeyvu (St, 126, lines Y012 and Y013); Vuju and Söndivu (Ir, 236); Fuju and Sondefu (Oz¹, VI, 215); Fujeu and Siuen-de-fu (El-Ar, 808); and Bu-čibu and Sindebu (Γa, 179). The AT¹, 110a, has Vuju and Söñjidu (for Söndivu?) respectively (ATL, 181, must be amended accordingly). The forms 'fujeo' and 'süandeifu' in H, 83, are

out of consideration. Cleaves' transcriptions Wujiu and Söndiivu are based on the Mongol transcriptions of the Chinese characters of those names which occur in the inscriptions in Uighur-Mongol script of the 14th century and are therefore reliable. I follow them, except that for *w* I write *v*. On the capture of Hsüan-te by the Mongols, see Martin, 142.

The officer sent ahead with Ĵebe to Chü-yung kuan is called Güyigünek Ba'atur. He is mentioned only once in the SH and is probably to be identified with the K'uei-ch'ü-nieh (*Küicü-ne[k]) 夔曲涅 of YS² 115, 2886, s.a. 1231. As noted by Murakami (Mu, III, 141, n. 5), this name is Turkic: *küikänäk* ~ *küigänäk* 'a mouse-catching hawk, a bustard.' See VWTD, II, 1418, 1419.

Čabčiyal and Čabčiyal Daba'an ('Čabčiyal Pass') designate Chü-yung kuan 居庸關, the well-known pass in the Chü-yung defile north-west of Ch'ang-p'ing hsien 昌平縣 in Hopei, the southern end of which (Nan-k'ou 南口) is about 53 km from Peking. For a long time it was the most strategic post north of Peking on the route between this city and Hsüan-te. This long (18 km) and narrow valley separating the plain of Peking from the Chang-chia k'ou plateau was called by the Mongols Čabčiyal, a word meaning in fact 'steep, steep ravine, gully.' See Les., 154b. Its present name in Mongolian is Čabčiyal Boyomta (kh. Cavčaal Boomt), also meaning Čabčiyal Pass. In Middle Mongolian, the form Čabčiyal already alternated with Čabča'al. See MMHS, 121b, s.v. 'č'abc'ā'al.' Cf. TMEN, no. 183. On this pass, see GMCDN, 48-51; and, especially, KYK, 327-330. The latter work is chiefly devoted to the famous arch or gate at Chü-yung kuan which is 10 km north-west of Nan-k'ou, i.e. halfway between Nan-k'ou and Pa-ta ling 八達嶺, the walls of which contain Buddhist inscriptions (*dhāranis* and hymns) in six languages and scripts dating back to 1345. On these inscriptions in Mongolian, see IMIEC, 37-72; MMHS, 60-66, 103-117; MEP, 83-98; PSPTWH, 151-179; Cleaves 1975; and the references contained in these publications, especially in

MEP, 98, for the inscriptions in the other languages. The *Čabčiyal-un qa'alqa*, or 'gate of Čabčiyal' mentioned further on in this section of the SH refers to this gate as it was during the Chin period. For all these localities, see CKLSTTC, VI, Map 46; and the excellent map of Peking and surroundings by E. Bretschneider reproduced at the end of PHID.

'Seeing that the Čabčiyal Pass was defended' (*Čabčiyal Daba'an-i bekilekdejü*). For *bekile-* 'to defend', cf. Cleaves 1949, 112, n. 98; idem 1950a, 444, n. 15. See also Poppe 1964, 374.

'When they discovered that he had turned back' (*qariqdaju*). For this construction see *ibid.*, 375 (where, however, the word 'Chinese' should be replaced with 'Kitat'; see above).

For *čölkeljölke* 'a valley with a river in the middle', see Mo, 98-99, n. 94, 277; TMEN, no. 163; Oz¹, VI, 219, n. 3. The value of the first consonant is still not clear.

'Jebe turned back', lit. 'Jebe turned backwards' (*Jebe qoyinaqši qurba*). Cf. Bese 1969, 124, where the entire passage has been misinterpreted.

'With the main body of the army', i.e. with the army of the centre or main army (*qol čerik* = ch. *chung-chün* 中軍). For this expression, which is synonymous with *qol* (§§ 142, 193, 195), *yeke qol* (§§ 170, 195, 208, 226), and *yeke qol čerik* (§ 170), see above, n. 142. Cf. Martin, 22-23.

'The valiant and bold Jüyin troops of the Qara Kidat and the Jürčēt.' In the SH, the name Qara Kidat appears always in this form except in §§ 248 and 266 where it occurs in the form Qara Kitat, whereas Kitat *tout court* occurs regularly in that form and never as Kidat. Cf. NMP, I, 227 (where 'once' should be corrected to 'twice'). This unjustified distinction is simply due to the fact that 'the transcribers, at the end of the 14th cent., of course knew the Mongol pronunciation of "Kitat", alive in Mongolian current speech, but had no tradition about the Qara-Ĥitai and misread as *-d-* the letter of the Uighuro-Mongol writing which has the double value of *-t-* and *-d-*.' (*Ibid.* The entry 'Qara Kitad 152 ...' in CI, 256b, should be deleted.)

Therefore, 'Qara Kidat' is, properly, 'Qara Kitat' (= mo. Qara Kitat). For the Jüyin auxiliaries, see above, n. 53. According to the SH, §§ 247 and 248, the Jüyin troops (*Jüyin-ü čeri'üt*) sent against the advancing Mongols were the élite 'Qara Kidat' and 'Jürčēt' detachments supporting the regular Chin army, here referred to simply as 'the Kitat.' They were defeated by the main Mongol army led by Činggis. The Chinese sectional summary says (Y² Sup. 1, 3b): 'He (Činggis) defeated all the important (i.e. leading) Ch'i-tan (= Kitan), Ju-chen (= Jürčēn) and other troops of the Chin state.' As stated earlier (n. 53 above), in the Mongolian text the general term 'Kitat' designates the Chin state of north China and its mixed population – Jurchen and Chinese; the term used for the ethnic Kitans (*both* the subjects of the Chin living in north China *and* the Qara Kitai/Hsi Liao of Central Asia) was 'Qara Kitat' ('Black Kitat'), *qara*, lit. 'black', here merely indicating that these were the 'true' Kitans. (On this particular use of the term *qara*, see Poppe 1977, 121, §§ 12 and 14; Khabtagaeva 2001, 95, § 2.1.4.7.) The double value of Qara Kitat (in Persian *Qarā Xitāi*) is reflected also in Rašīd al-Dīn's work. The 'Jürčēt' of the SH are, therefore, not the Jurchens of China, also called Kitat, but the 'true' (= tribal) Jurchens of southeastern Manchuria. See NMP, I, 227, 387. The Kitan and Jurchen Jüyin corps were obviously among the best and most loyal troops of the Chin ruler, witness Činggis' remarks in § 266; however, already during the reign of the Chin emperor Chang-tsung 章宗 (1190-1208), some Jüyin troops had rebelled against their Jurchen masters and gone over to the Mongols. The role of the Jüyin in the Mongol conquest of north China has been virtually ignored by western historians and we are indebted to P.D. Buell for having drawn attention to it. See, in particular, TQUEMC, 23, 44, 50-54, 61, 88; and Buell 1978 (esp. pp. 64-68). On the Jüyin see also the fundamental studies in KTCL 16, 2b-16b; and MSK, 69-125; as well as Pelliot 1929a, 128-129; HCG, 9; HCSL, 137, n. 20, 395, n. 100; MEYD, 174, n. 52 (also for further literature on the subject); CG, 16, 17-18, n. 1, 36, 44, n. 22, 60, 62, n. 9; and Ts'ai MP

1983 – an excellent contribution. For the ‘Jüyin’ clan, cf. DO, 226a. For Chang-tsung of Chin, see RC, 101 (F).

‘Until they were *like* heaps of rotten logs.’ For this image, cf. §§ 196, 251, 272.

For ‘the gate of Čabčiyal’, see above, and for the passes in question, see GMCDN, 47-48.

Šira Degtür (‘Yellow Terrace’) corresponds to Lung-hu t’ai 龍虎臺, a locality south-east of Chü-yung kuan, about halfway between Nan-k’ou and Ch’ang-p’ing hsien and some 40 km north-west of Peking. *Degtür* (~ *degtü*) = mo. *degtürge* ‘step, tier; terrace on the side of a mountain.’ See Mostaert’s and Cleaves’ remarks on this term in Cleaves 1952, 88, n. 20. For this sentence, cf. also *Lettres*, 66.

Jungdu, i.e. Chung-tu 中都 (‘Central Capital’), was the main Chin capital. It occupied, by and large, the southern half of the modern city of Peking, which was built in the early 15th century. On it, see NMP, I, 142, 256; II, 844; Hung 1951, 458; MEYD, 192, n. 244; RAHP, 20ff.; Bouillard 1929, 53-54 and Map 2; and, especially, YTT, 11-23. While in the interlinear translation Chung-tu (Jungdu) is glossed Ta-tu 大都, in the sectional summary (Y² Sup. 1, 3b) it is rendered as Pei-p’ing 北平, i.e. with the Yüan and Ming names respectively. See Hung 1951, 458-459. The actual attack on Chung-tu did not take place until the beginning of 1214 (see below, n. 248), hence later than the events described in this section, which are of 1211-1212. What the SH means is that Činggis, on his way to conquer the Chin capital, sent his armies to seize the main enemy strongholds in order to secure the success of the operation. These strongholds, referred to as *qotot qotot balaqat* ‘the various towns and cities’, are enumerated in the YS and in other sources. See Na², 377-378; cf. Martin, 144-147. For the expression *qotot balaqat* (= pmo. *qotod balaqad*), cf. Cleaves 1949, 64 [21].

As noted by previous investigators, Dungčang, i.e. Tung-ch’ang 東昌 (in Shantung) must be an error for Dungging, i.e.

Tung-ching 東京, or Liao-yang 遼陽, present-day Liao-yang hsien in Liaoning. This correction is supported by the parallel accounts in the YS² 1, 16, and SWCCL¹, 62a, as well as by Rašid al-Dīn (SL², I/2, 165, where ‘Tun-kin’ = Tung-ching). See Hung 1951, 488-489; Li, 180, n. 247. However, according to other accounts found also in the YS, Tung-ching was captured by Muqali in 1215. See Na², 379; Mu, III, 145-146, n. 10. Conflicting reports on the dates of capture of towns and the identity of the military leaders are all too common in the later sources dealing with these early campaigns. It seems that in the case of Tung-ching both accounts are correct: the city was first captured by Ĵebe early in 1212, then reoccupied by the Chin, and later recaptured by Muqali’s army. See CHHC, 267-275 (esp. pp. 268-271); Martin, 145ff.; and the detailed discussion in Qu DF 1998. The AT¹, 110b, has the corrupt form ‘Düngjü’, which is of no help.

‘As far as the distance of a six days’ (*ĵirqo’an qonoq*, lit. ‘six days and nights’) *march from there.* *Qajar*, lit. ‘place’ = ‘distance’; cf. § 4. According to the SWCCL¹, 62a (s.a. 1211), the distance covered by Ĵebe’s soldiers was 500 *li* (= ca. 270 km), which makes an average of 45 km a day. Ha, 120, erroneously has ‘drei Tagesmärschen’ (left uncorrected in HH, 144), but the correct rendering had already been given in HW, 57, s.v. ‘hajar.’

Although the SH is silent on the motivation of Činggis Qan’s expedition against Chin, other sources – Chinese and Persian – throw light on the various and complex reasons that prompted the Mongol *qan* to embark on such a risky enterprise, the ultimate purpose of which was to combine the removal of a possible future threat with substantial rewards in the form of booty and tribute, the latter incentive being well illustrated by the various references to Mongol ‘gains’ in §§ 248, 249 and 250. The best outline of the diverse factors playing a role in Činggis’ momentous decision is found in ČK¹, 95-98 (= ČK², 105-109). Cf. also Marques 1988, 91; Khazanov 1980, and NOW, 236; as well as Bira 1991, 37-38, for further insights into the problem of

the dynamics of conquest of settled cultures by nomadic peoples and, in particular, the dynamics of Činggis' external wars.

§ 248. 'When Jungdu was under siege' (*Jungdu-yi e'erekderün*). The Chinese gloss has 'When Ta-tu was attacked (被攻)'; however, the verb *e'ere-* (= mo. *egere-*) in the SH has the meaning of both 'to attack' and 'to surround, besiege.' See HW, 42. Cf. Poppe 1964, 374: 'experiencing the siege of Chung-tu.' (For Ta-tu = Chung-tu, see above, n. 247.) The first siege of Chung-tu, to which our text refers, took place early in 1214. See Martin, 168ff. The Chinese and Persian accounts of these events are not in full agreement with each other and with the SH narrative. See YS² 1, 17; SWCCL¹, 66b-67a; SL², 1/2, 170-171. Cf. Li, 170, n. 248, for a discussion of some of these discrepancies.

The Altan Qan, i.e. the then ruling Chin emperor (cf. above, n. 53), was Hsüan-tsung 宣宗 (r. 1213-23). On him see RC, 101 (H). His Right Chancellor (*yu ch'eng-hsiang* 右丞相) was Wan-yen Fu-hsing 完顏福興, alias Wan-yen Ch'eng-hui 承暉 (d. 1215). See CS 101, 2223-2227 (esp. p. 2225); Martin, 169-171. He is referred to in the present section as Ongging (= Wan-yen) Čingsang (= *ch'eng-hsiang*), like the previous Chin Right Chancellor Wan-yen Hsiang mentioned in §§ 132-134. See above, nn. 132 and 133.

'This is the destiny and favourable time decreed by Heaven and Earth.' For this expression, cf. § 194, where it is applied to the Mongols.

'Could it be that ... a new ruler?' For these words, see Mo, 102; and 'Trois documents', 466. For *yeye oro* 'the great (i.e. pertaining to the *qan/qa'an*, hence "royal, imperial") throne', lit. 'the great place (or seat)', cf. Cleaves 1950, 106-107, n. 17.

'Our valiant and bold élite (*erkit*) Jüyin troops of the Qara Kitat (= Kidat) and the Jürčet.' Cf. § 247. *Erkit* is the plural of *erkin* (= mo. *erkin*, *erkim*) 'leading, eminent, important', translated here as 'élite.'

'Even Čabčiyal *Pass*, on which we were relying, they have wrested from us', lit. 'Even (*ber*) the reliable (*itegeltü*) Čabčiyal ...' For the use of *ber* 'even', cf. Street 1981, 155.

'They will no doubt (*qala'ar*) scatter and return to their various cities (*balaqat balaqat-dur-ıyan*)', i.e. the scattered remnants of the defeated armies will not regroup, but will flee back to the safety of their respective garrisons. The word *qala'ar* (= mo. *qalayar*) occurs only once in the SH, in the present passage, where it is glossed as *pi-jan* 必然 'certainly, without fail.' It occurs several times in the HIIY with the same meaning. See *Matériel I*, 87; *Matériel II*, 11 (2r,2). The Written Mongolian form is not registered in Kow., but it occurs, for example, in the colophon of the ET. Cf. ET³, 100r02, 100r27. See *ibid.*, 212; Krueger 1963a, 122 and 123, stanza 47, line 4. See also Les., 1214a, where it is rendered as 'verily, surely.'

'And if we rally them against their will, they will turn against us and will no longer be our friends', lit. 'Furthermore (*jiči*), if they are subject to being gathered by us, not willing, becoming enemies (= hostile) to us, they will not be friends.'

'For the present' renders the Mongolian *edö'et-tür*, an expression which occurs also only once in the SH, but twice in the HIIY, where it alternates with *edö'e-tür* (= mo. *edüge-dür*) 'at present, now.' See *Matériel I*, 52; *Matériel II*, 40-41 (14v, 5).

'If the Mongols agree to withdraw', lit. 'If, entering into (= acceding to) the proposal (or agreement), the Mongols withdraw.'

'After their withdrawal', lit. 'after we have caused them to withdraw.'

'Find our country unsuitable (*he'üšiyejü*) and fall victim to epidemics (*kölčirgemü*).' On the verb *he'üšiy-* (= pmo. *egüsiye-*) 'to find disagreeable, intolerable', see Pelliot 1925, 216, no. 23; Cleaves 1950, 114-115, n. 84. For *kölčirge-* 'to fall victim to epidemics', see Pelliot, loc. cit. Cf. also Oz¹, VI, 234-236, n. 6.

'Princess' (*öki*), lit. 'daughter, girl', is here, as in § 280, used as a counterpart of *kö'ü* 'son, boy' = 'prince'; however, whereas in the case of the latter the SH glosses make the meaning clear (see HW, 105), in the case of the former they do not, and the word is rendered literally throughout, which is misleading (especially in § 280).

For *et* (= pmo. and mo. *ed*) and, further on, *et tabar* (= pmo. *ed tabar*; mo. *ed tavar*), 'goods, possessions', a borrowing from Turkic, see Cleaves 1954, 88-89, n. 7; idem 1991, 129, n. 10; Poppe 1955, 39; Khomonov 1970, 34.

'In abundance', lit. 'heavily (= substantially)' (*kündü-te*).

'Who knows whether they will *or will* not agree to our proposal?' – a rhetorical question implying that they would surely agree, as they in fact did.

'When Ongging Čingsang had given his advice, the Altan Qan approved these words of his', lit. 'When he (Ongging Čingsang) had advised (*duratqa'asu*), the Altan Qan approved these words of Ongging Čingsang.'

Gungju is not the personal name of a princess, but the Chinese title *kung-chu* 公主 'princess' phonetically transcribed into Mongolian. Unfortunately, we do not know the original SH reading in Uighur-Mongol script, but the word in the corresponding passage in AT¹, 110b, is *Güngji*, an obvious scribal error for *Güngjü* (final *-u/-ü* and *i* are easily confused in that script). In the later literary language and in Written Mongolian, the regular form is also *güngjü*, which I think accounts for the AT reading. (As a Mongolian borrowing from Chinese, *güngjü* 'princess' conforms to the rules of vowel harmony.) See ETI, 82a; Kow., 2571b. Scholars are divided as to the correct reading in the SH. Cf., e.g., Pe, 100: *Güngjü*; Shi, Sup. 1, 6a: *Güngzü*; Da¹, 244: *Güngjü* (cf. Da⁵, 208: *günz*); L², 217: *gungjü* (but *Güngdzsü* [= *Güngjü*] in Li, 116); Mu, III, 148, n. 13: *Güngjü*; Cl, 184: *Gungju*; Ir, 239: *Gungju*; On, 143: *Gungjü* (but *Güngjü* in the 2001 ed., 236); Ta, 179: *Gungju*; Daš, 183: *güngjü*; Če, 231: *Güngjü*; Ev-Pop, 214: *Güngjü*. I discussed the problem of transcription at length in Ra, XI, 111-

112, and decided then (1984) in favour of *Gungjü*, i.e. *Gungjü*, albeit with reservations. The character *kung* 公 is regularly transcribed as *gung* in Mongolian in the 14th century bilingual inscriptions. See Cleaves 1949, 73a; idem 1950, 83a. As for ch. *chu* 主, its value in the SH and HIIY transcriptions is *ju* as well as *jü*. Cf. GHMBK, 448-449; *Matériel I*, 69. The reading *gungju* is also supported by the Turkic forms which are all with back vocalism. See TMEN, no. 1585; Ölmez 1999, 59-60; Battulga 2000, 148ff. I have, therefore, adopted the form *Gungju* in the present work but, again, with some reservations, since neither *güngjü* nor *gungjü* can be definitely rejected. As noted by other commentators, the princess in question was not the daughter of Hsüan-tsung, but of his predecessor Wei-shao Wang 衛紹王, alias Yung-chi 永濟 (r. 1209-13; see RC, 101 [G]), and her personal name was Ch'i-kuo 岐國. See YS² 1, 17; Martin, 170-171. However, in the CS 14, 304, her name appears also as *Kung-chu* *huang-hou* 公主皇后, or the *Kung-chu* ('Princess') Empress. Cf. also SL², I/2, 71, 171, 255: *Günjü* Qatun. The Taoist patriarch Ch'ang-ch'un 長春, i.e. Ch'iu Ch'u-chi 丘處機 (1148-1227), and his party met her in Mongolia in July 1221. See the HYC, A, 21b, 22b-23a; TOA, 71, 73 (where, however, the word 'Tangut' in note 2 is a mistake for 'Chinese'). Cf. ISK, 213. According to a (? popular) tradition preserved in the ET, the name of the Jurchen princess was *Ĵaliqai*. See ET³, 30v16-17 (where 'Yaliqai' should almost certainly be read 'Ĵaliqai'). However, she is erroneously described as the daughter of Chang-tsung 章宗 (r. 1190-1208). *Ĵaliqai* ('Crafty') is perhaps a nickname given to her by the Mongols at the time, or later. Cf. MKYLYC, 203, n. 72.

'As much as, in their judgement, their strength *and that of their horses* could carry', lit. 'letting them decide (*mede'ülün*) by the strength (*güčün-e*) as much as one could carry (*da'aqui-ača*).' For *da'a-* (= mo. *dayaya-*) 'to be able to carry, bear or lift', see Les., 216a. For the ablative of the nomen futuri

meaning 'as much as (one can)', cf. the expression *čidaqui-ača* in § 245.

Moĵiu is the transliteration into the 13th-14th century Mongolian pronunciation of the name Mo-chou 莫州 of the text, glossed – together with the following place-name Fu-chou 撫州 (Vuĵiu, see above, n. 247) – as *chiin ming* 郡名 'names of commanderies.' In § 247, Fu-chou was glossed as *chou ming* 州名 'name of prefecture', just as Hsüan-te fu 宣德府 (Söndiivu) in the same paragraph was glossed *fu ming* 府名 'name of administration.' The different glosses for Mo-chou and Fu-chou in our passage already show that there is something wrong with these names. The sectional summary (Y² Sup. 1, 7b) reads as follows: 'Wang-ching 王京 (= Ongging) personally accompanied him (i.e. Činggis) as far as the mountain spurs (山嘴 [= 嘴]) of Mo-chou and Fu-chou.' The AT¹, 111b, gives Moĵu and Vuĵu (the 'U-ju' of ATL, 183, is an incorrect reading), thus confirming the SH readings. Nevertheless, the SH text is certainly corrupt and the evidence from the AT merely indicates that the error originated in the copying or editing of the manuscript during the Yüan. Furthermore, as we have already seen (above, n. 247), place-names in the SH underwent changes that cannot always be accounted for. As noted by most commentators (see, e.g., Na², 382; YCPC 13, 2a; Mu, III, 148, n. 14; Do¹, 294-295, n. 18), Mo-chou 莫州 is out of the question here, as this town – the present Jen-ch'iu hsien 任邱縣 in Hopei – is south-west of Peking, hence in a completely different direction from that taken by Činggis. The conqueror, as we know, returned to the north in the third month (12 April-10 May) of 1214, and in the sixth month (9 July-7 August) was encamped on the banks of the Yü-erh po 魚兒灤 (or Ta-li po 達里灤 'Ta-li Lake', i.e. the Dal (< Dar) Nör, by some authors incorrectly referred to as 'Dalai Nör'; on this lake, see Serruys 1959, 4, n. 6) 'escaping the summer heat' (YS² 1, 17-18). According to this source (1, 17), Wan-yen Fu-hsing, alias Ongging Čingsang, 'accompanied the Emperor out (lit. "going out") of Chü-yung', in other words, he

saw Činggis out of the pass before returning to Chung-tu. The laconic YS account does not say how far out of Chü-yung kuan he actually went with the imperial suite before turning back, but other early sources do. The SWCCL¹, 67a (s.a. 1214) says that he accompanied Činggis Qan 'as far as Yeh-ma ch'ih 野麻池 and returned.' In the corresponding passage of SL², I/2, 171, it is stated that he 'came before Čingiz-khan, passed through Čamčial (= Čabčiyal, i.e. Chü-yung kuan), and accompanying [him] went as far as the place called Mači (= Māčī; in the text: Māĵī), and from there turned back.' Cf. SL¹, 15 (1888), 23. In the TCHP 20, 6b-7a, the same account is found, and the locality in question is called Ma-ch'ih 馬池. There is no doubt, in my opinion, that the Māĵī/Māčī of Rašid al-Dīn and the (Yeh-)Ma-ch'ih of the Chinese sources are one and the same place. I agree with other commentators that the 'Mo-chou (Moĵiu)' of the SH is probably an error for 'Ma-ch'ih (Mači)', but with reservations. See Hung 1951, 488. It remains to identify this locality which to my knowledge is not mentioned in other Yüan or later works, at least not in this form and not in this region. Since in the SH 'Mo-chou' is mentioned in connection with Fu-chou, we may assume that it was in the same general area. This makes sense, as the locality would then be on the way from the Chü-yung Pass to the Dal Nör by the usual route – the one also followed by Ch'ang-ch'un (see TOA, 56-64). The obvious 'point of return' for an envoy like Ongging Čingsang would have been one of the last Chin outposts, such as Fu-chou. Therefore, the 'spurs' (*goši'un*) to which the SH refers can only be those of the northern face of the Manitu Mountains (馬尼圖山). According to Ting Ch'ien, Yeh-ma ch'ih corresponds to a locality called I-ma-t'u 驛馬圖 situated 90 li north and slightly to the east of Chang-chia k'ou (Kalgan). See STL, 38a. This identification is worth considering. I-ma-t'u, also and better known as Yeh-ma-t'u 野馬圖, is about 30 km east-southeast of Chang-pei/Fu-chou, 30 km north-east of Chang-chia k'ou and 20 km north-west of Ch'ung-li/T'ai-p'ing chang, at 41° 03 N

115° 03 E. Cf. TMTT, 861d, s.v. 野馬圖; and HTT, Map 16. Its situation on the northern slopes of the Manitu Mountains and a short distance from Fu-chou would make it an excellent candidate for the Yeh-ma ch'ih of the Chinese sources – also on phonetic grounds except for the last syllable. The name may have undergone a change during the Ming or, more probably, the Ch'ing period and further research on this score is necessary. Also, Yeh-ma ch'ih ('Wild Hemp Pool') seems to be the Chinese name of a lake, whereas Yeh-ma-t'u/I-ma-t'u is the Chinese phonetic transcription of a Mongolian word, almost certainly *imātu* (< *ima'atu* = mo. *imayatu*) 'having goats.' Cf. the I-ma-t'u 麻禿 = Yang-shan 羊山 ('Goat Mountain') in the Sino-Mongolian glossary in WPC 227, 3b, and the Imatu Alin (駙馬圖山, 伊馬圖山), or Imatu Mountains, north-east of Kuei-hua in JA, 161, 295, no. 169.

'With *bands of heavy silk fabric*' renders *kibu'ud-iyar*. *Kibu'ut* (w.f. *kibuγud*; cf. AT¹, 111b: *kibūd* [< *kibuγud*]) is the plural of *kib*, glossed in Chinese as *shu-chüan* 熟絹 'heavy or glossy silk fabric, taffeta.' See Cleaves 1950a, 445-446, n. 25. The reading *qib* for *kib* in Oz¹, VI, 229, 237, n. 9, is incorrect. Cf. GHMBK, 460.

§ 249. Here too the chronology of the SH is unreliable and misleading. Činggis Qan's campaign against the sinicized state of Hsi Hsia (called 'Qašin' and 'Tang'ut' in our text) and the payment of tribute by its ruler (Burqan Qan), as related in this section, actually preceded the campaign against Chin described in §§ 247-248. We know that the Mongols had been carrying out raids into Hsi Hsia territory in 1205 and 1207 (see YS² 1, 13-14; SWCCL¹, 57a-b; SL², I/2, 149 [where, however, '1202' is an error for '1205'] and 151), but it was not until the summer/autumn of 1209 that Činggis began a massive attack against the Hsi Hsia strongholds, including the capital Chung-hsing 中興 (= Ning-hsia/Eriqaya in Ninghsia), which came under siege. The SH narrative ignores all this and describes only the outcome, i.e. the peace bought by the Tangut court. For an

account of the 1209 campaign, see YS² 1, 14; SWCCL¹, 60b-61a; SL², I/2, 153; Martin, 115-120; OITG, 298-301; HHSK, 123ff., 334; CHCAR, 207-208 (and Map 13 on p. 209). There are some discrepancies as to the year of the campaign, some sources giving 1210 and even 1211 for it, but the overall evidence points to 1209, and this is also the year given by the TCHP 19, 31a. Cf. Na², 384-385; Mu, III, 151-152; Kyčanov 1977, 49; CHCAR, 207; YShi, 161. For the state of Hsi Hsia and the names Qašin (< ch. Ho-hsi 'West of the [Yellow] River') and Tang'ut (< Tangqut = Tangγud), a Turko-Mongolian designation of Hsi Hsia, see above, nn. 150 and 151.

The 'Qašin people' (*Qašin irgen*), i.e. the inhabitants of Hsi Hsia, are here referred to as the 'Tang'ut people' (*Tang'ut irgen*), and their ruler, who at the time of these events was Hsiang-tsung 襄宗, alias Li An-ch'üan 李安全 (r. 1206-11), is called Burqan Qan, lit. 'Buddha (= Divine) Ruler.' This apparently was the religious and popular designation of the Tangut rulers originating from their deep Buddhist faith. Another designation of the Hsi Hsia sovereign, found in § 250, was Iluqu Burqan or 'Victorious Buddha.' *Iluqu* = *ilūqu* < *ilayūqu*, the nomen futuri of the verb *ilayū-* 'to conquer, overcome.' It corresponds to mo. *ilayūysan*, *ilayūγči*, all of them rendering skr. *jina* 'conqueror, victorious', a standard epithet of the Buddha. See Les., 1171a; BT, nos. 12, 13b, 3605. On Hsiang-tsung, cf. RC, 83 (I).

'Becoming your right (= west) wing (lit. "hand").' Činggis' army was invading China from the north; its weak flank was the western flank which was under constant threat from the Hsi Hsia forts along the border, hence the various probing and reconnaissance raids into Tangut territory and the present campaign immediately preceding the actual launching of the expedition against Chin. Burqan Qan is now pledging his support and, to remove Činggis Qan's fears, offers to become the Mongol army's 'western wing', meaning that Činggis would be secure on his western flank from any Hsi Hsia attack.

'I shall serve you', lit. 'I shall give you my strength' (*güčü ögsü*): see above, n. 149. To seal his allegiance Burqan Qan gives his daughter Čaqa to Činggis. The identification of Čaqa with Ch'a-erh 察兒 (*Čar), listed in the YS² 106, 2695a, as the fifth empress belonging to the third *ordo* – identification proposed by Li Wen-t'ien (YC 13, 10a) and Naka (Na², 383) – is acceptable only if it can be shown that the two names are related; unfortunately, this cannot be done on purely phonetic grounds. Čaqa appears to be the Mongolian counterpart or version of the princess' name, just as Iluqu Burqan is the Mongolian version of her father's title. The AT¹, 111b, gives the reading 'Čaqan' instead of 'Čaqa.' ATL, 183, reads 'Čaya<n>', while ATI, 79, has 'Cayan', and LDAT, 219, 'Čakhan' (= Čaqan). However, *čaqa* means 'child' in Mongolian, and is plausible as a name or nickname. See HW, 25; Les., 166b. Cf. Rybatzki [2003], s.v. *Čar* means 'layer of frost on the surface of the snow; hard crust on snow' (Les., 165a), but Čar or a similar sounding word may well be the Chinese transcription of the original Tangut name of the princess. Further research on this problem by Tangut specialists is clearly necessary. In any event, Murakami's objection (in Mu, III, 152, n. 2) to Naka's and, ultimately, Li Wen-t'ien's identification (adopted also in Do¹, 297, n. 3), based on the assumption that Ch'a-erh and Ča'alun, the 'daughter' – actually the wife – of Toqto'a of the Merkit (see § 157 and com.) are one and the same person, is hardly defensible on phonetic grounds. Incidentally, the Tangut princess, too, was met by Ch'ang-ch'un and his disciples in Mongolia in July 1221. See the HYC, A, 21b; TOA, 71. Cf. above, n. 248.

'Your august person' (*süldertü beye činu*), lit. 'your person possessing an august spirit (or majesty: *sülder*).' For *sülder*, see above, n. 69.

'You have come to us', lit. 'undergoing the coming by you' (*irekdejü*). Cf. Poppe 1964, 377.

'We are the ones who live in permanent camps,/We are the ones who have towns with pounded-earth walls', lit. 'We are the

ones who have immovable (*nunji*) camps,/We are the ones who have pounded (*nödüksen*) towns', i.e. a settled population and, consequently, untrained and unsuitable for the type of warfare waged by the Mongols. Cf. § 203: 'Splitting up those that live in felt-walled tents,/Separating those that live in dwellings with wooden doors.' Cf. also § 265, where the same phraseology of § 249 is employed. *Nunji*, glossed as *pu-tung-ti* 不動的 'immovable (= stable)', came to mean 'tardy, slow (or late) growing; weak, frail, having poor sight or hearing' in the later literary language. Cf. Kow., 676b; Les., 596a; MKT, 395c. As for the 'pounded towns' (*nödüksen balaqasu*), i.e. towns with walls of pounded earth, Cleaves renders the line in question somewhat differently: '[We] are ones which have pounded city walls' (Cl, 185), thereby taking the word *balaqasu(n)* (= pmo. *balayasu[n]*) to mean 'city wall' on the strength of the Chinese gloss *ch'eng* 城 which means both 'walled town/city' and 'city wall(s)'. However, *balaqasu(n)* designates only a 'walled-town/city.' Cf. above, n. 151. The reading *nüdügsen* in Oz¹, VI, 239, 241-242, n. 3, does not represent the Chinese transcription which is unquestionably *nödügsen* (那都克先).

Qurdun aya ayala- 'to wage a swift campaign' is, literally, 'to campaign a swift campaign.' On the expression *aya ayala-*, see Cleaves 1949, 101, n. 32. 'To fight a deadly combat' renders *qurča bulqa bulqaldu-* (pmo. *bulya bulyaldu-*), lit. 'to fight a sharp fight.' See 'Trois documents', 493, n. 85.

'We shall bring forth many camels/Reared in the shelter of the tall feather-grass', lit. 'Rearing them in the shelter of the tall *deresün*,/We shall bring forth many camels.' For *deresü(n)* 'feather-grass, broom grass' = *Lasiogrostis splendens* (Trin.) Kunth., etc., see MOUNT, 57; UNT, 85, no. 15019; Les., 253b; MED, 146b; and, especially, Serruys 1985 (where the reference to the SH is on p. 70). See also C.R. Bawden's remarks in BSOAS 45:1982, 205. The correct scientific name is *Lasiogrostis*, not *Lasiogrostis*. Cf. above, n. 150.

'We shall turn them into (lit. "cause to become") government property (*qa*).'⁷ For *qa*, which is an alternative form of *qan* 'ruler' → 'rulership, government', hence 'pertaining to the government, government property', see Cleaves 1952, 97-98, n. 90; and de Rachewiltz 1983, 273 (e). Cf. above, nn. 57, 244. Burqan Qan means that the camels will be levied (*qubči-*, see below) from his subjects in order to be delivered to Činggis Qan. On the Mongols' requirements of camels, see also § 274. On their need of textiles, see Serruys 1982a; CEME, 11ff.; and above, nn. 136 and 187. As Serruys points out (op. cit., 126), the Mongols had wool and used it to make felt for their tents, but they did not weave.

'Training falcons to fly loose *at game*', lit. 'teaching (*surqaǰu*) birds (*šiba'un*, here = falcons) that one lets loose (*o'orqu*).'⁸ *Šiba'un* (= mo. *sibayun*) 'bird' has the secondary meaning of 'falcon', as in § 195. On falconry, cf. above, n. 239.

'The best ones', lit. 'the fine ones (*sayid-i*) of (= amongst) them (*inu*).'⁹ For *inu* = *anu*, cf. Mo, 95.

'He kept to his word', lit. 'he reached (= came up) to his word.'¹⁰ For this expression, see *Lettres*, 31. For *qubči-* 'to levy', see above, n. 223.

In this section, as in the next one, emphasis is placed on Burqan Qan's submission and his promise to provide military assistance to Činggis Qan. The royal act of submission was formalized by the dispatch of a princess to the Mongol court together with a substantial tribute in camels, satin, etc. It was the subsequent failure to provide military assistance to the Mongols prior to the launching of the Western Campaign in 1218/19 that will give Činggis Qan the 'legitimate' pretext to invade and, ultimately, destroy the Hsi Hsia state in 1226. See below, n. 256.

§ 250. This section contains a brief recapitulation of the results of Činggis' two expeditions against Chin and Hsi Hsia described in the previous sections, viz. the acquisition of a large amount of booty on the part of the Mongols. The year given for the two

campaigns is the Year of the Sheep, i.e. 1211. As shown in the previous notes, the chronology of the SH concerning these events is unreliable. The year 1211, already mentioned in § 247, is the year in which the invasion of Chin was launched and has no bearing on the earlier campaign against Hsi Hsia, which took place in 1209. In this section (as in § 251), owing to faulty editing, the Altan Qan of the Kitat is referred to once as 'the Altan Qa'an', as in § 53. Cf. the beginning of § 255 where, for the same reason, we find 'Činggis Qan' instead of 'Činggis Qa'an.'¹¹ On this problem, see de Rachewiltz 1983, 276, and Section Four of the Introduction.

'A large quantity ... a large number', lit. 'many (*olon*) ... many (*olon*).'¹²

The name of the Altan Qan, i.e. of the Chin ruler at the time, is given as Aqutai. This is an error, the origin of which is obscure. In SL², I/2, 166-167, we read: 'This same ruler (i.e. of the Jurchen/Chin), who conducted a struggle with Čingiz-khan and his army, was from the tribe and region of Džurdžè (*read* Ĵürče) and belonged to the descendants (i.e. was a descendant) of Daï-Kam-Van (= ? Ta-Chin-wang 大金王 "the king of Great Chin"; cf. Pelliot 1935, 930, n. 18) Agudè (*read* Aguda). Agude is the name, and the rest the nickname (i.e. the appellation). The Mongols call this Agude Khakutai (= Aqutai), and all the rulers who belong to his descendants (i.e. who descend from him) are called by the Mongols Altan-khan.'¹³ (The parenthetical matter is mine.) It would appear then that the Mongols in Činggis' time called the Chin ruler by extension also Aqutai. Cf. Mu, III, 153-154, n. 5; Do¹, 298, n. 6. Another explanation is the one put forth in Li, 181, n. 251, according to which the Chin ruler's name may have been confused with that of the Jurchen envoy A-hu-tai 阿虎帶 (Aqutai), who after Činggis Qan's death was sent by the Chin to the Mongol court with funerary presents which Ögödei rejected. See YS² 2, 29 (s.a. 1229). There are, however, some chronological problems concerning the Chin peace missions to the Mongols and the identity of the envoys. See MWESC 3, 31b (s.a. 1227: mission of Ao-t'un A-hu 奥屯阿虎),

and 4, 3a (s.a. 1229: mission of Wan-yen Nu-shen 完顏奴申). Personally, I favour the first explanation, viz. that the Jurchen name Aguda, pronounced by the Mongols Aqutai or Aγutai/ Ayudai, although properly belonging to the founder of the dynasty, was also mistakenly applied by them to his descendants, much as we would say 'the Agudaid.' The Mongol practice of giving names to other peoples is an interesting subject in itself and deserves investigation.

For Iluqu Burqan, see above, n. 249. For the Sa'ari Ke'er, or Sa'ari Steppe, see above, n. 128. The SH statement that Činggis Qan returned to his camping grounds in northern Mongolia is correct only insofar as the completion of the 1209 campaign against Hsi Hsia is concerned. After the immediately following 'first' campaign against Chin, concluded in 1214, Činggis withdrew his army only as far as the Yü-erh po, i.e. the Dal Nōr, in southeastern Mongolia to avoid the summer heat, as already shown above (n. 248).

For the use of the verb *ba'u-* (= mo. *baγu-*) 'to pitch camp', lit. 'to dismount', with the accusative, see Cleaves 1953, 105, n. 5; and *Lettres*, 29. For this section, cf. also Street 1990, 190 (66).

§ 251. This section deals with the resumption of hostilities with Chin. The SH is again in error as to the sequence of events by placing the Altan Qan's flight from Chung-tu *after* the resumption of hostilities, whereas all other sources agree that Činggis' renewed attack was triggered off by the Chin ruler's hasty transfer of his court to the relative safety of the Southern Capital Pien-liang 汴梁, i.e. K'ai-feng 開封, in Honan in June 1214. See below, and Martin, 171ff. There are also other inconsistencies that will be discussed later. The reason given in the SH for this, the 'second' campaign, is the Chin government's interference with (lit. 'hindering') the envoys sent by Činggis to the Sung court in the south. These various envoys, among whom was Jubqan (see below), were seeking an alliance with Sung against the Jurchens, which explains why they were

detained by the latter. On the other hand, envoys were regarded as inviolable by the Mongols, and hindering their mission or harming them automatically provided the Mongol court with a legitimate *casus belli* (cf. below, n. 254). The then reigning Sung emperor, Ning-tsung 寧宗 (r. 1195-1224; see RC, 89 [M]), is called Jau Gon, which was the Mongol pronunciation of Chao Kuan 趙官, lit. 'Chao Person-in-office', Chao being the family name (*hsing*) of the Sung rulers. This unusual appellation must have been a popular designation of the Southern Sung emperors in northern Chin-ruled China. *Kuan* 官 is used here for 'emperor', also a meaning of this character. See DKJ, III, 7107 (3). Cf. also the expressions *kuan-chia* 官家 and *kuan-li* 官裏 id. (ibid., 7107.29 and 7107.357; CEDMU, 925a; SYYYTT, 578a). For the surname of a person followed by his title or designation, cf. pmo. Čau Qošanġ = ch. Ch'ao Ho-shang 超 (?) 和尚, lit. 'Monk Ch'ao', in Cleaves 1951, 56 [31], 71. As for the transcription Jau Gon of 趙官 adopted by Cleaves (Cl, 186) and others, Ligeti gives again different readings in his works: 'Jeu-gon' in the text edition (L², 220) and 'Dzsaugon' (= 'Jaugon') in his translation (Li, 117); whereas Ozawa prefers the reading 'Jęugon' (Oz¹, VI, 246). The reading *jeu* for 趙, which I also adopted in Ra, XI, 85, 120, is indeed supported by the 13th-14th century transcriptions in 'Phags-pa script (see, e.g., MKTY, 119b [= B, 15a]), but these reflect the state of Old Mandarin, whereas here we are dealing with a Middle Mandarin pronunciation. See KGJ, 243, no. 55 (s.v. 兆). As for 官 = *gon*, cf. Cleaves 1949, 73a (Index). The AT¹, 112a, has the corrupt forms 'Čedkün' and 'Čidkün' (amended to 'Čeugon' and 'Čeugon' respectively in ATL, 185). Cf. ATI, 79.

For the emendation of the SH 'Chao Kuan' into 'Chao K'uo 趙擴' (K'uo being the personal name of Ning-tsung) proposed by Wang Kuo-wei, see KTCL 16, 26b. Cf. Pelliot 1929, 130; Cl, 186, n. 21. This emendation is doubtful on phonetic grounds.

Jubqan, the chief envoy of Činggis Qan to the Sung, is a

known personage, mentioned in the MTPL, 2a-b (see the important note on him by Wang Kuo-wei, loc. cit.), the YS² 2, 31 (s.a. 1231), and other Sung and Yüan sources, where his name is transcribed in slightly different ways (Su-pu-han, Shuo-pu-han, etc.). See MDBL, 46-48, 101-102, n. 38; CG, 3, 8-9, n. 11; Na², 386-387; Mu, III, 156-158, n. 2; Abramowski 1976, 126, 140, n. 35 (where, however, Shuo-pu-han is not identified). The various transcriptions of his name reflect Sub(u)qan ~ Čub(u)qan (~ Ĵub[u]qan) ~ Čob(u)qan. The AT¹, 112a, gives Čab Qan (= Čabqan) – incorrectly read as ‘Čau-qan’ by Šastina (LDAT, 220) and ATI, 79 – which has been amended by Ligeti to ‘Čubqan’ in his text edition (ATL, 185). Murakami, loc. cit., suggests a possible derivation from *čibuqan* (= mo. *čibuyan*, *čibayan*) ‘jujube.’ Cf. tu. *čubaqan* id. See *Matériel I*, 46; Les., 174a, 175a; DTS, 156a. Although this etymology is very plausible, I would like to suggest a possible, even if less likely, alternative, viz. **čobuyan* ~ **čubuyan* ‘intelligent, eloquent.’ Cf. ord. *tš’owō*, *tš’owōn* ‘very intelligent, lively, eloquent’ (DO, 714a-b); ö. *tswā* ‘witty’ (registered in KW, 431a). See IMCS, 70-71. This could have been a nickname the Mongols gave to this personage on account of his skill as an ambassador. We know that he was a Chinese-speaking Önggüt, apparently serving under Muqali in north China, who was entrusted with several missions to the Sung, including one about 1221. He was eventually killed in Shensi by a Chin official in the course of a mission to the Sung on behalf of Tolui in 1231, i.e. after Ögödei’s full-scale resumption of the war against Chin. One may well wonder whether the reference to Ĵubqan in the passage of the SH under discussion is not a later interpolation, or a textual contamination, in view of the fact that Ĵubqan was indeed prevented from carrying out a Mongol diplomatic mission to the Sung, losing his life into the bargain, about seventeen years later.

For the construction *olon elčün-iyen ... jetgükdejü*, see Poppe 1964, 374.

‘After they had already submitted themselves (*elsen baraju*), how could they hinder (*yekin jetkün bülegei*) ...?’ For the auxiliary of completion *bara-*, see above, n. 75. The form *bülegei* (cf. *büligi* in § 151) occurs only once in the SH and is not found, I think, in any other Middle Mongolian text, the regular transcriptions replacing the intervocalic *-g-* of the Uighur-Mongolian written form with a hiatus or a *-y-*. See R, 202b-203a, s.v. ‘büle’e’, ‘büle’ei’, and ‘büliyi’; ‘Trois documents’, 460; ‘Quelques problèmes’, 258. The presence of the two forms with *-g-* in the SH may further confirm that the Chinese phonetic transcription of this work was carried out on a text in Uighur-Mongol script, not in ‘Phags-pa script, as some scholars have claimed in the past. On this question, cf. Li, 193ff.; Mo, 260; and Section Four of the Introduction.

The Tunggon Pass (Tunggon Amasar) is the famous T’ung-kuan 潼關 stronghold, one of the main strategic points of Shensi and Honan, overlooking the Huang-ho. T’ung-kuan was attacked and briefly conquered by the Mongol army led by Samuqa only in 1216. See Na², 387-388; MWESC 3, 18a. Cf., however, SL², I/2, 175 (s.a. 1213/14). Činggis Qan never crossed the Huang-ho and directed all the military operations from various points north of Chung-tu. He did not even enter Chung-tu when the city fell in 1215 (see below).

‘Ordering Ĵebe to go by way of Čabčiyal’, lit. ‘caused Ĵebe to be going by Čabčiyal’, i.e. by way of Chü-yung kuan.

Of the three Chin commanders appointed by the Altan Qan, Ile has been identified with I-la P’u-a 移刺蒲阿, on whom see CS 112, 2470-2475. Qada has been identified with Wan-yen Ho-ta 完顏合達, on whom see *ibid.*, 2463-2470; and YS² 2, 31. See Na², 390-391; Mu, III, 158-159, nn. 4 and 5. Unfortunately, very little is known about I-la P’u-a’s activity as a military commander before 1222-1223. However, there is no doubt that ‘Ile’ corresponds to the Kitan surname Yeh-lü 耶律 ~ I-la 移刺 ~ I-lieh 移 (亦) 列 (烈). See de Rachewiltz 1974, 201-202, n. 37; Boyle 1963, 236-237. There were several military leaders at the

time in the Chin army who belonged to this clan, and I-la P'u-a is certainly the one who *after 1225* was closely associated with Wan-yen Ho-ta in leading the Chin counter-offensive. Both these generals were defeated and captured by the Mongols early in 1232. Cf. Abramowski 1976, 127, 141, nn. 50, 51; ISK, 320. If, as suggested, our Ile is I-la P'u-a, his retrospective inclusion in the SH among the Chin commanders s.a. 1214 is almost certainly incorrect. As for the third commander, Hübögetür, his identification is even more problematic. Naka (Na², 391) suggests that this may have been another name of the military leader Wan-yen Ch'en-ho-shang 完顏陳和尚, on whom see CS 123, 2680-2683. Cf. Mu, III, 159-160, n. 6. Cleaves is of the opinion that the name of the Chin general 'Qamar Neküder' (QMR NKWDR) mentioned by Juvainī together with Qadai 'Rengü' (= ? Senggüm < ch. *chiang-chün* 將軍 'general') – who is to be identified with Wan-yen Ho-ta – may be a corruption of Hübögetür. See HWC, 192 and n. 5. But the events related by Juvainī refer to Ögödei's and Tolui's operations in north China in 1231-1232, which are also, and more fully, described by Rašīd al-Dīn. In *Successors*, 35, Rašīd mentions too the Chin generals who are identified by Boyle, following Cleaves, as *Qada Senggüm and *Höbeğedür (see *ibid.*, n. 115), in connection with the Mongols' second and final attack on T'ung-kuan (see below). The names of the two generals in Rašīd al-Dīn's text are Qadai Rengü and Qamar Tegüder. See DT¹, 20 and nn. g, h; SL², II, 22, nn. 76, 77. Rašīd's source for these names is clearly Juvainī. According to the Chinese sources, the T'ung-kuan garrison surrendered to the Mongols on 12 February 1232. See MWESC 4, 7a. The problem is further complicated by the SH reference to the 'Red Coats' (*Hula'an Degelen*) being used as the vanguard, i.e. as crack troops, of the Chin army against the Mongols in the defence of T'ung-kuan, and their defeat by Tolui and Čügü Gürigen (the Čigü Güregen of the SH, § 202, no. 85; see below) in the course of the same campaign of Činggis Qan, ostensibly s.a. 1214. At that time there was a rebel army operating in Shantung composed of bands of discontented

peasants, displaced people and outlaws, known as the 'Red Coats' (ch. *Hung-ao* 紅襖). The Chin government made determined efforts to suppress them in 1214-1215, but without much success, and the Red Coats continued to harass the authorities and the local population for many years. In its fight against these rebels, the Chin government made use of civil volunteer troops known as the 'Multicoloured Caps Army' (ch. *Hua-mao chün* 花帽軍); these troops were also used in support of the regular army when the Mongol forces led by Samuqa attacked the T'ung-kuan stronghold in 1216. Some scholars have suggested that the *Hula'an Degelen* of the SH was actually the Multicoloured Caps Army; others maintain that they were the latter, but comprising also units of the Red Coats who had changed sides and rallied to the government. Cf. the various arguments in Yao TW 1960; and Mu, III, 160-161, n. 7. As pointed out by Murakami (*loc. cit.*), the distinction between the Red Coats and the Multicoloured Caps Army may later have become blurred because of the incorporation of the former into the latter. On the Red Coats and their leaders, see MHHWY, 11-43 (esp. p. 22ff.); F. Aubin's biography of Li Ch'üan 李全 (d. 1231) in SB, 542-546; NTS, 118ff.; Ōshima 1974. In any event, all authors agree that the battle of T'ung-kuan described in this section of the SH is that of 1216. It should be pointed out, however, that Rašīd al-Dīn, in describing the military operations in north China just prior to Tolui's great victory at 'Tungqan Qahalqa' (*read* 'Tungqan Qaqalqa'), i.e. the T'ung-kuan Pass, in 1231/32, says that Ögödei, who was personally in charge of the operations, 'himself proceeded on the right (i.e. westwards – I.R.) in the direction of a province of Khitai (= North China – I.R.), the people of which are called Hulan-Degelen, that is, the people who wear red coats.' (*Successors*, 34; cf. *ibid.*, p. 166; and TMEN, no. 200.) Then follows a description of Tolui's arrival at T'ung-kuan and the ensuing battle against the Chin troops led by *Qada Senggüm and *Höbeğedür (*Successors*, 35-38; cf. HWC, 192-195) mentioned earlier. In my view, the SH account is a conflation of events that took place in the North

China campaigns of 1214-1216 and 1231-1232, the confusion being due in all probability to a later editor who meddled with the text of the SH and, in particular, with the sections dealing with Tolui. Therefore, I think that the reference to the Red Coats in our passage must be re-examined in the light of the account of the final battle for T'ung-kuan and the cryptic remark by Rašīd al-Dīn concerning the people by that name. Cf. also Liu TY 1998, 25-26. The name itself presents no problem: 'Hulan-Delegeten' is *Hulān* (< *Hula'an*) *Delegeten*, lit. 'Those who have (= wear) red coats', a designation formed on *Hula'an Degelen* + the possessive suffix *-ten*.

'With the army blocking *the passage*' (*čerik böklejü*), the passage being the Tunggon Pass. The exact meaning of *bökle-* (= mo. *bögle-*) is 'to fill (i.e. to block, obstruct) an opening.' Cf. § 80: *amasar bökle-* 'to block the opening.' Renderings such as 'selected the (best) soldiers' (On, 144; cf. the 2001 ed., 238), and 'reinforcing (or strengthening, making a full contingent of) the troops' (Da⁵, 210; Oz¹, VI, 249, 250, n. 3, 309; Oz², II, 167-168; Će, 233; Ev-Pop, 216, 301, n. 23) go against both the text and the Chinese gloss (塞着).

'In haste', lit. 'hastening' (*qurduilan*). The verb *qurduila-* (= mo. *qurdula-*) 'to hasten' (from *qurdun* 'haste, quick'; cf. HW, 72) occurs only once in the SH.

'The Kitat troops came to intercept him, saying, "Our soil!"' By 'Our soil!' is meant 'Let us defend our soil!' See Mo, 175-178. For somewhat different interpretations of this passage, see Oz¹, VI, 249, 253, n. 6, 381; On, 144; Će, 234; Ev-Pop, 216. The two Mongol leaders mentioned in § 251 are Tolui and Čügü Gürigen, i.e. Čigü Gürigen ('Son-in-law Čigü') – the latter having been mentioned in § 202 as the commander of one of the three Onggirat thousands (*minqat*). Čigü is the correct form of the name. The son of Alči Noyan and grandson of Dei Sečen, Čigü married Činggis' youngest daughter Tümelün, hence the epithet *gürigen*. On him, see Na², 281; Mu, II, 391-393, n. 92 (with genealogical tree); Pelliot 1935, 913-916; *Chapitre CVIII*, 49, n. 2; 160 (7), n. 2. On *gürigen* ~ *güregen*, see 'Trois

documents', 474; and above, n. 66. Čigü took part in the first North China campaign and is mentioned in YS² 1, 16, in connection with Tolui and the attack on Te-hsing fu in 1213, as well as in Rašīd al-Dīn's work, always in connection with this early campaign and with Tolui. See *Successors*, 164. His participation in Ögödei's campaign against Chin in the early 1230s can only be inferred from the participation of his father, who led the left (= east) wing of the Mongol army, and from the handsome reward he received for his services from Ögödei in 1236. See YS² 2, 35; MWESC 4, 5b; Abramovski 1976, 132.

'Charging at their flanks' (*köndelen-eče dobtulju*), lit. 'assaulting from the side(s).'

'Slew the Kitat until they were like heaps of rotten logs.'

For this expression, see above, n. 247.

'Fled out of Jungdu', lit. 'going out fled from Jungdu.'

'The city of Namging' (*Namging balaqasu*) is Nan-ching 南京, or Southern Capital, of the Chin, which was then Pien-liang, i.e. K'ai-feng, in Honan. The city was besieged and eventually captured by Sübe'etei in May-June 1233. As stated at the outset, Chung-tu was abandoned by Hsüan-tsung before Činggis' resumption of hostilities in the second half of 1214. Hsüan-tsung left Chung-tu on 27 June 1214 and arrived in Pien-liang/Nan-ching on 19 August. See SS 39, 760; CS 14, 305. Cf. YS² 1, 17. By the time he reached Pien-liang, Chung-tu was being surrounded by the Mongol army and put under siege. The siege lasted over ten months and the city finally surrendered on 31 May 1215. See CS 14, 309; YS² 1, 18. The famine became acute in the last two months and references to cases of cannibalism are indeed found in the Chinese sources. See SWCCL¹, 68b; MWESC 3, 16a. Cf. SL², I/2, 174; Martin, 177; ISK, 18, 101, 300, 416, 621. As noted by Ligeti (Li, 181, n. 251), a distorted version of this story – the one in which the besieging Mongols resort to cannibalism! – is found even in John of Pian di Carpine's *Historia Mongalorum*. See MM, 16; SDM, 349. As for the reading Namging, the AT¹, 112b, has Nangging (with the side gloss 'Nan-ĵing'); however, the 13th-

14th century reading of *nan* 南 was *nam*, as shown by Marco Polo's 'Namchin/Namghin.' See NMP, I, 127 (regrettably Pelliot never completed his entry on 'Namchin'); MP³, 199, 399. Cf. also Cleaves 1949, 76a (Index). For this city in Chin times, see ISK, 789a (Index); FJC, 175a (Index). Cf. also Hung 1951, 478.

§ 252. Qosivu = Ho-hsi-wu 和西務, just north-east of Wu-ch'ing hsien 武清縣 in Hopei, at 39° 38' N 116° 58' E. This is not a place where Činggis Qan would have halted during the second campaign against Chin, since he was moving towards Chung-tu (Peking) from the north (Yü-erh po/Dal Nör) and Ho-hsi-wu is situated *south-east* of Peking. The erroneous mention of Ho-hsi-wu in the present context may be a later interpolation in one of the SH manuscripts, as it is not found in the sectional summary which begins as follows (Y² Sup. 1, 17b): 'When Činggis reached the territory of Šira Ke'er of Pei-p'ing 北平 (= Chung-tu/Peking), Ĵebe had already taken Chü-yung kuan ...' It is, however, found in the AT¹, 112b: 'Qoi-sivu.' Alternatively, as in the case of Moĵiu (莫州) in § 248, another locality is meant.

'Set up camp at Qosivu, then in the Šira Ke'er of Ĵungdu', lit. 'Having set up camp at Qosivu (*Qosivu-yi ba'u'at*), he set up camp in the Šira Ke'er (*Šira Ke'er ba'ubai*) of Ĵungdu.' Here we have an example of the use of the verb *ba'u-* (= mo. *baŋu-*) 'to pitch camp' with and without the accusative. Cf. above, n. 250 ad fin. The Šira Ke'er, or Yellow Plain (*ke'er* means both 'plain' and 'steppe, steppeland'; see above, n. 56), is the open country north of Peking, 'yellow' no doubt referring to the characteristic colour of the soil (loess). Činggis' setting up camp in the neighbourhood of Chung-tu and Ĵebe's capture of Čabčiyal, i.e. of Chü-yung kuan, are events belonging to the earlier campaign: the capture of the pass is recorded in the YS² 1, 16, s.a. 1213, in the seventh month (20 July-17 August), and Činggis' halt 'in the open country north of Chung-tu' in the third month (12 April-10 May) of 1214. See *ibid.*, 17. Cf. the

SWCCL¹, 64b (s.a. 1213) and 66b (s.a. 1214). However, according to both the YS and SWCCL¹, 64b, after the capture of Chü-yung kuan Ĵebe's army joined the troops of the Mongol generals Ketei and Boča, not the main army led by Činggis. Cf. Martin, 160. The sentence '*Ĵebe Čabčiyal-un qālqa ...neyileba* (= *neyilebe*)' is discussed in Mo, 179-180. For *qālqa* < *qa'alqa* (= mo. *qayalya*) 'gate', cf. TMEN, no. 1514. Mostaert's '*qa[a]lya*' (Mo, 179) is, therefore, unwarranted. Cf. also IMCS, 58, 61.

Regarding the appointment of Qada as *liušiu*, i.e. ch. *liu-shou* 留守, lit. 'official left behind to guard the capital'; hence vicegerent (HCSL, 747b [Index]), protector (GCUMR, 97, 122, n. 183), regent (DOTIC, 320a, no. 3813), or governor (ISK, 703), nothing is known from other Chinese sources with the exception of the SWCCL¹, 69a, where it is stated that Ha-ta 哈答 (Qada) and Kuo-ho 國和, who were *liu-shou* at the time, i.e. when Chung-tu was captured by the Mongols, made obeisance and offered gifts of gold and silk to the three Mongol commanders Quduqu Noyan (= Šigi Qutuqu), Önggür Baurči (= Ba'urči) and Arqai Qasar who had been sent by Činggis, then encamped at Huan-chou 桓州 (present-day To-lun hsien 多倫縣, Inner Mongolia), to make the inventory of Chin treasures in Chung-tu. Then follows an account of the story related in the present section of the SH, always s.a. 1214. In the corresponding passage of Rašid al-Dīn's work (SL², I/2, 174), Qada and Kuo-ho are called Qada (or Qadai) *liu-su* (read *liu-šu*) and Goi (? Qui), and the same story is recounted (*ibid.*, 174-175). Cf. Ratchnevsky 1965, 100-101; ISK, 80-81; Li, 181, n. 252. The vicegerent originally appointed by Hsüan-tsung when he left the capital was the heir apparent Shou-chung 守忠 assisted by Chancellor Wan-yen Fu-hsing (the Ongging Čingsang of § 248) and the Associate Director of Political Affairs (*ts'an-cheng* 參政) Mo-jan Chin-chung 抹然盡忠. During the siege of Chung-tu, the heir apparent escaped and the above two officials were left in charge of the city. Fu-hsing committed suicide before

Chung-tu capitulated in 1215, while Chin-chung managed to escape. See the YS² 1, 17-18; 101, 2223-2230; MWESC 3, 14a-16a; 14, 11a-b; Martin, 172, 177-178. Qada and Kuo-ho (alias Goi) were probably two subordinate officials who took over at the end and opened the gates to the Mongols, a fact that would also explain their survival and subsequent action. With regard to the Mongol reading *liušiu* (= *liu-shou*), cf. the AT¹, 112b: *liušiu*, and the Sino-Uighur inscription in honour of the *ïduq qut* of Qočo of 1334, where this term occurs also in the form *liušiu*. See Geng & Hamilton 1981, 50a. It should be noted, however, that in the Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1362 the same term occurs, but written *liušu*. See Cleaves 1949, 66 [39], 90. Cf. Rašid's '*liu-šu*.' The duty of the vicegerent was to protect the capital in the emperor's absence. On this office, see CS 42, 960ff. See also above the references to HCSL, etc.

'In Jungdu', lit. 'inside (*dотора*) Jungdu.'

'Before leaving *the city*', lit. 'and left.'

'Had the inventory taken', lit. 'made one count' (*to'ola'ulurun*). 'And *other things*' renders the Mongolian *ya'u ke*. For this expression, see above, n. 153. On the steward Önggür (Önggür Ba'urči), see above, §§ 120, 124, 202. Arqai Qasar, also called simply Arqai, was last mentioned in § 234.

'As these three were approaching', lit. 'Saying that these three were approaching.' On Qada see above.

'Went ahead to greet them' (*esergü uqdu*), lit. 'going towards *them* to greet *them*.' Cf. above, n. 177.

'Gold-embroidered and patterned satins', lit. 'satins having gold (*altatai*) and having patterns (*hartai*).'
Hartai ~ *hartu* (§ 273) < *har* (= mo. *ar*) 'lines, stripes or patterns in textiles.' Cf. Les., 47a. For some fine specimens of these textiles (13th-14th c.), cf. the illustrations in THTSC, 168ff. Cf. also CEME, 27.

'He came out of Jungdu', lit. 'going out from within Jungdu.'

'Did belong to the Altan Qan', lit. 'were indeed (*aju'u je*) of the Altan Qan (*Altan Qan-u'ai*).'
'For the possessive suffix *-u'ai* ~ *-ü'ei*, see *Lettres*, 78, n. 243.

'Stealing them ... behind his back (*ečine'ün*).'
'secretly, stealthily', see above, n. 244.

'The great norm' (*yeke yosu*), like 'the great principle' (*yeke töre* ~ *törö*) of §§ 208, 220, designates the fundamental principle of the *jasaq* governing the relationship and mutual obligations of lord and subject. In the present context, the principle/norm invoked is the one whereby all captured property, war booty, etc., belongs to the *qan*, who has the sole right of distribution and reward. Cf. the case of Qulan and Naya'a (§ 197 and com.) – a classic example of the enforcement of this principle.

'You shall be ...!', lit. 'Will you not be ...?' – a rhetorical question.

'Eyes for me to see with,/Ears for me to hear with.' Cf. above, § 203, where the same words were applied to Šigi Qutuqu, but without the possessive pronoun *minu*.

The story involving Önggür, Arqai Qasar and Šigi Qutuqu must have been well known among the Mongols, furnishing, as it were, a fine example of the breach of, and compliance with, the *jasaq*. It is told in the SWCCL¹, 69a-b, s.a. 1214, and in SL², I/2, 174-175, s.a. 1213 (see above). In Činggis Qan's annals in YS² 1, 18, the dispatch of '(Šigi) Qutuqu and others to make an inventory of the money depositories in Chung-tu' is correctly entered s.a. 1215 (the fifth month: 30 May-28 June), but the full story is not told. For a comparison of the various accounts, and valuable comments on them, see Ratchnevsky 1965, 98-103; ISK, 80-82. Cf. also Ratchnevsky 1974, 473.

§ 253. As in the previous sections, here too several events are related in the wrong chronological order. There is also a muddling up of the personages involved. The submission of the Altan Qan, his offer of a royal princess and substantial tribute to Činggis Qan, the latter's withdrawal to the north (via Chü-yung kuan), and the Altan Qan's move to Namging, i.e. to Pien-liang/K'ai-feng, were related in §§ 248, 250 and 251. All these events, as we have seen, took place in the first half of 1214. In the present section, the events described span the period 1214-

1216, then they move back to 1213. The reference to a son of the Altan Qan called Tenggeri, who was sent to serve in the Guard, i.e. as a hostage, together with a hundred companions, is incorrect and due to a confusion with the next entry on Vuqanu. Vuqanu, i.e. P'u-hsien Wan-nu 蒲鮮萬奴 (d. 1233), was the Chin commander in Liaotung who, at the beginning of 1215, after the transfer of the court to Pien-liang, decided to rebel and established forthwith an independent kingdom in Manchuria. However, before long (end of 1216) he followed the example of the famous Kitan defector Yeh-lü Liu-ko 耶律留哥 (1165-1220) and submitted to the Mongols by sending his own son T'ieh-ko 帖哥 – the Tenggeri of the SH – to Činggis as hostage ('Tenggeri' is obviously a corruption of 'T'ieh-ko'). My interpretation is at variance with that of Naka and other scholars, who prefer to relate the SH account to events that occurred during Ögödei's campaign in north China in 1232. See Na², 395-398; Mu, III, 167, n. 3. On P'u-hsien Wan-nu, see YS² 1, 19; MWESC 31, 4b-5a; Martin, 180, 200, 216; Mu, III, 167-168, n. 4 (for further references). Cf. SWCCL¹, 67b-68a, and the parallel account in SL², I/2, 172-173. Various historical and geographical problems relating to this section have been discussed in Uray-Köhalmi 1984a and idem 1985. See also below.

'Sent ... to serve as dayguard *and* hostage', lit. 'sent ... saying, "Let him be a *turqaq*.'" On *turqaq* 'dayguard' = 'hostage', see MEYD, 41; Allsen 1987/91, 31. Most translations fail to point out that, in the present context, *turqaq* is synonymous with 'hostage.' Cf. above, n. 191.

Qasar's, i.e. Joči Qasar's, progress eastwards along the coast of Po Hai – the '*dalai*' ('sea') of the SH – took place in the autumn of 1213 and the winter of 1213-1214. According to the Chinese sources, the left wing of the army was led by Qasar, with Alči Noyan, Jürčedei and Boča as commanders. They conquered various cities and commanderies west of the Liao River before rejoining the Mongol forces concentrated at Ta-k'ou 大口, just south-west of Chung-tu. See YS² 1, 17 (s.a.

1213); SWCCL¹, 65b. Cf. Pelliot 1935, 907ff. In the SH account, Boča is replaced by Tolun Čerbi (last mentioned in § 213).

Beiging = Pei-ching 北京, the Northern Capital of the Chin and former Central Capital (Chung-ching 中京) of the Liao, was the ancient city of Ta-ting (fu) 大定 (府), renamed Ta-ning 大寧 in the Yüan and Ming periods. It corresponds to modern Taming ch'eng 大名城 (Mongol name: Čayan Suburyan) in Liaoning, on the left (west) bank of the Lao-ha. See DHGM, 484, 737, 831-832, 836 (where 大明 is an error for 大名). Following Pelliot and Ligeti (Pe, 102; L², 222), I have adopted the reading Beiging, which is supported by the AT¹, 113b, reading Biigiing (= Beiging; cf. ATL, 187). However, the reading Buiging adopted by Cleaves is also possible. See Cl, 189. During the Yüan, the character *pei* 北 was pronounced *puəi* and *pei* (< *puəi*), and these two pronunciations are reflected in the 13th-14th century Mongolian transcriptions *bui* and *bei* of 北. Cf. Cleaves 1952, 72b (Index); Hattori 1973, 40.

The Mongol term for 'along' is *gijin*. Further on we find this term again (*Ula Na'u müret gijin*), as well as its related form *giji'ar* (*giji'ar balaqat*). *Gijin* is glossed as *yen* 沿 (= 沿) 'to follow a course; along (= by the road or coast)', and *giji'ar* as *pien* 邊 'border, frontier; edge, bank.' See HW, 50. The former corresponds to mo. *kija* 'border, edging, hem (of a garment)', and the latter to mo. *kija'ar* 'border, frontier' (< *kija*). See Les., 474b; cf. below, n. 257.

'If Vuqanu intends to offer resistance (lit. "thinks of rebellion") ... border towns.' For this passage, see Mo, 95.

The rivers Ula (a word meaning 'river' in the Jurchen language) and Na'u of the SH correspond to the present-day Sungari (Sung-hua Chiang) and its chief tributary the Nonni (Nen-chiang). See DHGM, 698 and 656. As for the Ta'ur, it is the T'ao-erh ho or T'ao-ho (Tor, Taor, Toorin Gol), a right-hand affluent of the Nonni. See *ibid.*, 848; Na², 395-396; Li, 182, n. 253; and, especially, Uray-Köhalmi 1984a and idem 1985.

Thus, according to the SH, Qasar and his horsemen were supposed to cross the territory of Liaotung held by P'u-hsien Wan-nu, then ride northwards across the region of the upper Sungari, Nonni and T'ao-erh rivers and, following the course of the latter *upstream* (in this way approaching the river Khalkha), gain Činggis' main base camp, the 'great *a'uruq*', the location of which is not specified in the text. However, we know that Činggis Qan did not return to Mongolia until the end of 1215-beginning of 1216, and that Qasar's campaign of 1213-1214 was a limited raid ending with his return to north China, not to Mongolia (see above). Clearly, we have here a conflation of two campaigns, that of Qasar of 1213-1214 and a subsequent one, of 1214-1215, which consisted of two separate expeditions in Manchuria, one led again by Qasar, and the other by Muqali. On completion of his campaign, Qasar did indeed return to Mongolia as stated in the SH; but the siege and capture of Peiching/Ta-ning was actually carried out by Muqali's army in 1215. Muqali himself did not return to Mongolia until September 1217. The submission of Vuqanu, i.e. P'u-hsien Wan-nu, to the Mongols took place in the latter part of 1216 and falls within the context of Muqali's completion of the military operations in western and southern Manchuria. Therefore, the SH statements that Qasar 'brought the city of Beijing into subjection' and 'forced Vuqanu of the Jürčēt to submit' are incorrect and probably tendentious, insofar as they add undeserved glory to Činggis' brother. See Na², 397-398; MWESC 3, 14b-15b; Martin, 203ff.

§ 254. With this section begins the narrative of Činggis Qan's so-called Western Campaign (from ch. *hsi-cheng* 西征 id.; cf. the HYC, A, 29b, 39b) against Muḥammad of Khwārazm. It is preceded by an interesting introduction in which, after recalling the murder of the members of the Mongol embassy – the famous 'Otrar incident' of 1218 – that was the immediate cause of the war, the SH records a dramatic dialogue between Činggis, his wife Yisüi Qatun and his sons on the subject of the succession to

the throne in the event of the conqueror's death. The dialogue, couched in epic language, is almost certainly a later interpolation reflecting the views of that section of the Mongol court and nobility which was opposed to the claims of the lines of Joči and Ča'adai – the two elder sons of Činggis. The episode continues, with definite political overtones, in the following section (§ 255), in which Ögödei's claim to succession is upheld, but in such a way as to foreshadow the eventual replacement of his line by that of Tolui, as indeed happened (see below, n. 255 ad fin.). This would indicate that the spurious section must date *after* Möngke's accession to the throne in 1251. It is worth noting that the entire episode is missing from the AT version; therefore, the issue also has a bearing on the date of composition of the SH. See Section Two of the Introduction.

The SH statement that Činggis' envoys led by the Mongol (?) Uquna ('Billy-Goat'; on his name, see Mo, xviii; Hung 1956, 30) were one hundred in number agrees with Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's account and is at variance with the figure of 450 given by Juvainī and, after him, by Rašīd al-Dīn. See de Rachewiltz 1962, 21, 55, n. 89; HWC, 79; SL², I/2, 188. In view of the fact that the SH account is confirmed by a contemporary and independent witness to these events like Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai, who in 1218 was already serving as scribe-secretary (mmo. *bičēči* < *bičigeči*) at the Mongol court, the figure of one hundred is more reliable than that of Juvainī which has been adopted by the CHI, 304, and TM, 68. The 'envoys' sent by Činggis were actually merchants in charge of a caravan whose leader or leaders, bearing credentials from the Mongol court, held (from the Mongol point of view) the status of official envoys or ambassadors (*elčīn*). It was indeed their special status as *elčīn* that made their murder an inevitable *casus belli*. (On the inviolability of official envoys, see MP³, 109; cf. Meserve 1992a.) On the composition of the caravan and the controversial account of the massacre of its members by order of Īnalčīq (*or* Īnalčuq), the Muslim governor of Otrar (Uṭrār ~ Oṭrār, the former Fārāb, the ruins of which are on the right bank of the Syr

Darya, near the mouth of the Arys River and present-day Kok-Saray), see also TDMI, 397-399; Pelliot 1930b, 52-53, 54; Petruševskii 1992, 114ff.; Schwarz 1992; Meserve 1993, 83-85. On the relations between the Mongols and Khwārazm at the time, see TDMI, 393ff.; CHI, 303ff.; HMC, 53ff.; ČK¹, 108-110 (= ČK², 119-122); Petruševskii 1992, 110-114. For the dating of the campaign, cf. Appendix One; and MSR, 59-68.

For the expression *jetgüjü alaqdaju*, lit. 'undergoing the arrest and killing', see Poppe 1964, 370, 374.

The expression 'golden halter' (*altan arqamji*) undoubtedly refers to the bond uniting the Mongol ruler – hence the term 'golden' – to other rulers who owed him allegiance, i.e. obedience, hence the symbolism of the halter. See Mo, 209; Cl, 189, n. 36; TMEN, nos. 14 (p. 122), 457; Fletcher 1986, 35. Thus, 'to break the golden halter' meant 'to reject the bond of allegiance' and, therefore, 'to rebel against Mongol suzerainty.' From these remarks of Činggis we may infer that already at the time of the Otrar incident, i.e. in 1218, the Mongol court considered Muḥammad as a ruler who was 'bound' to recognize Mongol authority, in other words a subject (*il*) or vassal king like the rulers of the Uighurs, of Hsi Hsia, etc., an inference supported also by the Persian sources. See TDMI, 397. Cf. Mo, 209, n. 197. However, with regard to the caravan mission of 1218, the evidence points to the fact that it had been sent *specifically* to establish commercial relations with Khwārazm and, no doubt, to gather at the same time information on the country, but not to demand, at that stage, its recognition of Mongol suzerainty. Had Činggis wished to obtain a formal pledge of allegiance from Muḥammad, he would almost certainly have sent a different kind of embassy. The words put into Činggis' mouth by the SH are most likely a *post factum* reinterpretation of events.

'To take revenge,/To requite the wrong.' For this expression, see above, n. 58, and §§ 102, 105, 154 and 254. Cf. also Cérénsonom 1986, 77.

On Yisüi Qatun (Qadun in the text), see §§ 155-156. For the alternation *qatun* ~ *qadun*, see above, n. 54.

'Respectfully gave the following advice', lit. 'advising (or making a suggestion, petitioning) informed' (*duratqan öcürün*). On *duratqa-* (= mo. *duradqa-*), see above, n. 193.

'The entire passage from 'The Qa'an' to 'Your order (= word) shall decide!' has been translated and discussed in Mo, 180-185. The whole section and its implications with regard to the succession and inheritance issue, and the role played, once again, by a female member of Činggis' family, have been discussed by various scholars from different angles. Cf. Yao TW 1964, 18ff.; Hsiao KC 1981, 52ff.; Aubin 1975, 551-553; Ratchnevsky 1976, 520; YSLC, 42-43. See also L.L. Viktorova in OUMÉIX, V/1, 155. The following are a few additional remarks.

'Waging a long campaign', lit. 'campaigning a long campaign' (*urtu ča'ur ča'urqan*). On this expression, cf. Cleaves 1948a, 452, n. 13; Poppe 1967, 511-512, no. 5; and above, n. 202. For *ča'ur* 'military campaign', see also F.W. Cleaves in HJAS 13:1950, 234.

'Still, living beings who are but (*ele*) born to this world are not eternal.' For these words, see Street 1986, 13 (20).

'When your body ... like a flock of birds?' Cf. the almost identical refrain in § 245; and Mo, 156-157.

'Of your four sons, the heroes you have begotten, which one will you designate as your successor?', lit. 'Of your four heroes-sons (*külü'üt kö'üt*, i.e. "sons who are heroes") that are born of you, which of them (*ken-i inu*) will you name?' For *külü'üt* 'heroes', see above, n. 163. On the pronoun *inu* used for *anu*, see Mo, 182, 257, n. 244. See also above, n. 249.

'I have given you *this* advice, etc.', lit. 'I have advised what, when we consider it, has been understood by the sons, the younger brothers, the many common people and also by Us "the bad one" (= myself). Let your order decide!' In other words, Yisüi Qatun is suggesting something about a matter of state that has been of serious concern to Činggis' immediate family and

the people at large, and which requires a prompt decision by Činggis himself. In view of her privileged standing among Činggis' wives, Yisüi Qatun speaks with authority (note the use of the *pluralis majestatis*), but at the same time she employs the self-depreciatory epithet *ma'un*, lit., 'the bad one', which has, however, also endearment and familiarity connotations. See above, nn. 177 and 245. For the expression *jarliq* (= *mo. jarliq*) *medetügei* 'Let the order (= your word) decide!' i.e. 'You decide!', see Mo, 233.

The passage 'I forgot,/As if I would not follow the forefathers (i.e. "As if I would not die");/I slept,/As if I would not be caught by death.' is not regarded as a poetic one in Cl, 190. Cf., however, L², 244; Če, 237; Oz¹, VI, 271.

'The eldest of my sons' (*kö'üd-ün minu aqa*): cf. §§ 239, 242. For *aqa* = 'eldest', see Cleaves 1963, 70.

'This bastard offspring of the Merkit' renders the Mongolian *ene Merkidei čul ulja'ur* (read *čöl olja'ur*). I understand the expression *čöl olja'ur*, which is not glossed in the interlinear version nor rendered in the sectional summary, as meaning literally 'desert acquisition', i.e. 'something seized or captured in a deserted place, the origin of which is unknown; goods or possessions of uncertain origin.' By extension, and as an idiom, 'a bastard child or offspring.' I have discussed this expression at length in de Rachewiltz 1985. I should like to add that the form *čul* (*čül, čül, čül*) 'desert, steppe' occurs in several Turkic languages. Mogol has *čül* and Buriat *sül* (in the expression *sül gazar* id.). See Ligeti 1964a, 29. Cf. also Pelliot 1930b, 19, n. 1. However, my rendering is only tentative and several different interpretations have been proposed by other translators. Among the more recent ones, cf. Oz¹, VI, 290-294, n. 9; Oz², II, 173; On, 147 and n. 336 (and the somewhat different rendering in the 2001 ed., p. 242); Če, 237, 472-473, n. 601; and Ev-Pop, 219, 303, n. 39. This obviously insulting remark of Ča'adai is an unequivocal allusion to Joči's doubtful paternal origin. It will be recalled, in fact, that Činggis' wife Börte had been abducted

by Toqto'a Beki and other Merkit chiefs in a raid and had been given to Čilger Bökö, younger brother of that Yeke Čiledü whose wife Hö'elün had earlier been abducted by Činggis' father Yisügei. (Toqto'a Beki, who had led the avenging party, was himself the elder brother of Yeke Čiledü and Čilger Bökö.) Eventually, Činggis – then still Temüjin – rescued Börte with the help of To'oril Ong Qan and Jamuqa. See the SH, §§ 101, 104-111. Börte was pregnant at the time of her rescue and soon after gave birth to Joči. Činggis always accepted Joči as his own son, but doubts about his paternity remained and Ča'adai did not miss this opportunity of raising them in order to discredit his elder brother, whom he then regarded as his major rival to the throne. On this whole question, see NHHO, 23-25; and above, n. 104.

'At these words', lit. 'With *his* saying.'

'Grabbing Ča'adai by the collar', lit. 'laying hold of Ča'adai's collar.'

With regard to Ča'adai's stubbornness and unbending character, cf. above § 243 and com.; and Heissig 1976a, 287, nn. 10, 11. For this remark of Joči's, cf. Street 1986, 26-27 (46).

For *hontuča-* 'to shoot arrows at a long distance', see above, n. 244. For this passage, see Mo, 123. The entire section from 'as Joči and Ča'adai' to the end of § 254 has been translated and discussed in Mo, 187-208. The following are additional remarks and elucidations.

'With Bo'orču pulling Joči by the arm and Muqali pulling Ča'adai by the arm', lit. 'When Bo'orču was pulling from (= at) Joči's arm and Muqali was pulling from (= at) Ča'adai's arm.' The Kökö Čos who intervenes at this point is the Kökö Čos of the Ba'arin of §§ 202, 210 and 216, who had been appointed by Činggis as adviser to Ča'adai (§ 243).

For the phrase *qan ečige činu kö'üd-ün dotora čimadača erejü büle'e*, lit. 'among the sons, it was for you that your father the Qan had conceived hopes', see also *Lettres*, 75.

'The starry sky was turning upon itself, ... /The crusty earth was turning and turning', i.e. even heaven and earth were upset,

so great and general was the state of confusion in the world before Činggis' birth. For the concept of heaven and earth being in disorder, cf. the phraseology of the Orkhon inscriptions, which often offers interesting parallels with that of the SH. See GOT, 244, 276. Cf. also CLC, 162-163.

'Crusty earth', lit. 'earth with epidermis' (*körisütei etügen*). For this expression, cf. Mostaert 1957a, 101, n. 7; and idem 1962, 202.

'It was not her wish', lit. 'she was surely not desiring it' (*güsejü ese yabuba je*). For *yabu-* as an auxiliary verb, see Mo, 237, n. 221; and above, n. 181. The passage refers to Börte's abduction by the Merkit, so vividly described in the SH, § 101.

'When men met', lit. 'When one *man* met the other *man*' – in combat.

'You speak so as to harden, etc.', lit. 'You speak so as to harden the butter-affection, so as to sour the milk-heart of your mother, the august Qadun (= Qatun).' For *boqda ~ boqta ~ boqdo* 'august, blessed', see above, n. 121.

For the strong, graphic imagery of birth in the poetic passage that follows, cf. § 78 and also § 244.

For the word *qaqunaq* (w.f. *qayunaq*), lit. 'placenta', here rendered as 'womb', cf. Vietze 1990, 383, where it is incorrectly translated as 'Hodensack.' For *jekir-* (= mo. *jikere-*) 'to grow cold', cf. DO, 196b.

Kökö Čos, after having stressed the fact that both Joči and Ča'adai were born from the same mother, warns the latter not to incur the displeasure of his mother by offending her, as he had done indirectly with his insulting words.

'It will be of no avail', lit. 'It will not do', i.e. Börte will be so angry with him that he will not be able to soothe her and regain her affection. For the poetic imagery of these verses, cf. Khomonov 1981, 59. Kökö Čos then recalls how difficult life had been for Ča'adai's parents and how much Börte had done for her children.

'His black head was bound to the saddle,/His black blood was poured/Into a large leather bucket.' Kökö Čos means that

Činggis was then constantly in action and so busy that he never got off his horse; so precarious was his life in those conditions that he could lose his head or spill his blood at any moment – as if his head had been attached to his saddle and his blood poured into a bucket (also attached to the saddle). He never rested or slept in a proper bed, and usually went hungry. For the verb *qanjuqala-* (= mo. *yanjuqala-*) 'to attach to the saddle', cf. also Vietze 1990, 380. The reading *qatuqala-* in Cérénsodnom 1986, 71 (cf. Če, 240, 475, n. 608) is incorrect. See Mo, 198-199. The 'large leather bucket' (*nambuqa* [= pmo. *nambuqa*, mo. *namaya*], from which the verb *nambuqala-* [= pmo. *nambuqala-*] 'to pour into a *nambuqa*') was the bucket containing mare's milk or water normally carried by the Mongol horsemen. See § 87 and com.

'The flesh between his teeth' (*šigi*), i.e. his own gums – in parallel with 'his own saliva.' See Mo, 200.

'He strove fiercely' (*öliümlen*). The verb *öliümlen-* originally means 'to fight to the death' (see above, n. 208); from this primary meaning derive the secondary meanings of 'to fight (*or* strive) fiercely; to labour', especially in relation to a person's duty to, or in the service of, his master. Cf. what is said in § 281 about Doqolqu (Čerbi). This verb was still used in the 17th century. For the word *ula* 'sole of the foot' (mo. id.), cf. also HCWLYTT, 164-167, no. 48.

'It was the time when', lit. 'At the time when.'

'Pulling firmly her tall hat, etc.': cf. § 74 for the same verses, which apply there to Mother Hö'elün. The same imagery used in both cases indicates that this was a standard characterization of the dutiful mother in strained circumstances. For the verb *boqtala-* 'to put on the *boqta*', i.e. the Mongol traditional headdress worn by ladies of rank, see above, n. 74. For this poetic section, cf. Cérénsodnom 1986, 78.

'She gave you half of it', lit. 'she gave you her half.' For the expression *qo'olai quči-*, lit. 'to choke *at* the throat', cf. § 213 ad fin. 'She gave you all of it', lit. 'she gave you her all.' 'She herself went hungry', lit. 'she went empty.'

'Cleaning your whole body' renders the Mongolian *buyi tanu arilqaju* (= mo. *arilyaju*). The word *buyi* is not glossed in the interlinear translation and is otherwise unknown. Mo, 206, 208, left it untranslated, and so did Cl, 194, and Γa, 187 (cf. also Li, 122, where the entire line is ignored). Other scholars have variously interpreted this term as follows: 'gums' (Ha, 126); 'body' (Ko, 185); 'body filth' (Da⁵, 216; Mu, III, 177); 'skin socks' (Ja, 390); 'baby wraps or diapers' (*mutzuki*: Oz², II, 177; cf., however, Oz¹, VI, 280, 306-308, n. 22, where, as in Če, 476, n. 615, the expression *buyi arilqa-* is understood to mean 'to care for, rear [a child]'). As pointed out in TH, 158 (= JYT, 276), *buyi* is tu. 'boi', i.e. *buy* ~ *boy* (*lbod*) 'body; the (whole) figure, stature, length' (VWTD, IV, 1639-1640, 1800; cf. ĚSTY, II, 176). However, this meaning was not adopted in Do¹, 307, where the sentence in question is rendered 'she removed your clumsy walk' (除汝等之躄行), i.e. 'she taught you how to walk' – a totally unacceptable interpretation notwithstanding the explanations in note 19 on p. 315, and in Do², 193, n. 4. The meaning of 'body' for *buyi* has likewise been adopted by On, 149 (cf. the 2001 ed., 245); Ta, 187; and Ev-Pop, 221 (see also 303, n. 43).

'And *even* now, does she not wish to see the happiness of you, her *sons*?', lit. 'And now does she not think, saying, "I shall see the good of you, my *sons*!"?'

As already noted by Mostaert (Mo, 191), this section contains one of the most beautiful passages of the SH, viz. Kökö Čos' eloquent and moving speech – an excellent example of the early Mongolian epic genre preserved in the SH. L. Moses has pointed out that the 'Quarrelling Sons' motif in the SH, of which four examples are illustrated in Moses 1987, is 'part of a folktale tradition common to the peoples of the Mongol steppe in the 13th century.' As for the poetic mother/wife love theme which is also prominent in this section (as in § 74), cf. Sárközi 1978, 150-151. It is likewise important to point out that the entire section dealing with Yisüi's question and the succession issue is missing in the AT. See ATL, 188. For the relevance of this

omission, see below, n. 255, and Section Five of the Introduction.

Finally, I should add that here, as elsewhere in the SH, Khwārazm is never mentioned by this name, but as 'the Sarta'ul people' (*Sarta'ul irgen*). Cf. §§ 177, 198: *Sarda'ul* (= *Sarta'ul*)-*un qaĵar* 'the country of the Sarda'ul (= Sarta'ul).' For the name Sarta'ul (w.f. Sartayul, pl. of Sartay?), see above, n. 152. There is also no mention here of Muḥammad of Khwārazm, who will make his appearance only in § 259. As for the inconsistent use of the titles *qan* and *qa'an* in this section, see also below, n. 255.

§ 255. Continuation of the preceding section, also missing in its entirety in the AT. See ATL, 188, and the comments below.

Note the form 'Činggis Qan' in place of 'Činggis Qa'an' – an obvious oversight by later editors. Cf. above, nn. 1 and 250, and below.

For the words 'How can you speak thus ... like that!', cf. Mo, 208, n. 193. Cf. also Cleaves 1963, 70.

'I shall not dispute Joči's strength, nor shall I reply to *his claims* of skill', lit. 'Not speaking of Joči's strength and of a reply of (= to) *his supposed* skill.' The alliterative saying or proverb quoted by Ča'adai is a reply to Joči's words in the preceding section (§ 254), which Ča'adai takes as an empty boast. For translations of, and comments on, this passage, see Mo, 123, 194-195, n. 178; Cl, 195, n. 56; and Cérénsodnom 1986, 79 (where, however, the words *üge-tür ükii'ülüksen* are incorrectly transcribed as *uke'er uku'uluksen*).

'Joči and I' and, further on, 'Ča'adai and I', lit. 'Joči and we', 'Ča'adai and we', where 'we' (*ba*: excl.) = 'I.' Instead of 'The eldest sons are Joči and I', Bese 1969, 123, translates 'Joči and we, we are the elder brothers of the boys', which is incorrect. Cf. the sectional summary (Y² Sup. 1, 34a; Wei, 165-166).

'We shall, in cooperation with each other, serve *our* father the Qan', lit. 'We shall, associating ourselves, give *our* strength to *our* father the Qan.' Cf. further on where, instead of '*our*

father the Qan' (*qan ečige*), which occurs again a few lines later, we find 'our father the Qa'an' (*qa'an ečē* and *qa'an ečige*). The alternation *qan* ~ *qa'an* is also present in § 254, where Yisüi refers to Činggis Qan as 'the Qa'an', whereas Joči and Kökö Čos call him 'the Qan.' This is a further indication of editorial inconsistency: the original text had 'the Qan' throughout. Cf. below, n. 281.

'Shall have his head split open', lit. 'We shall split open his head' (*dalbaru čabčildusu*) – a 'vertical' action, in poetic contrast to the cutting of the heels across (*kinggürü čabčildusu*), a 'horizontal' action. *Kinggürü čabčildusu* is, literally, 'We shall cut his heels across', i.e. 'We shall hamstring him.' Cf. Bese 1969, 124, 126. Although in the present sentence the head is not specifically mentioned, it is in §§ 229 and 278.

'But it is Ögödei among us who is steady and reliable' renders the Mongolian *Ögödei lü örük bui*. For the use of the emphatic/limitative particle *lülü*, cf. Street 1986a, 15-16 (2). The meaning 'steady and reliable' of the word *örük* (< tu. *örüg*) is an extension of its primary meaning of 'quiet, at rest; calm, unruffled' (cf. §§ 230 and com., 233), glossed here *tun-hou* 敦厚, lit. 'firm and thick (= solid)', i.e. 'steady and reliable.' See also Street 1986a, 15, n. 11. For Ögödei's qualities of firmness and dignity, cf. *Successors*, 17. For other aspects of Ögödei's character, see D'Ohsson, II, 87-99; and the SH, § 281 and com.

'Close to', lit. 'at the side of, next to' (*dergede*). Of Činggis Qan's sons, Ögödei may have been the one who spent more time in the company of his father and who was therefore closer to him, but according to the words put into Ögödei's mouth by Juvainī, it was Tolui who 'was ever in attendance on Chingiz-Khan day and night, morning and evening, and has seen, and heard, and learnt all his *yasas* and customs.' (HWC, 186.)

'The great array of the "teachings of the hat"', lit. 'the teachings of the hat whose array (*bara'a*) is great (= imposing).' The expression 'teachings of the hat' (*maqalai-yin bauliya*) deserves comment. For *bauliya* 'training, teaching, instruction, precept', a deverbal noun in *-ya* (on which see JŠ, 43-44, § 57)

from *bauli-* (= mo. *buuli-*) 'to train a hunting falcon; to train, exercise, practise; to teach', see Ra, XI, 136-137, n. 255; Oz', VI, 323, n. 7. Cf. also § 260 for its usage in relation to a hunting falcon. The hat (*maqalai*) is a symbol of authority. See §§ 103 and com., 244. The 'teachings of the hat' clearly designate the instructions concerning authority, viz. governance – in other words, how to rule as a *qan*. The word *bara'a* 'display, array' = *baru'a*. Cf. the expression *yeke baru'a* in § 184. See above, nn. 184 and 195. In the present instance, *yeke* 'great' refers both to the multitude and importance of the teachings. In On, 150 and n. 338 (cf. the 2001 ed., 246, n. 586), 'great' modifies 'the hat', not 'the teachings.' Cf. also Ev-Pop, 222, 303, n. 46. However, this is not supported by the construction of the whole sentence in Mongolian.

For *bolu je* 'this will be fine' (CI, 195: 'it will do'), cf. Mostaert 1939, 329; Cleaves 1982, 87, n. 70.

'Why should you two go so far as to cooperate with each other?' On this sentence, cf. Mo, 125. Činggis says that it is not necessary for the two brothers, who are so antagonistic towards each other, to join forces and cooperate (*qolba'ara-*) in ruling the Mongols as this would inevitably lead them into further strife. The world (lit. 'Mother Earth') is big enough for both. Therefore, instead of bringing them together, he will keep them apart by giving them separate domains or principalities (*qari*) to rule over, while the state will be managed by Ögödei. For *ötögen eke* 'Mother Earth' (= *eke etügen* of § 113), see Mostaert 1957a, 99, 101, n. 8; and idem 1962, 202. Cf. also above, nn. 245 and 254.

'Extending the camps (= grazing grounds) that can be easily divided', lit. 'Making wide the camps which are such as to be divided (*salqu šitü*)', i.e. by bringing together many nomadic camps or grounds (*nuntuq*) that can then be easily apportioned and turned into separate domains (*qari*). For *šitü*, see above, n. 164; for *qari* and its various connotations, cf. de Rachewiltz 1982, 59, n. 50; Cleaves 1991, 127, n. 3; and above, n. 123.

Činggis also warns his two sons against making empty promises, such as serving him, for if they broke them, as Altan and Qučar did (see §§ 123 and 153), they would become the laughing-stock of the people. For the expression *üge baraldu* ‘to pledge one’s word’, see above, n. 123.

For the words *ker kikedelü’ei yambar bolqaqdalü’ai*, lit. ‘How were they done by? In what way were they caused to become *what they became?*’, cf. Poppe 1964, 374.

‘Seeing them, how can you be remiss *in your duties?*’, i.e. ‘seeing them will remind you of Altan and Qučar and their unhappy fate, and this will make you keep your word.’

When *my father the Qa’an, favouring me, tells me to speak*, lit. ‘When father (*ečē = ečiḡe*) the Qa’an, favouring, I am told, “Speak!” Ligeti, in his text edition (L², 229), reads *qahan-ečē* instead of *qahan ečē*, which is incorrect. For *ige > ē*, see IMCS, 65.

Mona qoyina (= mono qoyina) ‘later, in future, a long time from now.’ See above, n. 93. For *mono ~ mona*, cf. ‘Quelques pro-blèmes’, 267 (3).

‘Perchance’ renders Mongolian *maqa*, a term expressing doubt but possibility. See above, n. 31.

‘Even if one wrapped them in fresh grass, etc.’ This is an old saying, still living in the dialects, describing something – a person or thing – so inept, worthless and lacking character that even if ‘dressed’ in fresh grass or in fat it would be rejected by oxen and dogs. See Mo, 168, n. 154. To the corresponding saying in modern usage registered by Oyunbilig and Nasundalai and cited by Mostaert, loc. cit., one can add the following, which is no. 2801 in MCÜD, I, 62: *övsönd oroovč üxér idëxgüi/ööxönd oroovč noxoī šinšixgüi* ‘Although one wraps it in grass, the ox does not eat it; although one wraps it in fat, the dog does not sniff at it.’ Cf. Cérénsonom 1986, 77, 80; Khomonov 1981, 58. For a discussion of these words in relation to the issue of succession, see below. For the word *öleng* ‘fresh grass’, a borrowing from Turkic, cf. TMEN, no. 620; DO, 531b; Les., 633b. For *e’ükün (= mo. ögüken, ögekün)*, cf. DO, 530a.

This word occurs again in the identical passage at the end of the section in the form *ö’ekün*. Cf. Mo, 168.

‘To miss the elk breadthwise *just as* the rat lengthwise’ is another saying applied to an unskilled hunter who, when shooting arrows, would miss a large animal like an elk showing its side to him, hence a very easy target, just as he would miss a difficult target like a ‘rat lengthwise’, i.e. a rat showing only its head and back to him. Ögödei expresses concern about the possibility that some of his offspring and descendants who will rule the empire after him may be incompetent and unfit to govern. For different interpretations of this simile, see Oz¹, VI, 317; Ev-Pop, 223, 303, n. 47. Cf., however, Cl, 196, and n. 68.

‘I’ll say as much as that’, lit. ‘I say this much of mine.’

‘I shall remind him of what he has forgotten, /I shall wake him up when he has fallen asleep.’ Cf. the same words used by Činggis Qan with regard to Ĵamuqa in § 200. The second line is, literally, ‘Waking up *him* who has fallen asleep.’

‘I shall become a friend of *the word* “yes” ... /Not being remiss in *my* “yes”, /Not being absent from the ranks’, i.e. ‘I shall keep my oath (of loyalty and obedience to Ögödei) and perform my duty in the army.’ For the use of the word ‘yes’ (*je*) to seal and formalize a promise or oath, see above, n. 108. ‘And the whip (*mina’a*) of his chestnut horse (*je’erde*)’, i.e. ‘I shall force him to go ahead by acting as the whip of his steed’, possibly an oblique reference to Ögödei’s ‘relaxed’ temperament requiring some stimulus to action. For *je’erde (= mo. jegerde)* ‘red, chestnut’ (here = *je’erde mori[n]* ‘chestnut horse’), cf. TMEN, no. 158. For *mina’a* ‘whip’, cf. above, n. 195; and Gantogtox 1990, 122. However, *je’erde* (*Je’erde* ‘Chestnut’) may actually have been the name of Ögödei’s horse. Cf. § 3.

‘Descendants of ... appoint one of you to govern’, lit. ‘Descendants (*uruq*: see Mo, 168) of ... make one of you to govern.’ In his final and most important pronouncement, Činggis states – or, rather, is made to state by the anonymous author(s) of this passage – the principle of succession to be

observed by the cadet branches of his family, viz. that Činggis' line has priority over the lines of his brothers Qasar (= Joči Qasar), Qači'un (now deceased, hence the mention of Qači'un's son Alčidai; see above, n. 242), Otčigin (= Temüge Otčigin) and Belgütei. What Činggis says is that each of the cadet branches may indeed choose a member of its own branch as successor if the line of Činggis fails. However, *even* if the descendants of Ögödei, who has now been appointed successor by Činggis' will, prove unfit to rule (as foreshadowed by Ögödei himself), it is unlikely that there will not be found among all Činggis Qan's descendants, i.e. the descendants of his other three sons, one who will make a good ruler. Činggis' will (lit. 'decree' or 'order': *jarliq*) must not be disobeyed and rescinded (the verb employed in the text is *hutar-* 'to destroy'), for this would be a serious and punishable crime. 'To err' (*ende-*) and 'to be at fault' (*alda-*) actually signify 'to commit a criminal act or offence entailing retribution.' Cf. above, nn. 203 and 224 ad fin. As stated earlier (n. 254), Činggis' pronouncement would have given legal sanction to the replacement of the line of Ögödei by that of Tolui. However, as already pointed out by Barthold (TDMI, 478-479), Rašīd al-Dīn records a different tradition. According to the Persian historian, under Ögödei and Güyük there was an understanding (among the princes and the notables) that the imperial succession would remain in the line of Ögödei: 'So long as there exists a piece of flesh from the children of Ögedei Qa'an, and even if you roll it in grass and this grass the cow won't eat, and if you roll it in fat and this fat the dog won't look at, yet we shall elect him to the khanate and nobody else will sit on the throne.' Thus Eljidei of the Ĵalayir (i.e. the Alčidai of the SH, § 226, etc.), the younger brother or cousin of Ilügei (see above, n. 226), reminds the princes when Möngke was elected *qa'an* in 1251. See SL², I/1, 95. Moreover, Güyük had apparently accepted the imperial dignity only on condition that the khanate would be settled in his family. This was agreed by the princes and nobles at the *qurilta* (in 1246): they unanimously pledged that they would not give the khanate to

anybody else 'as long as there remains of thy (i.e. Güyük's – I.R.) race a piece of flesh such as an ox or dog would not accept wrapped in fat or grass.' See *Successors*, 181-182 and n. 18. Cf. also Vlad.², 130; Li, 182, n. 255; Ratchnevsky 1965, 117 (where the relevant quotations from § 255 are also given); ISK, 89; Ratchnevsky 1974, 480; MJK, 63-64; ČK¹, 113-115 (= ČK², 125-128); and, more recently, Tegüsbayar 1990. According to Ratchnevsky, the whole section is spurious, a conclusion with which I concur, especially since it is entirely absent from the AT, *whereas the preceding portion of § 254 and the entire § 256 are included*. This is no mere lacuna in the text or a scribal error: the omission can only be explained by the fact that the passage in question was not there in the first place. It should also be emphasized that all the sources – Chinese, Persian and Mongol – agree that Ögödei was the son *formally* designated by Činggis as his successor, and that they refer to a 'decree' or 'will' to that effect. See HWC, 185; *Successors*, 30; YCMCSL 5, 3a (cf. de Rachewiltz 1960, 243ff., n. 114); and the SH, § 269. Cf. Sections Two and Five of the Introduction.

§ 256. This section resumes the account of the campaign against Khwārazm which had been interrupted at the beginning of § 254 with the interpolation of the narrative concerning the issue of succession. The present section is important insofar as it supplies the specific reason for the later Mongol campaign against, and destruction of, the Hsi Hsia kingdom, viz. the refusal of the Tangut king, here called simply Burqan (see below), to join forces with Činggis in the war against Muḥammad of Khwārazm. The initial passage concerning Činggis' dispatch of envoys to the Hsi Hsia ruler to remind him of the earlier promise and exact the auxiliary troops which were meant to form, or rather strengthen, the right or west wing of the Mongol army (see above, n. 249) has been translated in full and discussed in Mo, 208-214. For additional references to words and expressions found in this section, cf. Cleaves 1953, 96, n. 19; *Lettres*, 33; and Poppe 1964, 374. The Hsi Hsia ruler in

question, designated by his epithet of (Iluqu) Burqan (on which see above, n. 249), was Li Tsun-hsü 李遵頊, i.e. Shen-tsung 神宗 (r. 1211-23), on whom see RC, 83 (J). On these events, see OITG, 306-307. For the ‘breaking of the “golden halter”’, see above, n. 254.

Aša Gambu is a Tangut name like Ĵaqa Gambu, the second element of which, *gambu*, means ‘commander of an army.’ See above, n. 107. The first element Aša (< tib. ’A-za) – a T’u-yü-hun dynastic name – occurs also in Turkic-Mongolian nomenclature. Cf. HCG, 102, 226-227; Mu, III, 202-203. n. 2; and, especially, Rerikh 1961, 43-44. See also CHEIA, 373. This personage was obviously a high official of the Hsi Hsia court, but is not otherwise known. On him, see also §§ 265, 266.

‘Forestalling him said’, lit. ‘first ... said.’

‘Incapable of *subjugating others*’, i.e. by themselves, without other peoples’ military assistance.

‘With haughty words’, lit. ‘saying big words.’

Bö’et here = ‘at once’ as in § 190 ad fin.

‘By detouring in their direction’, lit. ‘moving in *their* direction round about (*kelbes*).’ *Kelbes* is a word not found in Written Mongolian; however, it has survived in the modern languages and dialects. See, e.g., ord. *k’elbes Ge-* ‘pencher un peu sur le côté’ (DO, 411a). Cf. also MKT, 609c: *kelbes kelbes* ‘staggering, faltering.’ In Written Mongolian we have the related form *kelberis* ‘crooked, not straight’ (Les., 447a). Činggis means that his army, now ready to proceed westwards against Khwārazm, should instead change direction (‘lean on the side’), i.e. it should turn south and attack the Tangut kingdom. While this would not be difficult in itself, it was not convenient at that juncture, hence Činggis’ pledge to punish the Tanguts after his victorious completion of the Western Campaign. For *je teli* ‘enough of this matter, let it pass, let it be, etc.’, and *teli* ‘this (or that) affair (or matter)’, see Mo, 176; and above, nn. 242, 246.

‘If I am protected by Eternal Heaven (*möngke tenggeri*).’ Cf. § 199 ad fin.: ‘You will also be protected by Heaven Above (*de’ere tenggeri*)’, and § 203: ‘(being) protected by Eternal Heaven.’ See de Rachewiltz 1973, 27; and above, n. 203.

‘To pull in the reins’ (*ĵilo’a tala-*) means ‘to halt the campaign, to return home (after a successful military expedition).’ For this expression, see Cleaves 1996, 20, n. 140. Cf. also Li, 183, n. 256. ‘Golden’, as usual, is the attribute of things pertaining to the sovereign. Cf. above, nn. 21, 254.

Haenisch 1933, 512-527, contains a translation of §§ 256-268 of the SH. Although this translation is superseded by Ha, 128-136 (cf. HH, 155-163), it is still a useful contribution because it brings together material from different sources on Činggis’ last campaign and death.

For the AT account of the campaign against Hsi Hsia, see below, n. 265.

§ 257. According to the Chinese sources, Činggis Qan left his *ordo* of the Sa’ari Steppe (Sa’ari Ke’er; see above, n. 128) in the fourth month (16 May-13 June) of 1219 and by the fifth month (14 June-12 July) he was on the Eder. Thence the army proceeded across the Altai to the Black Irtysh (Kara Irtysh), where Činggis pitched his summer camp. He did not leave the Irtysh until autumn, probably not before October. Cf. TDMI, 393ff., 403; de Rachewiltz 1962, 46-47, nn. 49, 50. The Alai (‘Arai’ in the text, but correctly ‘Alai’ in AT¹, 115a) seems to be the same locality – apparently a pass on the Altai – as mentioned in § 198, but the identification remains doubtful. It seems certain, however, that it was a mountain pass on the way from the Eder to the Irtysh; thus, one may assume, an important pass on the Altai such as the Ulaan Dabaa, as suggested by Pérlée. See above, n. 198.

On Qulan Qatun, one of the favourite wives of Činggis Qan, see § 197 and com. It is interesting that, as noted by Ligeti (Li, 183, n. 257), Qulan Qatun was chosen in preference to Yisüi Qatun, who had acquired merit by expressing her concern on the

issue of succession (§ 254) – possibly a reinforcing argument for the spuriousness of the whole episode.

Temüğe Otčigin is called here Otčigin Noyan, as in §§ 190, 195, 245, 269 and 280. Being the youngest brother and, therefore, ‘keeper of the hearth’, he remained behind to guard the home patrimony and main base camp in Mongolia, which comprised the great *ordo* of Činggis Qan in the Sa’ari Steppe. When the Taoist patriarch Ch’ang-ch’un (see above, n. 248) crossed Mongolia on his way to Central Asia, he reached Temüğe Otčigin’s camp (on 24 April, 1221), then situated four to five days’ ride south-east of the Kerulen at the point where this river flows into the Hulun Nör. See the HYC, A, 16b; TOA, 64-65; ISK, 213. This was Temüğe Otčigin’s own family domain or apanage. See HCG, 178.

For *gejige* ‘in support’, i.e. in the rearguard, see above, n. 170.

Regarding the expedition of Jebe, Sübe’etei and Toqučar, see TDMI, 419-420. Toqučar is mentioned here for the first time and his name reappears in § 280 as one of the officials entrusted by Ögödei with the post stations’ administration. He is mentioned by both Juvainī and Rašīd al-Dīn. According to the former, ‘Toghachar Küregen (who was the son-in-law of Chingiz-Khan)’ fell in the attack on Nishapur (Nīšāpūr) in November 1220. See HWC, 174-175. According to Rašīd, Toqučar (also called Dalan Turqaq Toqučar, Toqučar Bayadur and Toqučar Noyan) was a Qonggirat, i.e. an Onggirat (see above, n. 61). When Činggis sent him, with Jebe and Sübe’etei, against Muḥammad of Khwārazm, he disobeyed Činggis’ order not to plunder the territory of the governor of Herat (Herāt) Malik Xān Amīn al-Mulk (the ‘Qan Melik’ of the SH; see below) and was subsequently killed in an encounter with some mountain people in Ghur. See SL², I/2, 217-222; SWCCL¹, 72a, 77a. Clearly, this personage cannot be the Toqučar mentioned in § 280 of the SH. For these conflicting reports and the problem of identification, see TDMI, 423-424; HWC, 174-175, n. 11; and Mu, III, 204-205, n. 5. For the name Toqučar, see

Poppe 1975, 161. The title *sultan* (< pers. *sultān*) appears in the SH only once in this form; at all other times, alone or in combination, it is written *soltan*. Cf. *Lettres*, 58; Poppe 1955, 41. The sultan in question is ‘the Soltan of the Sarta’ul people’ of § 260, who in the SH is apparently identified not with Muḥammad, as one would expect, but with his son Jalāl al-Dīn, who became *šah* of Khwārazm upon his father’s death at the end of 1220. As is known, the Mongols never made contact with Muḥammad and eventually lost track of him. Barthold comments on this point: ‘On the Mongol invasion he played such a pitiful role that the Mongols themselves completely forgot him. Even the Mongol account of the thirteenth century (i.e. the *Secret History of the Mongols* – I.R.) omits all mention of Muḥammad, and speaks only of Jalāl ad-Dīn, merging both persons in one, as is apparent from the narrative of the operations of Jebe, Sübuday and Toquchar.’ (TDMI, 426.) On the other hand, in the three instances in the SH when the title *sultan* ~ *soltan* occurs alone, it may well refer to Muḥammad rather than to his son, who throughout these sections is regularly referred to as Jalaldin Soltan. On this name, cf. MMHS, 116, Note 152. See also below. It should again be emphasized that the entire SH narrative concerning the Western Campaign is fragmentary, i.e. incomplete, confused and inaccurate as to the sequence of events, indication of localities, etc., partly, no doubt, owing to the work of later editors who, for various reasons, interfered with the original text, but, essentially, because the SH is chiefly concerned with domestic matters and the Mongolian scene, with scant attention being paid to events, situations and people far removed from ‘home.’ See Sections Three and Six of the Introduction.

‘Attack him from your side’ (*qamsatqun*): Jebe, Sübe’etei and Toqučar were to go around the sultan’s territory and attack him from the back, while Činggis, with the main body of the Mongol army, attacked him from the front. On the important military term *qamsa-*, see above, n. 133.

For the apposition *Ĵebe tere*, lit. 'Ĵebe – that one –', in which *tere* only has the function of drawing attention to the preceding word, see Mo, 89, n. 84. Cf. also Cleaves 1959, 91, n. 364. 'Qan Melik' (in this section the form 'Melik' alternates with 'Melig') is the 'Amīn Malik' of Ĵuvainī (HWC, 732) and the 'Khan-melik' (Xān Malik) of Rašīd (SL², I/2, 220-223), i.e. Amīn al-Mulk, the governor of Herat in Khorasan (Xurāsān), on whom see TDMI, 423, 439-443. Cf. also Poppe 1955, 40.

'Border towns' (*kijī'ar balaqat*). Towards the end of the present section the first word is written *kija'ar*, and in § 253 we find the form *giji'ar*. In the SH the form *kija'ar* (cf. 'ph. *k'ija'ar*, mo. *kija'ar*) alternates with *kijī'ar* and *giji'ar*. See above, n. 253.

For *tariyaĴin* (= mo. *tariyaċi[n]*) 'peasant, farmer', see TMEN, no. 886. (The capital 'T' in L², 232, is a printing error.) For *-Ĵin* ~ *-ċin*, cf. HCG, 151, 253.

'Because his towns had been attacked', lit. 'Saying, "My towns have been attacked."'

With regard to the name Ĵalāl al-Dīn, in the SH it is transcribed phonetically as 'Ĵalalding', which is to be read 'Ĵalaldin', the final *-g* of the Chinese transcription being unavoidable but redundant (arab. > pers. *dīn* can only be transcribed in Chinese as *ting*). Cf. the AT transcription 'Ĵilaċin' for 'ĴalalĴin.' See AT¹, 115b (ATL, 189-190, incorrectly reads 'ĴalalĴin'; cf. LDAT, 225: 'Džilaċin' [= Ĵilaċin]). In this section the form *qa'an*, usually transcribed as *qa-han* (*qahan*; see above, n. 1), alternates with the latter, confirming that the *-h-* of the Chinese transcription represents a hiatus. The famous defeat of Šigi Qutuqu near Parwan (Parvān) in the spring of 1221 – the most serious reverse suffered by the Mongols during the whole campaign – is described in detail in SL², I/2, 221-222. Cf. the earlier account by Ĵuvainī in HWC, 406-407. See TDMI, 441-445. Ratchnevsky 1965, 103-107, has translated and discussed the relevant Persian and Chinese sources on these events. Cf. ISK, 83-85.

'By so doing, they prevented them from joining forces', lit. 'Defeating (*or* overcoming) them causing *them* not to join forces.'

Buqar is the correct Mongol name of Bukhara (Buxārā), the great city of Transoxania captured by the Mongols in February 1220. Cf. Cleaves 1953a, 243, n. 27. 'Semisgab', on the other hand, is a corruption of 'Semisgen', the Mongol name of Samarkand (Samarqand), which derives from tu. Semizkänd, lit. 'Fat (= Rich) City.' The distortion has occurred as a result of an incorrect reading of the word Semisgen in Uighur-Mongol script. See Pelliot 1935a, 159; Li, 183, n. 257; and Cleaves, op. cit., 243, n. 28. Samarkand was captured by the Mongols in March 1220. Udarar is Otrar (Uṯrār ~ Oṯrār), called Udirar in § 258 and Udurar in § 259, all distortions of the original form also due to the ambiguity of the Uighur-Mongol script. Otrar was besieged by the Mongols in November 1219. On these cities, see TDMI, General Index, s.v.; and de Rachewiltz 1962, 58, n. 109; 55-56, nn. 87 and 90. In this and the following sections of the Commentary, the standard names of the major cities and regions are used, hence Bukhara, Samarkand, Parwan, Khorasan, etc. See above, n. 152.

'They pursued them ... in the Šin River', lit. 'Pursuing them as far as the Šin River, when they were made to go, as they went in throwing themselves into the Šin River, many of the Sarta'ul indeed perished there in the Šin River.' The Šin River (Šin Müren) is the Indus (Šin < Sind). Cf. Cleaves 1949, 94, n. 3. For *sö'e-* (? *sü'e-*) 'to perish', cf. idem 1985, 246, n. 40. On the Mongols' push to the Indus in pursuit of Ĵalāl al-Dīn in November 1221, see TDMI, 445-446. The SH account erroneously makes Qan Melik, i.e. Amīn al-Mulk, join Ĵalāl al-Dīn in the latter's flight to India. After the famous battle on the Indus, which took place probably between 21 August and 19 September 1221, Činggis did not cross the river and pursue Ĵalāl al-Dīn and the remnant of his army, but instead advanced northwards along the right or west bank of the Indus and spent

the following months in 'mopping up' operations and the destruction of mountain forts in the territory of Gībarī and Koh-Pāyah, i.e. in the region immediately north of the Kabul River, between Parwan in the west and the Swat Valley in the east. See TN, 1043ff. Rašīd says that after Ǧalāl al-Dīn's escape across the Indus, in the spring of 1223, Činggis 'went up the river Sind, and sent Ugedeī down the river to subdue those districts. ... That summer Čingiz-khan agreed to stop in the steppe (*or* plain) which the Mongols call Pervan, waiting for Bala-noion (i.e. Bala Noyan, whom he had previously sent with Dörbei Noyan in pursuit of Ǧalāl al-Dīn); [all] the districts which were within those boundaries (i.e. in that region) he captured and plundered.' (SL², I/2, 225; the parenthetical comments are mine.) The SWCCL¹, 77b, 78a, says: 'In the spring of (the year) *kuei-wei* (1223), the Emperor's (= Činggis Qan's) troops followed the Hsin-mu-lien 辛目連 (= Šin Müren, i.e. the Šin [Indus] River) upstream (i.e. northwards); he ordered the third prince (i.e. Ögödei) to follow the river downstream (i.e. southwards). ... In the summer, the Emperor escaped the heat in the Pa-lu-wan 八魯灣 (Parvān) Valley.' 'Fled upstream along it', lit. 'fled upstream along the Šin River.' The year 1223 given in the above sources is an error for 1222. Cf. below, n. 259.

For Činggis' immediate movements after the battle on the Indus, see also HWC, 135-138; and CHI, 321. The account in GK, 121, is confused and contradictory. In view of all this, the SH statement that Činggis 'went to plunder Batkesen' must be taken *sensu latissimo*. 'Batkesen' (AT¹, 116a: Bedge<g>sen) is a corruption of an original reading 'Badaqšan' (= Badaxšān), i.e. Badakhshan in northeastern Afghanistan.

The Eke ('Mother') and the Ge'ün ('Mare') streams of the SH are the Mongol names of two small rivers (*qoroqan*), almost certainly tributaries of the Kabul River, which cannot be identified with any degree of certainty. The plain or valley of Baru'an (Baru'an Ke'er; cf. AT¹, 116a: Barayan [? Baruyan] Kegere), i.e. Parwan, lies just north of Kabul, and it is there, on pasture land at the foothills of the Hindu Kush, that by all

accounts Činggis spent the summer of 1222 before returning to the north on his homeward journey. Cf. also the statement by Li Chih-ch'ang 李志常 in HYC, A, 44a (see TOA, 98-99) that in March 1222 the imperial encampment was three days' ride south of the Hindu Kush. On the other hand, Boyle has suggested that perhaps 'Baghlān' and not 'Parvān' is meant by the 'plain of Baruan' of the SH, and the 'Parvan' (= Parvān) of SL² (see above, but for Boyle's 'Parvan' read 'Pervan'), the SWCCL (see above) and the YS (see YS² 1, 22, s.a. 1223). See HWC, 139, n. 1. Cf. de Rachewiltz 1962, 67-68, n. 159. This is, however, unlikely: the problem is one of chronology, not of nomenclature.

On Bala's and Dörbei Noyan's expedition in pursuit of Ǧalāl al-Dīn across the Indus and their attack on Multan (Multān), see the above-mentioned sources and, in particular, HWC, 141-142 and n. 4; SL², I/2, 225; D'Ohsson, I, 309-310. See also Boyle 1954, 406-410. The Dörbei Noyan in question is the same personage called Dörbei Doqšin in §§ 240, 261. On Bala, i.e. Bala Noyan, of the Ǧalayir tribe, see §§ 120, 202 (no. 35), and 243. He will appear again in §§ 259 and 264. Instead of 'Ǧalayirtai' – the reading found in AT¹, 116a – the SH has the (metathetical) form 'Ǧaliyartai', almost certainly a scribal error since 'Ǧaliyar' for 'Ǧalayir' does not appear anywhere else in the text.

For Ǧebe's allegiance to Činggis and the origin of his name, or rather nickname (designating a particular type of arrow), see § 147 and com.

On Toqučar and the contradictory accounts about him in our sources, see above.

For the expression *ö'erün dura'ar*, lit. 'by his own will (*or* desire)', see above, n. 185.

'Making *this a matter of law*' (*ǧasaq bolqan*). Činggis is again invoking the *ǧasaq* as a normative law or principle in such an instance, just as in § 197. Cf. Ratchnevsky 1974, 473, n. 9; de Rachewiltz 1993, 98.

'Severely', lit., 'exceedingly' (*maši*).

For a good overview of Činggis' movements during the Western Campaign and the role of his generals, cf. ČK¹, 114-120 (= ČK², 129-134).

§ 258. Continuation of the account of the Western Campaign. In this section the chronology of events and the nomenclature are particularly faulty.

'Barula' is an error for 'Baru'an', i.e. Parwan. See above, n. 257.

The Amui Müren, or Amui River, is the Amu Darya (Amū Daryā, i.e. the Oxus). The form found in AT¹, 116a, is 'Amur Müren' – clearly a scribal error for 'Amui Müren', tacitly corrected in ATL, 191, and LDAT, 226. The form Amui itself is probably due to a graphic error (final *yod* for *waw*). The original correct form must have been Amuu, corresponding to Persian Amū. Alternatively, Amui is simply a variant form of Amuu. Cf., e.g., mo. *a'ui* ~ *a'uu* (> *a'ū*) 'vast.'

Ürünggeči (Örünggeči in § 260) = Urgenč, the name employed by the Mongols for Gurganj (Gurgānj), the capital of Khwārazm, situated then on both banks of the Amu Darya. See TDMI, 457 and n. 3; Mu, III, 224-225, n. 3; de Rachewiltz 1962, 60, n. 117; and Cleaves 1953a, 243, n. 29. On the operations of Joči, Ča'adai and Ögödei, and the siege and capture of Gurganj (end of 1220-April 1221), see TDMI, 433-437.

Iru = Herāt, and Isebür = Nišāpūr, i.e. Nishapur in Khorasan. Contrary to Boyle's opinion (see Boyle 1954, 403ff.), I think that phonetically 'Iru' can only represent 'Herāt', the identification earlier proposed by Haenisch and adopted also by Ligeti (Ha, 179; Li, 183, n. 258). The identification of Iru with Merv, first proposed by K. Grønbech (see Boyle, op. cit., 410, n. 35), is unlikely in view of the fact that Merv is mentioned further on (§ 261) as 'Maru.' The form 'Isebür' for 'Nišābur' is probably due to the ambiguity of the Uighur-Mongol script, as pointed out by Ligeti, loc. cit.; cf. Pelliot 1930b, 23. On the other hand, *Nišābur ~ *Išābur is also possible. For *n-* ~ zero, cf. HCG, 332-333. Herat was conquered by Tolui *after* Merv

and Nishapur (see TDMI, 446-449; Boyle, op. cit., 404), but as noted earlier this entire section is chronologically unreliable.

Udirar = Uṭrār, i.e. Otrar. Cf. above, n. 257. In this and the following section there is an anachronistic reference to Činggis' advance on, and capture of Otrar. See below, § 259.

On the expression *üge'er yabu-* 'to act according to the words (of s.), to obey the command (of s.)', see 'Trois documents', 475; and Cleaves 1953, 78-79, n. 8.

'Sent a message to them ordering that they should act according to the words of Ögödei', lit. 'when he ordered, he sent saying, "Act according to the words of your *brother* Ögödei."' In the SWCCL¹, 75b-76a, it is stated that in the autumn of 1221 Činggis sent Joči and Ögödei (there is no mention of Ča'adai) as leaders of the right wing to conquer Urgenč, i.e. Gurganj, and that after the army had assembled he ordered that it should be under Ögödei's command. According to SL², I/2, 216, the reason for this action was the discord between Joči and Ča'adai.

§ 259. As we have seen (n. 257), Otrar (Udurar ~ Udarar ~ Udirar < Uṭrār) was besieged by Činggis at the very beginning of the Western Campaign, almost certainly in November 1219; Bukhara and Samarkand were taken in February and March of the following year. In the second mention of Otrar in this section, the name of this city is incorrectly written 'Uduber' in both Y¹ and Y², but correctly as 'Udurar' in Y³.

Bala is Bala Noyan of the Ĵalayir, already mentioned in § 257 in connection with the pursuit of Ĵalāl al-Dīn beyond the Indus in 1221-1222. While Bala Noyan and Dörbei Doqšin were busy in pursuit, Činggis was in the Baru'an (Parvān) plain, or valley, north of Kabul. Therefore one would assume that it was here, in the foothills of the Hindu Kush, that the summer quarters or residence (*Ĵusalang*) of the 'Soltan' must have been situated, this being the place, too, where Činggis spent the summer of 1222. (Here 'Soltan' refers no doubt to Muḥammad rather than to Ĵalāl al-Dīn; see above, n. 257.) However, as we shall see below, this was almost certainly not the case. The

ridge (*niri'un*) of Altan Qorqan ('Golden [= Yellow] Creek'), where Muḥammad's palace was situated, cannot be identified. On the term *niri'u(n)~niru'un*, cf. above, nn. 147, 177.

'The weather has become warm', lit. 'the year has become warm (or hot).'

For Iru = Herāt, see above, n. 258.

Sisten (a faulty transcription for Sistan) = Sistan (Sīstān), the province of which Zaranj, near the modern town of Zabul, was the capital.

Čuqčeren (an erroneous transcription for Čoqčaran) = Čoxčārān, another name of the river Herirud (Harīrūd) just south of Herat. See Boyle 1954, 404-405; and Ligeti 1950, 179, n. 37. This river is actually mentioned by Rašīd al-Dīn in connection with Tolui's capture of Herat in 1221. The relevant section reads as follows: 'He (i.e. Toluī) subjugated all this region and captured Merv. ... He also captured the city of Nišapur. By the end of spring of the (above-)mentioned year (1221) he had already subjugated all these cities and districts. [Then] Čingiz-khan sent a message from Talikan [to Tuluī] to the effect that (his) son Toluī should return before the coming of the (summer) heat. In accordance with the order he (Toluī) came back. On the way he made a raid in the province of Kukhistan, crossed the river Čukčaran and captured the city of Kherat and its district, and from there he joined [the army] of Čingiz-khan. ... After that, Čingiz-khan together with [his] sons and armies spent the summer at the foothills of Talikan.' See SL², I/2, 219-220. (The additions in parentheses are mine.) In the SWCCL¹, 75b-76b, it is recorded that in 1221 Činggis and Tolui attacked and captured Bukhara, Samarkand and other cities. In the summer, Činggis 'escaped the heat in the place where the sultan of the Western Regions used to escape the heat.' In the autumn, he 'ordered Tolui to attack Yeh-li (Eri = Herāt), Ni-sha-wu-erh (Nishawur = Nīšāpūr) and other cities.' Činggis himself took the cities of Tirmiz and Balx (the Termez and Balkh of our maps), then besieged the fortress of Ṭāliqān. In the winter Tolui 'also conquered Mu-lu-ch'a-yeh (*read* -k'o, i.e. Marūčaq, or 'Little

Merv', on the Murgab River), Yeh-k'o Ma-lu (Yeke Maru = Merv the Great), Hsi-la-ssu (Sira[q]s, i.e. Sarakhs in Khorasan) and other cities. He made his army advance further.' Always according to this source (76b-77a), in the spring of 1222, Tolui again conquered Tus (Ṭūs), Nishapur and other cities, but 'since the heat was then about to reach its peak, the Emperor (i.e. Činggis Qan) sent a messenger to instruct the fourth prince (i.e. Tolui) to return in haste. On the way through the country of the Mu-la-hsi (*Mulaḫi[d] = Mulāhid, lit. "heretics, infidels" [*<* arab.], i.e. the Ismailians: this must refer to Quhistān; cf. MR, I, 115, 133; NMP, II, 785-787; and Ligeti, loc. cit.), he greatly ravaged it and, crossing the Cho-cho-lan (*Jo[q]joran) River, he conquered Yeh-li (Herāt) and other cities. At that time, the Emperor was attacking the fortress of T'a-li-han (Ṭāliqān). After the audience (with Tolui) was over, the (two) armies together captured it (i.e. Ṭāliqān). ... That summer (the Emperor) escaped the heat in the plain of the fortress of T'a-li-han (Ṭāliqān).' With regard to Tolui's movements, the chronology of the YS (YS² 1, 21-22) account agrees with that of the SWCCL, and we also find in it a reference to the crossing of the Cho-cho-lan River and the capture of Herat in the spring of 1222. Juvainī has an entire chapter devoted to Tolui's conquests in Khorasan in the spring of 1221; among the many cities and towns mentioned are Merv, Herat and Nishapur, as well as 'the country of Sijistān', i.e. Sistan, mentioned also in the present section of the SH. See HWC, 151-152. There is no mention, however, of the ridge of Altan Qorqan and of Čoqčaran. As we have seen, the latter is a river and the SH is at fault in referring to it as a city (*balqaasu*). I agree with Ligeti, loc. cit., that this is a straightforward error and not to be understood, like Boyle does, as 'the town of Čoxčārān' or 'the Čoxčārān town' (= the town on the Čoxčārān River) meaning Herat, since Herat has just been mentioned. See Boyle 1954, 405. As for the ridge of Altan Qorqan and the place where Muḥammad of Khwārazm used to spend the summer, its location is also not clear because

of the confused chronology of events. Tolui's conquest of Khorasan, including the crossing of the Čoqčaran/Herirud River, took place in 1221, not 1222 as incorrectly stated by the SWCCL and the YS. (For this one-year discrepancy, see Wang Kuo-wei, *Yeh-lü Wen-cheng Kung nien-p'u* 耶律文正公年譜 in WKW, *ts'e* 32, 'yü-chi 餘記', 5b; cf. also above, n. 257.) The fortress of Ṭāliqān besieged and conquered by Činggis in 1221 was apparently the citadel of Nuṣrat Kūh between Balkh and Marv-ar-Rūd in Khorasan, whereas the place also called Ṭāliqān, in the neighbourhood of which – i.e. in the northern foothills of the Hindu Kush – both Činggis and Tolui spent the summer of the same year, was a town in Badakhshan still known by that name. It corresponds to the 'Taican' of Marco Polo. See TDMI, 439 and n. 2, 444; HWC, 118, n. 2, and 132; SL², I/2, 219 and n. 1; de Rachewiltz 1962, 67-68, n. 159. (The above place-name is variously written Ṭāliqān, Ṭālaqān and Ṭālqān. There existed also a homonymous district near Qazvin in Iran.) It was in all probability here, and not in the plain of Parwan on the other side of the Hindu Kush, that Muḥammad's summer residence and the unidentified Altan Qorqan ridge must have been situated. In the SH the confusion is compounded by the reference to Činggis' waiting for Bala *before* the mention of Tolui joining his father. Cf. SWCCL¹, 77b-78a, where (s.a. 1223!) it is stated that, after having followed the Indus River upstream in the spring, Činggis ordered Ögödei to go downstream, but because of the approaching summer told him not to seize the city of Sistan and sent another general to conquer it. Činggis himself set up his headquarters in the Parwan Valley waiting for Bala Noyan.

§ 260. This section deals with a particular incident following the capture of Gurganj (Gurgānj/Urgeč) in April 1221 which, to my knowledge, is not recorded elsewhere. Örünggeči = Ürünggeči. Initial *ö* and *ü* are identical in Uighur-Mongol script, hence the confusion. Medial *t* and *d* are also identical, thus we have here Šigi Quduqu instead of Šigi Qutuqu. All

these discrepancies in proper names are purely orthographical in nature. See above, n. 138.

'Who had refused to submit' renders *öčin meljen aqsat*, lit. 'who had refused to petition Činggis Qa'an (i.e. to address him as a superior)', in other words, 'who had refused to acknowledge themselves as subjects.' For *melje-* 'to dispute, deny, repudiate, etc.', see Les., 535a.

The verb *doroyita'ul-* (fact. of *doroyita-* 'to decline') meaning 'to cause to lower (i.e. to force to come down from a higher position); to degrade, abase', corresponds to mo. *doroyitayul-*. See *ibid.*, 263a. This verb appears again in the same passage in the form *doroyitda'ul-*, in which the *-d-* is either redundant (cf. Oz¹, VI, 357), or, since it occurs also in Y³ (13, 20a), possibly due to *t-* gemination. Cf. § 245: *üiyiletü'esü*. See above, n. 245. I think that *balaqat irgen anu* refers to the cities and peoples of the sultan, thus *anu* 'their' = *inu* 'his.' Cf. the *Hsiao-ching* in Mongolian (Yüan), where the same usage is found. See de Rachewiltz 1982, 30 (8a7, where, however, *kündelel* should read *kündülel*), 43, and 63, n. 91. See also below, n. 273. For the inverse case, see Mo, 95, 182, 257, n. 244; *Matériel II*, 6 (1r, 5). Cf. *Lettres*, 31; Cl, 201; and Ev-Pop, 226. It should be noted that the plural form *anu* (? a sort of hon. plural) is used in *both* the *Hsiao-ching* and the present passage with reference to the sovereign.

'All belong to Činggis Qa'an', lit. 'are all of Činggis Qa'an.'

'Now that ... we have caused the Sarta'ul people to abase themselves like this', lit. 'At the moment when ... we have caused' On the 'increase of strength (or might: *güčü*)' by Heaven and Earth, see above, nn. 113, 201 and 208.

'We – the men of your entire army –', lit. 'We – your many men and geldings –.' Like *eme kö'ü*, the expression *ere aqta* 'men and geldings' can be taken literally (as in §§ 239 and 248), or as a '*mot-couple*' meaning 'the army.' Cf. ch. *jen ma* 人馬

id. See above, n. 239. Given the context, the latter meaning applies here.

'Are rejoicing and are content with ourselves' is a tentative interpretation of the expression *bayasču maqaiju amui*. *Bayasču*, converbum imperfecti of *bayas-*, means 'rejoicing'; *maqaiju*, the converbum imperfecti of *maqai-*, a verb not attested elsewhere to my knowledge, is not glossed in the Chinese interlinear translation. The sectional summary merely says: 'We the people are all happy' (俺衆人皆歡喜), rendering the general meaning of the Mongolian. In H, 122, n. 260 (5), Haenisch wrote: 'Das Wort muß soviel wie einen Ausruf des Frohlockens bedeuten: "maḥai" rufen.' In HW, 106, he rendered this verb as 'frohlocken?' Finally, in his Ha, 130-131, he translated the sentence as 'Darüber sind wir, dein ganzes Heer, voll Freude und frohlocken.' Kozin (Ko, 571, 609) was the first to refer to mo. *maḡayiča-* 'to play at knucklebones' and to suggest for it a (? secondary) meaning of 'to make merry' – an interpretation he adopted in his translation (ibid., 188: 'we rejoice and exult'). In this he was followed by Damdinsürén, Yao and Jagchid, Ligeti and others. See Da⁵, 220; Yao-Ja, III, 382; Li, 125; Ja, 403, 405, n. 3; Ta, 193; Če, 248. For Doronatib, *maqaiju* = (?) *baqaḡu* 'scething with activity' (see Do¹, 336 and 338, n. 3); whereas Mu, III, 218, translates *maqaiju* as 'neighing (with joy).' TH, 222 (= JYT, 382-383), on the basis of the Ejine dialect, interprets *maqai-* as meaning 'to exert oneself, to do all one can sparing no effort.' Cf. Oz¹, VI, 361: 'emboldened'; and On, 153: 'bustling happily' (in the 2001 ed., p. 251, *bayasču maqaiju amui* is rendered as 'are busily rejoicing'). Cl, 201, leaves the verb untranslated. It is true that in Written Mongolian there is a verb *maḡayiča-* which Kowalewski renders as 'jeter l'osselet, frapper sur l'osselet.' See Kow., 1981a; cf. MEPD, 490b: 'to play a game with knuckle bones.' More specifically, as explained in Gol., III, 205c, this verb means 'after hitting and dislodging the first knucklebone, to hit another knucklebone

from a further distance', i.e. to earn a second throw after 'knocking out' the first knucklebone, a meaning retained in Khalkha Mongolian. See Cèv., 325b, s.v. 'maaxaičax.' *Maḡayiča-* is the cooperative form in *-ča-* (on which see 'Verbstamm.', 29-30, §§ 34-35) of **maḡayi-*. In the old language, this verb *may* also have had the meaning of 'to make merry'; however, this is unlikely because such a meaning would undoubtedly have been known to the Ming translators. (Incidentally, in the SH, § 116, the term for 'to play together with knucklebones' is *ši'alja-*, corresponding to mo. *siḡalja-*.) It is more likely, in my view, that the text was corrupt at this point, as one can also infer from AT¹, 117a, which in the corresponding passage gives *bayasču eriḡju* instead of *bayasču maqaiju* (or *maḡayiču*). From the context it is clear that the corrupt word must have had a meaning similar to *bayas-*, i.e. 'to be happy, merry, etc.' The only possible candidate is *maḡasayi-* 'to smile happily, to have a contented air, to be self-satisfied or content.' See MKT, 808c-809a; Cèv., 325b; and MED, 206b, s.v. 'maasaix.' I think that the original text had *bayasču maḡasayiju amui* 'are rejoicing and self-satisfied (i.e. content with ourselves)', and that in the manuscript used by the Ming translators the letters *s* and *a* (*-sa-*) of *maḡasayiju* were somehow damaged and/or obliterated with the result that the translators could only make out a meaningless word *maḡayiju* (= mmo. *maqayiju* ~ *maqaiju*; cf. *bayi-* ~ *bai-*, etc., see 'Quelques problèmes', 265-266) which they transcribed and left untranslated. I find this interpretation more satisfactory than those of Haenisch, Kozin and their followers.

'Let *this* be a lesson for their future *conduct!*', lit. 'Let them learn their future *conduct from this!*'

'We fear lest the sons' natural *ardour* may be discouraged as a result of *this*', lit. 'We fear lest the sons may be neglectful of their natural virtue (*aburi-yan alqasa'uḡai*)', by which is meant that Činggis' excessive severity may have a demoralizing effect on his sons by weakening their innate qualities of courage and boldness. Cf. A. Mostaert *apud* Cl, 201, n. 106: 'The sense

is: "We fear that, if you treat them so harshly, the princes may be discouraged and lose the zeal to fulfil their duty of which they have given evidence up to the present." For the verb *alqasa-* 'to be remiss (discouraged, confused), etc.', cf. above, n. 199. See also below.

'Will you not ...?', lit. 'Will it do if you ...?'

Or *jalira-* 'to become appeased, to calm down', see Mo, 231.

'Quoting ancient words,/Citing old sayings.' For these words, see § 78 and com.; Gaadamba 1968, 81-82; Cérésodnom 1986, 77. Cf. also § 244 and com.

For the poetic passage 'To the point ... their brow', see Mo, 214-216; Serruys 1985a, 219; and Ozawa's remarks (Oz¹, VI, 365-366, n. 6) concerning Mostaert's comments in Mo, 215, regarding the word *bayta* (*baqta*) in the expression *bayta alda-* 'to almost sink, to be on the point of sinking.'

'Just as he was addressing them with reprimands and admonitions' renders *čimali'ar söyü'er du'ulqan бүкүй-түр*, lit. 'at the moment when he was causing *them* to hear reprimands and admonitions.' For *du'ulqa-* (= mo. *duyulya-*) 'to let know, inform', see 'Trois documents', 461. As to *söyü'er* (= pmo. *söyüger*), cf. §§ 22 and 277 where we find the expression *söyü'er üge* 'word(s) of admonition.' See Mo, 243, n. 227; Cleaves 1949, 115, n. 122. *Čimali'ar* (w.f. *čimali'ar*) is, like *söyü'er*, a deverbal noun in *-yar/-ger* (= mmo. *-'ar/-'er*; cf. GWM, 46, § 150; JŠ, 40, § 50) from *čimali-* 'to find fault with, to resent.' See § 281: *čimaliqai üge* 'resentful words.' Cf. mo. *čimala-* 'to be dissatisfied' (Les., 184a); and Cleaves 1982, 80, n. 25. Contrary to Haenisch (HW, 27, s.v. 'cimar'), Ligeti (L², 235), de Rachewiltz (R, line 10724, 209a, s.v. 'cimar-i'ar'; and Ra, XI, 152, n. 260), Cleaves (Cl, 202), Street (St, line Y463), and others, the word *čimali'ar* must not be read *čimar-i'ar*, the instrumental of *čimar* 'reproach, rebuke' (see HW, 27), and must not be understood as 'by (= by means of) rebuke.' Nor can *söyü'er* be regarded as a noun in the instrumental case. See Oz¹, VI, 367-368, n. 8.

Qongqai Qorči of the Adargin (on which see HCG, 57-58) is not otherwise known, as is the case with Qongtaqar Qorči of the Dolonggir (a subtribe of the Jalayir; see *ibid.*, 164-165, 255-256, and Poppe 1975, 162). Čormaqan Qorči, on the other hand, is well known. At the end of § 260 he is called Ötegedei Čormaqan, i.e. Čormaqan of the Ötegen tribe. However, Pelliot has suggested that 'Ötegedei' is an error for 'Ötegüdei', the ethnicon derived from the term *ötegü bo'ol* 'ancestral slave' which, according to Rašid al-Dīn, had eventually become a tribal name. See HCG, 86; cf. Bese 1988, 31-32. Čormaqan was, in fact, a Sönit. He belonged to a Christian Nestorian family which played an important role in Iran under Ögödei. He became the commander-in-chief of the Mongol forces in western Asia in 1231 and, following an incapacitating illness, was replaced by Baiju Noyan in 1242. In the Persian sources he is usually called Čormayun Noyan. He is repeatedly mentioned by Rašid al-Dīn, and in the Armenian and European medieval sources. On him, see HCG, 86 (and the references to MPa contained therein); Cleaves 1949b, 419-420; MWE, Index, 2, s.v. For the Sönit clan, see the SH, § 47.

'That have just begun training', lit. 'that are just to enter into training.' For *bauliya* 'training', see above, n. 255. The Mongol expression for 'to train birds (= falcons, for hunting)' occurring in § 249 is *šiba'un surqa-* (= mo. *sibayun surya-*).

'The sons are barely learning *how* to wage a military campaign', lit. 'The sons are learning to wage a military campaign just as much as this.' 'At such a time', lit. 'at the moment when.' 'Piling abuse on them', lit. 'abusing the sons as if in heaps (*mene metü*).' For the expression *mene metü*, see above, n. 41.

'We fear lest the sons, being afraid, will lose heart.' For the words *setkil-iyen alqasa'užai*, cf. the words *aburi-yan alqasa'užai* above. See also n. 199.

For the expression *naran šinggegü-eče urququ-da güртеle*, lit. 'from the sun setting as far as *its* rising', see *Lettres*, 72-73; Cleaves 1952, 111, n. 205.

'Tibetan dogs' (*töbödüit noqot*). *Töbödüit* is the plural of *töböit* (= mo. *töbed*) 'Tibet(an)'. Cf. ord. *t'öwöt* 'Tibetan' (DO, 676a). On the origin of the name Tibet and the Turkic and Mongolian forms of the name, see Bazin & Hamilton 1991. The large Tibetan mastiffs (tib. *'brog-khyi*; cf. TED, 402b) were known for their fierceness and were therefore highly prized (and, indeed, feared) by the Mongols, who used them for hunting and as watchdogs. They are mentioned by Marco Polo, who brought one back to Venice, and by modern travellers like Peter Goullart. See MP¹, 271-272; cf. *ibid.*, 228-229; MP², II, 45, 49, 52, n. 5; 400-401, and 401-402, n. 1; 483, n. 3; FK, 132. For this breed of dogs, see GPS, 77. See also Yisügei's words on the subject of fierce dogs in § 66, as well as the other references to hounds in the SH. Indeed, the dog-lore of the Mongols deserves special study. See, provisionally, Z. Lonjid (Lonžid) in *CMJS* 4:1995, 421-428. For a different interpretation of the word *töbödüit* which, however, is at variance with the SH gloss, see Oz¹, VI, 369-370, n. 10; On, 154, n. 344. For the plural *noqot* (= pmo. *noqod*; cf. AT¹, 117a: *nod[o]d* [rather than 'odud' or 'odun'] pro *noqod*) – an unusual form – see Poppe 1975, 167; and Street 1990a, 361 and n. 119.

Tabar 'goods, possessions' is a synonym of *et* (= mo. *ed*), with which it is often combined. See above, § 248 and com. In § 252 we find the words *altan mönggün et a'urasun ya'u ke* 'gold, silver, goods, satin and other things.'

Irgeŋ orqan (~ *irge orqa*; cf. above, n. 150) means 'people' in general; here, however, the 'subject people' are meant.

'Here in the west', lit. 'This *here* west' = 'In this western region.' Cf. Street 1990, 173.

Qalibai Soltan = Xalīfa Sulṭān, i.e. 'Sultan Caliph' – two titles used here as the ruler's name. Cf. Poppe 1955, 40. Baqtat = Baghdad. The 'Abbāssid caliph of Baghdad at the time was al-Nāṣir (575-622/1180-1225); however, his grandson and second successor al-Mustansir (623-640/1226-1242) is clearly the caliph in question, since Čormaqan's expedition against Jalāl al-Dīn in western Asia took place in 1230/31, and it was not

until 1238 that a Mongol army attacked the neighbourhood of Baghdad, where it was repulsed by al-Mustansir's forces. See *Successors*, 46ff., 190-191, 232-233; MWE, VIII, 335. Čormaqan's campaign during Ögödei's reign is in fact mentioned in § 274. This is yet another anachronism of the SH. It should also be noted that Činggis' order at the conclusion of this section is not followed by the end-of-quotation verb *ke'e-*, as is the case also in §§ 105, 123, 124 and 135.

§ 261. This section, too, is confused and anachronistic. Dörbei Doqšin (Dörbei Noyan) of the Dörbet (Dörbetei) was mentioned above, n. 257, in connection with his and Bala Noyan's expedition against Jalāl al-Dīn beyond the Indus in 1221-1222. However, as we have seen (n. 259), Merv and Herat and the other cities in Khorasan had already been conquered by Tolui earlier in 1221, apparently without Dörbei's participation. In the present section several places are mentioned, and of these the first two, i.e. Aru and Maru, no doubt correspond to Herat ('Aru' being an error for 'Iru') and Merv. See above, nn. 258 and 259. For Maru = Merv, see also Boyle 1954, 410, n. 35. It is possible that Dörbei was one of the generals stationed at Nasaf (Naxšab) who took part in quelling a revolt at Merv in the latter part of 1222. See TDMI, 448-449; Boyle, *op. cit.*, 409-410. In this case, Aru (= Iru)/Herat has been inserted here by mistake, probably because 'Iru and Maru' formed, as it were, a regular pair for the Mongols, like, *mutatis mutandis*, 'Gog and Magog' in the West.

As for 'the city of Abtu of the Madasari people', Murakami has proposed the identification of 'Abtu' with Alamūt, the famous stronghold of the Ismailians or Assassins in Mazandaran (Māzandarān), and 'Madasari' with Mazandaran itself – both Abtu and Madasari being approximate and metathetical forms (Alamūt > *Amtu > Abtu; and Māzandarān > *Madanzaran > *Madazari > Madasari). See Murakami 1977, *idem* 1978; and Mu, III, 238-239, n. 4. I think that Murakami is correct in identifying Madasari with Mazandaran, but I am not convinced

by his argument that Abtu derives from Alamūt, not only on linguistic, but also on historical grounds, since there was no question of a Mongol attack on Alamūt at this time. I think that Abtu is a corrupt form of the name of another town in Mazandaran, possibly Āmul, which we know was sacked by the Mongols at the end of 1220, or early in 1221. See TDMI, 424-425. A form like *Amulu for Āmul could, in a Mongol manuscript, easily be confused with 'Abtu.' Poucha's identification of Madasari with Maĵarat, i.e. with the Hungarians, is incorrect as already pointed out in Li, 183, n. 261. See Poucha 1954a. Cf. §§ 262, 270. In any case, this short section seems to be a conflation of two separate events – a campaign by Dörbei Doqšin and an attack on towns in Khorasan and Mazandaran – arbitrarily inserted at this point of the narrative, the only connecting link with the preceding section being, it seems, a reference to the 'Baqtat people.'

For *hindus*, pl. of *hindu* (= pmo. *indu*) 'Northern Indian', see Cleaves 1949, 93-94, n. 4; de Rachewiltz 1962, 61, n. 123.

§ 262. This section is a very brief notice concerning the immense reconnaissance raid of Ĵebe and Sübe'etei around the Caspian, across northern Iran, Azerbaijan, Georgia, the Caucasus and south Russia. The raid followed the two Mongol generals' unsuccessful pursuit of Muĥammad of Khwārazm in Mazandaran in the winter of 1220-1221, and ended with their return to Central Asia, where they rejoined Činggis' main army north of the Syr Darya sometime in 1223. See EM, 257-261, 515-521; ES, 306-308; GK, 122-123; and, especially, Allsen 1987/91, 11-17. In the present section of the SH, the raid of 1221-1222/23 is confused with the great campaign of Ögödei against the West (1236-1242) led by Batu and Sübe'etei, in the course of which Kiev – the 'Kiwa Menkermen' of the SH (see below) – was taken and destroyed (6 December 1240). See §§ 270 and 274, where this campaign is mentioned repeating many of the names of peoples and places in § 262, some of them in slightly different transcriptions. For the later raid in north

Caucasia, see Allsen, op. cit., 17-28. As pointed out by Ligeti (Li, 186, n. 270), some of these names, viz. those referring to the Hungarians, could only have come the Mongols' way during the campaign of 1237.

'Northwards' is an error for 'eastwards.'

The names of the countries (*qarin*) and peoples (*irgen*) of the eleven 'tribes' (*ayimaq*) listed in this section have been discussed and identified by Pelliot in his NHHO, 115-162 (esp. pp. 128-130). Cf. also Li, 184, n. 262; Cl, 203, nn. 117-130. For the sentence in question, cf. Street 1990, 185. They are the following: 1) Qanġlin = the Qanġli of Turgai, see above, n. 198; 2) Kibča'ut, pl. of Kibčaq, called Kimča'ut (for *b ~ m*, see 'Quelques problèmes', 270) in § 198 = the Qipčaq, on which see also n. 198; 3) Baġigit, pl. of *Baġigir – the Bašyird, i.e. the Bashkirs, of the Urals; 4) Orusut, pl. of Orus – the Rus, or Russians; 5) Maĵarat, pl. of Maĵar = the Magyars, or Hungarians; 6) Asut, pl. of As, i.e. the Alans or Ossets of the Caucasus; 7) Sasut, pl. of Sas (in §§ 270 and 274 this name appears in the form Sesüt, pl. of Ses), either the Saxons of Transylvania or the Saqšin of the lower Volga, but almost certainly the former; 8) Serkesüt, pl. of Serkes = Čerkes, i.e. the Circassians; 9) Kešimir = Kašmīr (see below); 10) Bolar (in § 270 erroneously written Buqar) = Bolyar, i.e. the Volga Bulgars; 11) Kerel (erroneously written Raral), another name for the Hungarians, from hung. *király* 'king.' Most of these names appear also in Rašīd al-Dīn's account of Ögödei's western expedition and in his chapter on the princes of the Qipčaq Steppe. See *Successors*, 55, 69-70. These and other relevant passages in Rašīd's and Ĵuvainī's works have also been discussed by Pelliot, op. cit., 122-128. It should be noted that the Hungarians are mentioned twice in the above list, once as Maĵarat and once as Kerel; it is possible, however, that the name Kerel in the SH may not refer to the Hungarians, but to another people, the identity of which cannot at present be established with certainty. See Pelliot, op. cit., 141-142; de Rachewiltz 1965, 191, n. 30; and the important discussion in Aalto 1982.

According to K. Jahn, the 'Keler and Bašyird' mentioned by Rašid in his version of the *Oyuz nāma* definitely refer to the Hungarians. See GORD, 22, n. 1. For the Kerel, cf. also TMEN, nos. 1447, 1641; D. Sinor in *BSOAS* 30:1967, 429-431; and, for the Maĵarat, Vásáry 1975; BT, I, 184.

On the name Orosut, with prothetic *o*, cf. *Lettres*, 23. On the Orus/Rus, see NHHO, 262b, s.v.; SMEH, Index, 11a; OR, 906b, s.v.; NNRS, Index, 13a-b. On the Asut (Alans), see NMP, I, 16-25 (esp. p. 17); *CKSYCTT*, 1984.8, 5; SMEH, Index, 2a.

On the Serkesüt (Circassians), see Hung 1956, 30, n. 5 (for the word *serkes*); Allsen 1987/91, 18 and n. 40; and below, n. 264.

The name Kešimir, i.e. Kašmīr, is misplaced here, as it refers to a separate expedition launched soon after against northern India and Kashmir under the command of Oqotur (*or* Hoqatur). See *Successors*, 55 and n. 216; and below, n. 270.

For the Bolar (Bolyar, Bulgar), cf. TMEN, no. 766; SMEH, Index, 3b; NNRS, Index, 3b; and, for the first Mongol raid against the Volga-Bulgars, see Zimonyi 1985.

In the present context, *ayimaq* 'a group of related families (*ayil*)' is used in its more evolved meaning of 'tribal or ethnic group.' Cf. above, n. 156. See also MSR, 30.

As for the geographical names in the present section, the Idil (§ 270: Adil; § 274: Ejil; all from Turkic Etil ~ Itil) is the Volga; the Ĵayaq is the river Ural; and Kiwa Menkermen is Kiev. See Pelliot, op. cit., 129 and n. 4, 114, n. 1, 227; NMP, I, 299. Kiwa Menkermen (the second element, Men-Kārmān, was the Turkic name of this city) is called Menkermen Keyibe in § 270 and M. Kiwa in § 274. Keyibe is another form of Kiwa (< Kiiwa < *Kiewe < *Kiyewe > Keyibe). Cf. TMEN, no. N 151 = 2096; NHHO, 114. Kiva, as the name of Kiev, appears also in the *Josippon*, a Hebrew book whose first version was written in the tenth century. See D. Flusser, ed., *The Josippon (Josephus Gorionides)*, Jerusalem, 1978, § 1, line 18 and n. (in Hebrew; I owe this reference to Prof. M. Erdal of Göttingen). In the AT¹, 117b, in the section corresponding to § 262 of the SH, the same

names appear in forms more or less corrupt. Unfortunately, in ATL, 194, various readings have been arbitrarily altered and omitted. Thus, e.g., the river Idil of the SH is written Aĵil (*or* Aĵil; cf. the Ejil of § 274) in AT¹, *not* Iĵil, as given in ATL as well as in AT², II, 84, and LDAT, 228. In this as in other instances, Šastina clearly follows AT² instead of AT¹, which makes one doubt whether she had been able to make full use of the photocopy of AT¹ in the possession of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences (see Section Five of the Introduction). The correct reading is found in Kozin's edition (Ko, 396).

§ 263. This historically important section has been translated in full and annotated in Cleaves 1953a, 241-244; however, the words *Ūrünggeči balaqasun-ača* have inadvertently been left untranslated. Cf. CI, 203-204.

Daruqačın and *daruqas* are the plurals of *daruqači* (= pmo. *daruqači*) and *daruqa* (= pmo. *daruqa*) respectively, both terms meaning 'chief local administrator *or* controller, resident commissioner (in a city or district), governor; overseer, chief (of an office).' Both derive from *daru-* 'to press (down)' → 'to hold under (= in subjection); to control.' Thus, the two terms literally mean 'one who presses down', hence 'one who holds people in subjection', 'one who controls subject people.' Cf. Cleaves 1950, 103 [50], 128, n. 293; and Mostaert *apud* Cleaves 1954a, 448-449, n. 23. 'Oppressor' would be a fair rendering, semantically as well as in terms of the official's actual role, his principal functions being tax-collection and the recruitment of people for service and *corvée*. Most scholars, however, are of the opinion that the two terms mean 'the one pressing the seal' = 'the (local) official in authority.' A detailed discussion by Cleaves of both *daruqa* and *daruqači* is found in Cleaves 1953a, 237-255. There is a vast literature on the *daruqačın* (~ *daruqas*) and their role in the Mongol empire. To the books and articles cited by Cleaves in the above-mentioned article, and those given in Ra, XI, 157-158, n. 263, one must add the following: TMEN,

no. 193; RH, 202, no. 29; MKSLT, I, 465-631; H. Harayama in *Shisō* 29:1963, 32-46; and the numerous references to primary and secondary sources in MRC, 178-191. The most up-to-date study on the subject is, in fact, MRC (which now supersedes RLGYC), an indispensable work for the understanding of this early administrative office. The genesis of the institution as described in § 263 of the SH is discussed by E. Endicott on p. 17ff., where she also deals with the interpretation of the terms *daruqači* and *daruqa*. On this controversial issue, cf. also TMEN, no. 193 (p. 323), and Róna-Tas 1986, 136. 'In the various cities', lit. 'in the cities' (*balaqat balaqat-tur*). Cf. § 247: *qotot qotot balaqat-tur* 'to various towns and cities.' See above, n. 247. For the expression 'the resident commissioners (*daruqačın, daruqas*) in (or of) the (various) cities', cf. 'Trois documents', 436.

A basic bibliography on Yalawači, i.e. the famous administrator, originally a merchant, Maḥmūd Yalavač (tu. 'the Envoy') (d. ca. 1254), is found in Ra, XI, 158, n. 263. Allsen's essay on him and his son Masqut, i.e. Mas'ūd Beg (d. 1289), is now available in ISK, 122-129, where the Chinese and Persian sources are listed on pp. 134-135. See also Cleaves 1977, 80-85, n. 53; YSLT 2:1983, 225-231; and CCME, 5, 198. For the term *yalawači, yalavač* 'envoy', cf. NHHO, 149; Poppe 1955, 42; TMEN, no. 1807. The SH says that they were Sarta'ul of the Qurumši clan (*Qurumši oboqtan Sarta'ul*), i.e., Muslims of Khwārazmian stock. In the Persian sources Maḥmūd Yalavač is in fact called Maḥmūd (Yalavāč) Xvārazmī, i.e. the Khwārazmian, and the SH specifically mentions that both father and son came from Urgenč (Gurganj). On Qurumši (for Qurus-mi) = Xvārazmī, the ethnicon of Xvārazm, see Pelliot 1938, 150; Cleaves 1949b, 433-435; idem 1953a, 242, n. 20.

'Father and son', lit. 'father and sons' (*ečiğe kö'üt qoyar*) – the plural here being a 'plural by attraction.' See Cleaves 1953a, 242, n. 21. Further on we also have once 'his sons' = 'his son'; this would simply be a repetition of the previous form.

AT¹, 117b, has *köbegün* (sing.) in both instances. See below for a different interpretation.

Sartaqtai gü'ün-neče, lit. 'From the Sartaqtai (= Sartaq) people.' For Sartaqtai and Sartaq (= Sarta'ul), cf. above, n. 182; Cleaves, op. cit., 241-242, n. 19.

'The laws and customs of the cities', lit. 'the customs and laws (*yosu dörö*) of the cities.' Cf. *törö yosun* id. further down. Cl, 203, inadvertently gives 'of the city.' For *törö ~ dörö*, cf. 'Quelques problèmes', 243-244.

'Being adequately informed as to *these* customs', lit. 'being told so as to know (= being informed) in a way similar to the *actual* customs (i.e. how the customs [concerning the government of the cities] really are).' For this rather awkward sentence, cf. Cleaves 1964/65, 57, n. 35.

With regard to the cities enumerated in this section, the first three are Bukhara, Samarkand and Gurganj, already mentioned in the previous sections (§§ 257, 258). Udan for Odan (~ Odon ~ Udun < tu.) = Khotan in southwestern Sinkiang. See NMP, I, 408-425; Cleaves 1953a, 243, n. 30; and Li, 184, n. 263. Kisqar is an erroneous reading for Kišqar = Kišyar < *Qaşyar (< tu. Kašyar, Qaşyar), i.e. Kashgar in western Sinkiang. AT¹, 118a, has 'Sisegei' for 'Kišyar' (the 'Kašyar' of ATL, 194, is an incorrect reading). Cf. Cleaves, op. cit., 243, n. 31. Uriyang is also an erroneous reading for *Yarqand or *Yarkend (< tu. Yarkänd), i.e. Yarkand in southwestern Sinkiang. Cf. *ibid.*, n. 32; Cl, 204, n. 137. Güsen Daril: Güsen = Küsen = Kūčä, i.e. Kucha in western central Sinkiang; Daril = Darim = Tarim, i.e. the Tarim River of Sinkiang. This rather puzzling compound place-name seems to be a general designation of the region of Kucha and the Tarim. Cf. Cleaves 1953a, 243-244, n. 33; and the reference in *CKSYCTT*, 1985.5, 4. With regard to these localities, Khotan, Kashgar, Yarkand and Kucha were all towns formerly in the Qara Kitai kingdom usurped by the Naiman prince Küčlüg – the Güčülük of the SH, last mentioned in § 237. The whole area became subject to the Mongols after his death in 1218. See HWC 68.

‘He brought *back with him*’, lit. ‘bringing ... he brought’ (*abčiraju ... abčirabai*).

‘The city of Jungdu of the Kitat’ is Chung-tu, i.e. Peking. See above, n. 247. It is worth noting that Maḥmūd Yalavač’s appointment as chief administrator of North China is completely anachronistic; he was first appointed to this position in 1241, and there is no evidence that his son Mas‘ūd was ever associated with him in the government of China. Mas‘ūd began his career as an assistant of his father in Central Asia sometime after 1229, and in 1239 he took up the governor-generalship of Turkestan. After a period of exile in the West during Töregene’s regency, he returned to power and was confirmed in office by Möngke in 1251, becoming ‘the de facto head of the government of both East and West Turkestan, answerable only to the qa’an in Mongolia.’ (ISK, 128.) He was, indeed, a virtual viceroy in Central Asia. According to A. Mostaert (u.n.), the plural in *-t* of *kö’üt* ‘son’ applied twice to Mas‘ūd in the SH is due to his being a ‘vice-roi’, i.e. the plural form is a plural of respect, often used in Mongolian (as in the words *sayid*, *degedüs*, etc.). Cf. *Lettres*, 79. If so, we have further confirmation that this section is a later (editorial) interpolation in the original text. See below, n. 274.

§ 264. ‘Spent seven years’ (*dolo’an hont yabuju*), lit. ‘going seven years.’ The years in question are 1219-1225. Cf. the beginning of § 257 where it is stated that Činggis set out against the Sarta’ul people in the Year of the Hare (1219). In the present section the narrative goes back to the time when Bala Noyan of the Ĵalayir, having crossed the Indus (Šin) River, unsuccessfully pursued Ĵalāl al-Dīn (1221-22). The SH account does not mention Dörbei Noyan in conjunction with Bala, and erroneously includes Qan Melik, i.e. Amīn al-Mulk. See above, § 257 and com. For the form *hont* ‘years’ for *hot*, cf. above, nn. 118 and 198, and below, nn. 272 and 280, regarding the word *qonint* for *qonit*, etc.

‘As far as the middle of *the country of the Hindus*’, i.e. as far as the middle of northern India – a statement to be taken

figuratively, since the Mongols did not go much further than Multan and Peshawar (Pešāvar) before turning back. See TDMI, 445-446; Boyle 1954, 406-409 (esp. pp. 408-409 with regard to § 264 of the SH). For the gelded billy-goats (*serkes*), cf. Hung 1956, 30, n. 5. In § 262, this word (in the plural) is used as the designation of the Circassians.

In Ĵuvainī’s work there is a chapter devoted to Činggis’ homeward journey (HWC, Ch. XXIII, 138-141); cf. also SL², I/2, 229-230. Činggis had begun withdrawing his army from Afghanistan in the latter part of 1222, and the entire Mongol army, i.e. including Ĵebe and Sübe’etei’s forces, gradually withdrew from Central Asia in 1223-1224. Činggis was again on the Irtysh in the summer of 1224, almost certainly in the same area where he had encamped in the summer of 1219. All our sources, except the SH, agree that he was back at his *ordos* of the Qara Tün (‘Black Forest’) on the Tūla in the spring of the following year (1225). Therefore, the word *namur* ‘autumn’ in the present section must be a clerical error for *qabur* ‘spring’, these two words being easily confused in Uighur-Mongol script. Cf. de Rachewiltz 1962, 63-64, n. 138.

Činggis’ ‘Palaces (*ordos*) in the Black Forest by the Tūla’ must be his principal encampment in the Sa’ari valley, the so-called Sa’ari Steppe (Sa’ari Ke’er), in the basin of the upper Kerulen, between this river and the Tūla – a vast wooded area known as the Black Forest extending east of the great bend of the Tūla. See HCG, 260; and above, nn. 96 and 128. In NMP, I, 309, Pelliot refers to these *ordos*, stating that they were ‘probably outside the south-eastern bend of that river (i.e. of the Tūla – I.R.).’ Cf. also below, n. 271. For the expression *ordos-tur ba’u-* ‘s’installer (m. à m.: “descendre”) dans les palais’, see Mo, 261 and n. 249.

§ 265. Chapter Twelve (= Sup. 2 續集卷二) of the SH begins with the account of Činggis’ last campaign against the Tangut state of Hsi Hsia. As described earlier (§§ 249, 250, 256), the Tangut court had at first submitted to the Mongols, but later, at the time

of the confrontation with Khwārazm (1218-19), the minister Aša Gambu had persuaded the Hsi Hsia ruler Shen-tsung ('Burqan') not to comply with Činggis' request for Tangut troops in the forthcoming campaign. Činggis did not take any punitive action then but pledged to deal with the matter on his return from Central Asia. He now proceeds to do so after a brief halt in Mongolia to plan the campaign and mobilize the troops. With regard to the date of the start of the expedition against Hsi Hsia, the sources are not in full agreement. See de Rachewiltz 1962, 64, n. 140. However, it can be established that the mobilization of troops began in the latter part of 1225, and that the actual attack on Hsi Hsia was launched in the spring of the following year. The SH is one year late in describing the sequence of these events. On this question, see NMP, I, 316. The best account of the Hsi Hsia campaign in English is found in Martin, 283-308. See also Martin 1942; OITG, 306-315; CHCAR, 210-214; and CHHC, 490ff.

'He counted his troops anew', lit. 'He newly counted his number (i.e. the number of effectives in his army).' Cf. above, § 191.

On Yisüi Qatun (Qadun in the text), see § 254.

'The many wild asses of Arbuqa.' Arbuqa was obviously an area rich in wild asses (*qulan* = *Equus hemionus*), the entire region being famous for its abundance of these quadrupeds, as confirmed by Marco Polo. See MP³, 75. Cf. MP², I, 224, 225, n. 3. Although Arbuqa has not been identified, several scholars, including Grousset (see CW, 278) and, more recently, Pèrlèè², 10, have situated it in the Alashan Desert in southeastern Ninghsia. This localization goes back to Shin Shih-chieh who, in YSCK 12, 47b-48a, attempted to identify Arbuqa and Čo'orqat – the place where Činggis halted after the fall from his horse – with two localities having similar names in the Ordos. In this he was rather uncritically followed by other Chinese scholars like Ting Ch'ien and Kao Pao-ch'üan. Cf. also N. Baturčiryal in MNTS, 460-486. However, these identifications

are arbitrary and unconvincing not only on linguistic and geographical grounds (see NMP, I, 316-317), but also for chronological reasons. If the accident occurred in the winter of 1225 and the invasion of Hsi Hsia took place in the spring of the following year, it is unlikely that Činggis was *already* as far south as the Alashan, i.e. in Tangut territory, in the winter as assumed by the above authors. On the other hand, the SH narrative definitely indicates that Činggis was 'on the way' to Hsi Hsia when he fell from his horse. I think, therefore, that Martin, 289, following F. Grenard (GKG, 173-174), is probably correct in stating that the accident occurred when the Mongol army had left the Tūla on the first stage of the expedition and had temporarily halted on the Ongin, almost certainly in November, to hunt the wild asses at Arbuqa. (Martin says 'November' following T'u Chi, this being the most likely month.) Thus, Činggis was at the time still in Mongolia, albeit well on his way to Hsi Hsia in the south and, no doubt on account of his serious injury, or injuries, the military operations were deferred to the spring while a diplomatic settlement with the Hsi Hsia ruler was sought to avert the hostilities without loss of face. The details of this embassy and of the Tanguts' negative response are found only in the SH.

Ĵosotu Boro ('Reddish-Grey') was the name of Činggis' horse which bolted when the wild asses rushed past.

For *kö'üt* (pl. of *kö'ü[n]* 'son; prince') 'princes', see Kałużyński 1978, 124-125.

'His body', lit. 'his flesh' (*mariya-ban*). In this section we find *mariya* ~ *mara'a*. Cf. Cleaves 1982, 84, n. 46; DO, 465a; 'Quelques problèmes', 258 (4); and above, n. 197.

Čo'orqat, a plural of *čo'orqan* (= mo. *čoyoryan*), means 'The Locks.' Pelliot (NMP, I, 317), says: 'it may have applied figuratively to some strong position, and may actually refer to the same place as the *Qunčui Mountain of the YS.' According to Martin, 291, n. 17, the Hun-ch'ui Mts. 渾垂山 of YS² 1, 23, are most probably the Ch'i-lien Mts. 祁連山 south of Su-chou 肅州 in Kansu, whereas R. Dunnell is of the opinion that the

former – a mountain rather than mountains – ‘was perhaps located north of Hexi [河西] between Edzina and Wulahai (see below and n. 267 – I.R.) rather than in the Qilian Mountains of southern Gansu’ (Dunnell 1992, 226). (For Qunčui as a proper name, see Battulga 2000, 148-149.) In any event, the Hun-ch’ui Mt(s). of the YS seem to correspond to the Časutu (‘Snowy’) of the SH, §§ 266, 267, where Činggis ‘escaped the summer heat’ in 1226.

Tolun Čerbi of the Qongqotan was last mentioned in § 253 in connection with the Mongol operations in north-east China in 1213-1214. The Tanguts had already been referred to as a settled population living in permanent towns and thus unable to move. See above, § 249. Cf. also Belgütei Noyan’s words in § 190 about the Naiman people being burdened with palatial tents and having to leave them behind when they fled.

For the words ‘The Tang’ut people ... that would be fine’, see Mo, 217-220, where the passage is discussed in detail. Cf. also Cleaves 1964/65, 54, n. 26; and Cl, 205, with regard to the reading *ebečin-i* ‘the illness (acc.)’ instead of the *elčin-i* ‘the envoys (acc.)’ of the text. ‘Right here at Čo’orqat’, is, literally, ‘at this very Čo’orqat’ (*mün ene Čo’orqat-ta*). Cf. Street 1990, 183. The passage is understood differently by Ozawa (Oz¹, VI, 397-398, n. 6; Oz², II, 212, 241, n. 3). Cf. also On, 157.

‘He sent envoys to carry the following message’, lit. ‘Letting his voice (*da’u*, i.e. his verbal message) be carried by the envoys, he sent saying.’

‘In the past.’ For this usage of the word *nidoni*, see Mo, 41-42, n. 40; and *Lettres*, 24-25. Cf. above, n. 104. For the Hsi Hsia ruler’s earlier promise to form with his troops the right wing of the Mongol army, see above, § 249. (When Činggis advanced southwards from Mongolia against the Jurchen kingdom, the Tanguts, being in the west, would naturally supply forces to his west, or right, wing.)

For the words ‘because the Sarta’ul people had not agreed to my proposal’, see Mo, 209; Poppe 1964, 375. The ‘proposal’ (*eye*) in question was the request for reparations sent by Činggis

Qan to Muḥammad of Khwārazm after the Otrar incident in 1218. See TDMI, 399-400.

‘Came out with mocking words’, lit. ‘came mocking with words.’ See above, § 256, where the words in question – spoken by Aša Gambu not by Burqan – are reported.

‘I brought them duly under submission’, lit. ‘I caused them to enter (= forced them) into the right (*or* into righteousness)’, i.e. ‘I overcame them and subjected them to Mongol rule’ – this rule being the ‘right’ (*jük*) order of things sanctioned by Eternal Heaven, to which reference is made in the same passage.

‘Now I have come to call Burqan to account for his words’, lit. ‘Now I have come to Burqan to verify *his* word (i.e. to demand an explanation: *üge olulča*-).’ Cf. Cleaves 1953, 96, n. 19.

‘As for now’, renders *edö’e ber bö’esü*. On this idiom see *ibid.*, 73, n. 13.

‘For I’, lit. ‘as for me’ (*bi büriin*). For *büriin* ‘as for’, cf. above, n. 196.

In the interlinear version, Alašai is glossed as ‘name of the Ho-lan Mountains.’ The Ho-lan Mts. (i.e. the Holanshan or Helanshan 賀蘭山 of our maps) are the Alashan Mts., viz. the mountain range extending parallel to the Huang-ho due west of Ning-hsia, now Yin-ch’uan 銀川, then the capital of the Hsi Hsia state (its Chinese name at the time was actually Chung-hsing fu 中興府; the native Tangut name was Irqai or Iryai, from which derives the Mongolian form Eriqaya [= pmo. Eriyaya]; see above, nn. 150, 249, and below). Pelliot, following Palladii, is of the opinion that the ‘encampment in the Alašai’ (*Alašai nuntuq*) of our passage corresponds to the ‘Calacian’ of Marco Polo, which can probably be identified with the ‘temporary residence’ built by Li Yüan-hao 李元昊 (Ching-tsung 景宗, r. 1038-48) in 1047 at the foot of the Ho-lan Mts., 60 *li* (= ca. 33.5 km) west of Ning-hsia. See NMP, I, 133, and the whole discussion, *ibid.*, 132-137. On Ching-tsung see RC, 80 (C).

'I have tents of thin woollen cloth' renders the Mongolian *terme gertü*, lit. 'having *terme* tents.' For the term *terme* 'thin woollen cloth', see above, n. 184.

'Camels laden with goods', lit. 'camels' loads.' For the passage 'If you need ... Erije'ü', cf. Cleaves 1955, 29, n. 9. 'Eriqaya and Erije'ü' – the two principal and richest cities of Hsi Hsia. As stated earlier, Eriqaya was the capital of the state (since ca. 1020) and corresponds to present-day Yin-ch'uan hsien. It is the 'Egrigaia' of Marco Polo. On it, see the important notice by Pelliot in NMP, II, 641-642; Cleaves 1967a, 96-99, n. 4; and, especially, Dunnell 1989 (also with regard to its Tangut name). Erije'ü is the Mongolian form of *Erji'ü or *Erjü, the Tangut name of Hsi-liang 西涼, present-day Wu-wei hsien 武威縣 in Kansu. It is the 'Ergiuul' of Marco Polo, on which see NMP, II, 646-647; OITG, 348a (Index). 'This is enough!' (*je teli*). On this expression see above, nn. 242, 246.

'Let us challenge their boasts!', lit. 'let us go and press against *their* big words!'

'You be the judge!', lit. 'You decide *who is right!*'

'Until they were blown *to the winds* like *hearth-ashes*': cf. § 112 for the same image, a recurrent one in the SH.

'The common Tang'uts', lit. 'such and such (*or this kind and that kind of*) Tang'uts (acc.)' (*eyimiün teyimün Tang'udud-i*). Cf. the Chinese sectional summary (Y² Sup. 2, 7a): 'the rest of the (Tangut) people.' For somewhat differing interpretations of Činggis Qan's order, cf. Li, 128; Cleaves 1952, 119, n. 261; Oz¹, VI, 392, and Oz², II, 214; On, 158; Cl, 207. For an earlier example of the use of the verbs *ol-* 'to get booty (*olja*)' and *ab-* 'to take, seize (for oneself)', cf. § 187.

Činggis' draconian order had far-reaching consequences, as it was responsible for the large-scale slaughter of the Tangut population before and after his own death. With regard to the movements of the Mongol army, it should be noted that from the encampment on the Ongin, where Činggis presumably spent the winter of 1225-1226, the army moved across the western Gobi in the first (lunar) month (30 January-27 February) of

1226. The Mongols reached the Etsin Gol (Hei-shui 黑水, now the Jo-shui 弱水/E-chi-na ho 額濟納河) and captured the important Tangut outpost of Hei-shui ch'eng 黑水城 (see below) in the second month (28 February-30 March). Following the course of the Etsin Gol upstream, they reached Su-chou (present-day Chang-yeh hsien 張掖縣) and Kan-chou 甘州 (present-day Chiu-ch'üan hsien 酒泉縣), which they captured in the summer (May-June). Činggis Qan 'escaped the heat' by camping on the Hun-ch'ui Mt(s), which seem to be the same as the Časutu Mt(s) of § 266 (see above, and below, nn. 266, 267.) The defeat and capture of Aša Gambu, not recorded in the Chinese sources, according to the SH occurred before the summer in the 'Alašai', where Činggis had forced him to 'barricade' himself in a stronghold on the Alashan/Ho-lan Mts. This is not plausible since before the summer Činggis was campaigning in the Etsin Gol-Kan-chou ho 甘州河 region and his army did not move into the Alašan until the end of the year. Cf. NMP, I, 309ff. With regard to Hei-shui ch'eng ('Black River City'), the Tangut name of which in Chinese transcription was I-chi-nai 亦集乃 (< ? *Izina/*Ezina > pmo. Isina) and which was known by the Mongols as Qara Qoto 'Black City', it is the 'Ečina' of Marco Polo. On it see MIA, Part III; NMP, II, 637-638; Cleaves 1949, 55, n. 154; idem 1955, 19, n. 13; NMKSC, 61-62 ('*fu-piao*'). Cf. also Dunnell 1992, 219ff.

§ 266. As stated above (n. 265), the Časutu Mountain(s) mentioned in this and the following section (§ 267) is/are apparently the mountain(s) called Hun-ch'ui 渾垂 in the YS, and which is/are glossed in the interlinear translation as Hsüeh-shan 雪山, i.e. 'Snowy Mountain(s).' The situation of this mountainous area in the proximity of the town/stronghold of Uraqai (Wu-la-hai, see below, n. 267) has not been determined with any degree of certainty.

'He sent troops against the Tang'uts' In translating this passage I had to change the structure in English for the sake of readability. The text has 'Činggis Qa'an ... sent troops and

caused them to plunder as planned until they utterly destroyed the Tang'uts ...' 'Were offering resistance', lit. 'had revolted.' 'As planned' (*onoqsa'ar*, conv. abt. of *ono-* 'to reckon, consider'), lit. 'by the reckoning.' I think that Ozawa's argument (Oz¹, VI, 410-412, n. 1), following El-Ar, 887, n. 3 (and before that Do², 203, n. 6!), against Mostaert's interpretation adopted by Cleaves (Cl, 207; cf. n. 15), myself (Ra, XII, 24) and others, is valid. Mostaert's rendering 'totally' or 'entirely' is based on an analogy with the use of the verb *toyola-* ~ *toyala-* 'to count, calculate, reckon' in the ET (see ET³, 32v09 and 67r22), regarding which Mostaert writes (u.n.): '*toyolan* (*toyola-* = *toyala-*; cette dernière forme est celle que donnent mes mss.), m. à m. "comptant" = "l'un après l'autre, chacun."' Unfortunately, the sectional summary (Y² Sup. 2, 9a) is of no help since the word in question is left untranslated.

'As much *booty* as in their judgement their strength *could carry*', lit. 'until they judge by *their* strength (how much they can take and carry away with them).' Cf. above, § 248.

'The Jüyin of the Kitat people' and, later, 'the Qara Kitat Jüyin people' were the Kitan and other auxiliary forces in the service of the Jurchens. See above, n. 247.

'Make their fine sons follow you ... Bring up their fine daughters and make them arrange (*or* fix, repair) the hems of your wives' skirts', in other words, 'take possession of them and turn them into your servants.'

'Trusted friends' renders *itegelten ina'ut* (pl. of *inaq*). The word *inaq* (= mo. *inay*) means 'bosom friend, favourite, personal attendant.' See HW, 82; Les, 409b; TMEN, no. 668; Poppe 1955, 39; idem 1975, 166.

'Who have destroyed the ancestors of the Mongols' – a reference to the capture of Ambaqai Qan by the Tatar Jüyin, who then delivered him to the Altan Qan of the Kitat, i.e. to the Jurchen sovereign, as narrated in the SH, § 53. Note, however, that in § 53 the 'Jüyin people' in question are of Tatar, *not* Kitan, stock. In the present instance I have rendered *ebüges*

ečiges, lit. 'forefathers and fathers', as 'ancestors' in view of the fact that the 'Mongols' (*Mongqol*), i.e. the Mongol tribe is mentioned. Cf. Oz¹, VI, 413, n. 5; and above, n. 133.

§ 267. Uraqai (ch. Wu-la-hai ~ Wu-lang-hai ~ Wo-lo-hai [兀刺海~兀郎海~斡羅海], i.e. Uraqai ~ Urangqai ~ Oroqai; for Uraqai ~ Urangqai, cf. Činqai ~ Čingqai, but I think that the form in *-ng-* is simply due to a phonetic resemblance to Uriyangqai), was a town in Inner Mongolia, north of the Huang-ho. It had been captured twice by the Mongols (in the raids of 1207 and 1209) and by all accounts it was one of the northernmost, if not the most northern, Tangut strongholds. See YS² 1, 14, and SWCCL¹, 57b (s.a. 1207). However, until recently scholars were at odds as to its exact location. For their differing opinions and discussions of the problem, cf. MWESC 3, 7a; NMP, I, 315; Martin, 359; Mu, III, 269, n. 12; Dunnell 1992, 223-224. Cf. also Cleaves 1954b, 440-441, n. 67; and Ra, XII, 49, n. 267. According to R. Dunnell, Uraqai 'was situated near the Yellow River bank, probably along the outer loop of its northwestern bend, since there is no mention elsewhere of crossing a river to reach it.' (Dunnell 1992, 228.) For her supporting argument, based in part on research by Chinese scholars, see *ibid.*, 224-228; and the map, *ibid.*, 220-221. From Uraqai Činggis proceeded to Dörmegei (the Mongol name of Ling-chou 靈州, present-day Ling-wu hsien 靈武縣 in Ninghsia), which fell in early December 1226. On its way to the south, the Mongol army would have followed the course of the Huang-ho upstream, as one would expect. We know that after the capture of the towns in the Etsin Gol-Kan-chou region (Hei-shui ch'eng, Su-chou, etc.) in the spring and early summer of 1226, Činggis spent some time 'escaping the heat' on Časutu before camping at Uraqai, and thence resumed the campaign moving southwards to Ling-chou (Dörmegei), which he besieged in late November. If Uraqai was north-west of the great bend of the Huang-ho and, as Dunnell surmises, Časutu (presumed to be the same as the Hun-ch'ui Mt[s].) was between Hei-shui ch'eng/Qara Qoto

and Uraqai, one may well ask why Činggis Qan, who was in ill health, would undertake such a long and painful journey (over 500 km) to the north-east to rest, unless he also had to subdue Uraqai before proceeding to Ling-chou. From the Etsin Gol Činggis could have gone directly to Ling-chou in the east, escaping the summer heat in the Ch'i-lien Mts. and following the very plausible itinerary proposed by Martin, 291-292. Moreover, the SH does not speak of a capture or destruction of Uraqai, but only of Činggis camping there. In view of this, Dunnell (p.c.) is of the opinion that if the identity of Hun-ch'ui and Časutu is correct and if this mountainous area was between Hei-shui ch'eng and Uraqai, 'the SH reference to Činggis Qan departing Časutu to go camp at Uraqai is out of place.' But this may not necessarily be so, since we know from Rašīd al-Dīn that Činggis Qan after capturing the cities of Kan-chou, Su-chou and Ho-chou (河州, presumably an error, for Ho-chou was not conquered until the following spring), also captured Uraqai, and besieged and burned Dörmegei, in that order. See SL², I/2, 231; cf. NMP, I, 315. This means that Činggis set up camp at Uraqai *after* having seized it, perhaps without much resistance on the part of the Tangut garrison. Hence, while the exact location of Časutu remains conjectural, it appears that it was a mountainous area situated west or north-west of the great bend of the Huangho. The only other possible candidates are the Lang-shan and Yin-shan ranges, the southern (or southwestern) portion of the former being the most likely area in my view. However, after considering all the data on this phase of the Hsi Hsia campaign in the Chinese, Mongol and Persian sources, and taking into account Pelliot's perceptive remarks (in NMP, I, 315-317), I cannot but feel that the proposed reconstructions are still too conjectural, and that Činggis' halt at Časutu remains highly problematic. Pelliot (op. cit., 317) concludes his excursus with the following comment: 'If I am right in supposing that the attack on Ling-chou ought to have been referred to before the mention of the summer resort at Časutu, it may well be that Časutu, in the present case, is but a Mongolian designation of

the Liu-p'an-shan (on which see below, n. 269 – I.R.).' To this we must add that the name Hsüeh-shan, 'Snowy Mountain(s)', was applied to several mountains in the Kan-chou region and that to this day the Ch'i-lien Mts. are still called by that name. A summer halt somewhere in these mountains before moving towards Ling-chou would make perfect sense both chronologically and geographically. We may have to re-examine the entire problem concerning the location of Uraqai in relation to Činggis' attack on Ling-chou, and seriously consider the possibility that Činggis attacked Uraqai *after* conquering Dörmegei; this event would then have taken place in December 1226 or early the following year. Cf. MWESC 3, 30b; Martin, 295-296.

The '(Iluqu) Burqan' who, according to the SH account, submitted to Činggis when Ling-chou was about to capitulate, was the newly enthroned Tangut ruler Li Hsien 李峴 (1226-27), on whom see RC, 83 (L). However, the SH account of the time and place of Li Hsien's submission is contradicted by the Chinese and Persian accounts of this event. See NMP, I, 310ff. Li Hsien almost certainly surrendered when his capital, Chung-hsing (see above, n. 265), was under Mongol siege and about to capitulate. This occurred in the summer of 1227, when the now fatally ill conqueror was again 'escaping the heat' south of Liu-p'an shan 六盤山. Thus, the last Hsi Hsia ruler (and his family) may have been executed either shortly before, or very soon after Činggis' death, which occurred towards the end, or in the second half, of August. In either case, the execution was carried out in accordance with his final instructions. I am convinced that the execution of the Tangut royal family, as well as the large-scale massacre of the civilian population that followed, excessive even by Mongol standards, were meant to provide Činggis with a suitable escort in the afterlife (see below). On the (doubtful) etymology of the name Dörmegei, see NMP, II, 642. Cf. Mo, 222.

The passage 'The city of Dörmegei ... *outside the tent*' has been translated and discussed in Mo, 220-225. The following are a few additional remarks.

With regard to the word *süme* meaning 'image, figure, statue (of Buddha)', cf. also Kara 1990, 323, s.v. 'sime'; Khomonov 1970, 37. 'Nine of each' (*yisün yisüt*), lit. 'nine and nine (pl.)'. As noted earlier (see above, nn. 60, 99), the number nine had a symbolic value. On the subject, see also Li, 185, n. 267. To leave a guest bringing gifts outside the closed door and refuse to see him was, of course, the ultimate rejection.

'Felt revulsion within his heart', lit. 'the inside feelings revolted.'

Prior to having him executed by Tolun Čerbi, Činggis Qan gave the Tangut ruler the name or appellation of Šidurqu (= mo. Siduryu), the usual meaning of which is 'straight, honest, upright, sincere, loyal' (see Les., 698a; cf. DO, 632b). However, the verb *šidurqutqa-* (= mo. *sidurydya-*) 'to make right (or straight)' is used in the SH, §§ 202, 224, with the meaning of 'to bring to allegiance, subdue.' Cf. ch. *p'ing* 平, lit. 'to make even, to pacify' = 'to subdue, subjugate.' Cf. also § 265 above, where 'to force into righteousness' (*jük-tür oro'ul-*) = 'to force into submission.' Ligeti has inferred that the word *šidurqu* means here 'the one who has surrendered' (or 'the one who has been brought to allegiance'). See Li, 129; and Mostaert (u.n.): 'Šiduryu = (celui qui est maintenant) Droit (= subjugué) (tout en ne l'étant pas jusqu'ici).' Haenisch (Ha, 166, n. 267) has pointed out that this epithet characterizes the defeated enemy as the actual servant of the victor; and that it was given to the Tangut ruler in place of 'Burqan' (< Buddha). Haenisch claims that it would have been disrespectful to retain the latter, i.e. a name holy to Buddhists as well as to the Mongols (who used it as an attribute of their sacred mountain Burqan Qaldun), for an enemy about to be executed. This consideration may certainly have played a part; however, I think that the main reason for giving this name to the condemned sovereign has to do with the medieval Mongols' conception of the afterlife. According to their beliefs, the 'virtue' of an enemy of noble birth could, after his death, exercise a beneficial influence on the victor and his descendants. The former enemy, in other words, would become

a protective spirit or genius. See above, n. 201; cf. also n. 59. It is, I believe, to propitiate this spirit and invest it, as it were, with a name-quality of loyalty to his master that an appropriate designation was called for. The concept of 'surrender' is implicit in it, since the operation of the enemy's 'virtue' is based upon the continuous subservience to the victor after the enemy's death. For the sake of completeness, I should add that according to Pelliot [P.P.-M.G.], *šidurqu* in the present context does not mean 'upright', but 'superb.' For this appellation, cf. also CLC, 460ff.

For Tolun Čerbi's role at Čo'orqat after Činggis' fall and injury, see § 265.

'Seize and execute him *with his own hands*', lit. 'lay hands on him and cause him to die.' It is worth noting that in general, and by all accounts, Činggis Qan was unwilling to execute an enemy by his own hand and left this task to one of his lieutenants.

'When Tolun Čerbi reported that he had seized Iluqu and killed him (*büte'ebe*).' For *büte'e-* 'to kill', see above, n. 136.

'The poisoned words of an enemy', lit. 'at the poison word(s) of a "companion-person" (*nökör gü'ün*).' For 'companion' (*nökör*) = 'enemy', see above, n. 153. Cleaves' rendering (in Cleaves 1983, 42, n. 15) of the expression *nökör gü'un* in this section as 'comrade' is, therefore, inaccurate.

'Gave him into Our hands', lit. 'caused him to enter into Our hands.'

The 'movable palace' (*ne'ügü qarši*) refers to Li Hsien's royal pavilion. For *qarši* '(royal) palace' (< tu.), see TMEN, no. 1460; Poppe 1955, 40; ED, 664a.

For a notable event connected with the capture and sacking of Ling-chou, and involving Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai 耶律楚材, who was with the Mongol army at the time, see KIPMX, 71-72, 102, nn. 74-76; de Rachewiltz 1960, 232-233, n. 104; ISK, 146-147.

§ 268. 'After he had exterminated ... maiming and taming', lit. 'Causing the mothers and fathers of the Tang'ut people reaching

to the offspring of the offspring to disappear *muquli musquli*.' The two words *muquli musquli* are puzzling. They clearly form a binome of the *sačuli öči üli* (§ 103) and *bura tara* (§ 213) type (cf. eng. 'naming and shaming'), the meaning of which was no longer understood by the translators of the SH, who left a blank in both places where this expression occurs in the present section. The author(s) of the sectional summary rendered only the general meaning of the sentences in question (Y² Sup. 2, 13a: *mieh* 滅 'obliterated', and *chin chüeh-le* 盡絕了 'completely extinguished'). The AT is of no help as it merely distorts *muquli musquli* into *muqali müsküli* without providing any interlinear gloss (the value of which would, in any case, have been questionable). See AT¹, 125a; cf. LDAT, 238, 371, n. 79. There is little doubt, however, that these words are descriptive of the way in which the Tanguts were destroyed, as pointed out in CI, 209, n. 21. Several conflicting interpretations have been put forth; I have discussed them at length in Ra, XII, 51-53, and expressed the view, which I still hold, that Damdinsürén's interpretation of the two words appears to be the most likely one, i.e. that *muquli* is related (as a den. noun in *-li*; cf. GWM, 47, § 162) to **muqu-* (= mo. *moqo-*) 'to be blunt or dull; to be exhausted or powerless, to come to the end of one's resources, etc.' Cf. Les., 544a; MED, 215b; and SH *muqutqa-* 'to destroy, bring to an end' (fact. of *muqut-* 'to be finished, come to an end', see HW, 111; for **muqu-* ~ *muqut-*, cf. SH *öyisüle-* ~ *öyisület-*, *üderi-* ~ *üderit-*, see HW, 130, 158). Cf. also Boodberg 1939, 231-232, for some interesting asides. As for *musquli*, Damdinsürén makes it derive (also as a den. noun in *-li*) from **musqu-* (= mo. *muski-*, *muški-*) 'to turn, twist; to coerce, put pressure on; to hold down, subdue.' Cf. Les., 552b; MED, 221b; and yak. *muskuj-* 'to turn, twist; to break, distort, wear out, etc.' (SYY, 1641; YRS, 246a). See Da¹, 265; Da⁵, 227. Cf. also Oz¹, VI, 427-428, n. 2; Ev-Pop, 308, n. 15. Thus, the expression *muquli musquli* would mean 'blunting and twisting', i.e. 'maiming and coercing.' To retain some of the

homophonic quality of the original, I have rendered it with 'maiming and taming' and 'maimed and tamed.'

'For the second time', the first time being, according to the SH account of events, the one described in § 249 – in actual fact the 1209 campaign. See above n. 249.

'Činggis Qa'an came back and, in the Year of the Pig (1227), ascended to Heaven.' As is known Činggis Qan did not return to Mongolia, but died at Liu-p'an shan in Ninghsia some time in the latter part of August 1227, possibly as a result of the internal injuries caused by the fall from his horse and the strain of the military operations. His body was taken to Mongolia and buried on Mount Burqan Qaldun, at the sources of the Onon and Kerulen rivers (see below). The mention in the SH of his return (*irejü*) was, presumably, to enhance his figure by making him return home as a victor, for we know that the war against Hsi Hsia was far from concluded at the time of his death. However, Pelliot (NMP, I, 326) links *irejü* with *nökö'ete* and understands that 'Chingiz "came" for a "second" campaign against Tangut.' Pelliot's interpretation, adopted also by Ligeti (Li, 129), is contradicted by 1) the Chinese sectional summary which says (Y² Sup. 2, 13a) 至是回來 'thereupon he returned home', and 2) by the verb *muqutqaju*, lit. 'destroying', which precedes *irejü*, i.e. Činggis Qan 'campaigning a second time ... destroying ... coming back ... ascended to Heaven.' See CI, 209. His return home is immediately followed by the mention of his death, which is referred to as ascending to Heaven (*tenggeri-tür qarba*). Pelliot, op. cit., 305, has suggested that this may be due to the subject of his death being regarded as taboo by the Mongols. This is not necessarily so. As J.-P. Roux has pointed out, among the ancient Turks there was a belief that the souls or, at any rate, one of the souls of their heroic chiefs flew to Heaven at death. In the Orkhon inscriptions, the expressions 'to go flying' and 'fly' – i.e. to Heaven – mean 'to pass away' when used with reference to the death of a *qayan* or a prince of the blood. See MCPA, 99ff.; Tryjarski 1981, 157; GOT, 266. (For *qar-* [= mo. *yar-*] 'to ascend', see Cleaves 1996, 8, n. 45). This

belief, like many others, was shared by the ancient and medieval Mongols, and it would especially have applied to an exalted personage like Činggis Qan. The author(s) of the SH would then have employed the expression 'he ascended to Heaven' much in the same way as, *mutatis mutandis*, a Christian medieval author like Paul the Deacon would say 'ad regna caelestia migravit.' In other words, it was a euphemistic conventional expression. In the SH we find that the death of Činggis Qan is referred to both indirectly, i.e., metaphorically, and directly. See Yisüi Qatun's words in § 254: 'When your body, like a great old tree,/Will fall down .../When your body, like the stone base of a pillar/Will collapse ...'; and Činggis' own words in the same section: 'I forgot,/As if I would not follow the forefathers;/I slept,/As if I would not be caught by death (*üküleng*).' On these issues see also Ratchnevsky 1970, 422 and n. 266; IBS, 245; Pürévžav & Baasanbam 1996, 157-158; and Kaszuba 1996.

The cause – direct or indirect – of Činggis' death, viz. the fall from his horse, is inferred solely from the SH, §§ 265 and 267, for the Chinese and Persian sources speak only in general terms of a 'disease' which, according to Žuvainī, arose 'from the insalubrity of the climate' (HWC, 180). Other sources give different causes (a fever, an arrow wound in the knee), and colourful folklore motifs (such as an unusual sexual injury caused by the Tangut queen) are found in the later epic accounts. See Wright 1997, 428-432. Modern scholars, like Haenisch, have suggested typhus (see below, n. 272), but the real cause of Činggis' death is unknown, and was certainly unknown also to most people at the time (except, of course, to the *qan*'s 'inner circle') judging by the conflicting reports of our sources. On the subject, see Haenisch 1933, 548; NMP, I, 328-329; ČK¹, 126-127 (= ČK², 141-142). According to Pelliot (op. cit., 329), 'The most likely cause of the death of Chinghiz-khan is the one given thirteen years (the present author would say "one year" – I.R.) later by the *Secret History*, a serious fall from his horse *Ĵosotu-boro*.'

On the complex question of the date and place of his death, and of the location of his grave, see the fundamental discussion by Pelliot, op. cit., 305-363. Although the exact day of Činggis' demise cannot be determined with certainty, it occurred beyond doubt in the second half of August 1227.

On the place of death there is little doubt. Činggis died in the camp that he had pitched at Liu-p'an shan 六盤山 ('Liu-p'an Mountain'), the Luuban Qan (= Mountain) of AT¹, 125a, in southern Ninghsia, where he had moved in June-July 1227 'to escape the (summer) heat', and which had become his military headquarters. The remains of a 'palace' dating from the Yüan period were found in 1993 by Chinese archaeologists at K'ai-ch'eng 開城 (35° 50' N 106° 14' E) just south of Ku-yüan 固原, in the area of the Ch'ing-shui River 清水河 where we know Činggis' temporary residence was situated. The archaeologists unearthed a large number of glazed porcelain wares, including vases, bottles, bowls and dishes; ceremonial bronzes, as well as construction materials such as roof- and other tiles. This may well be the site in question. See the report and map of the area on page 6 of the *Kuang-ming jih-pao* 光明日報 of 1 August 1993.

In his meticulous study, Pelliot (op. cit., 329-353) has shown that Činggis was not buried in north China, but that his body was carried to his native land and buried on Mount Burqan Qaldun, i.e. on Khentei Khan (Xéntiǔ Xan; see above, n. 1), where several of his successors were also subsequently interred. For the research carried out on the identification of the imperial burial ground since the publication of Pelliot's investigation (1959) and of J. Schubert's RBC in 1963 (the relevant section is on pp. 84-99), see ČXÉBN; and de Rachewiltz 1998. On the basis of all available evidence and personal inspection, I think one can reasonably assume that the burial ground is situated on the southern and southeastern shoulder of Khentei Khan, and that it is so far untouched; this can only be ascertained, however, by a scientific investigation *in situ*. (Unfortunately, the ruins of what was almost certainly the temple built by Kammala at the foot of the mountain [see Pelliot, op. cit., 338] have been

abusively and seriously tampered with in the late 1990s and early 2000s according to the latest [July 2002] travellers' reports.) For further literature on the subject in Chinese, see CHLYCWC; and CYW, 825-878, 909-910. (In July-August 2001, a joint Mongolian-American expedition led by Dr. D. Bazargur of the Institute of Geography of the Academy of Sciences of Mongolia, and Mr M. Kravitz of Chicago, which had carried out an archaeological investigation in Xěntiī Aīmag in 2000 and 2001, claimed to have located the burial ground of the Mongolian royalty and nobility at Öglögčiin Xěrem near Mount Binder [Binder Uul at 48° 35' N 110° 36' E], which may have also included Činggis Qan's grave. See the 'Mongolia On Line' [www.mol.mn] News of 31 July and 14 August 2001. The site is well known – it was first described in 1926 – and suggestions that Činggis' tomb may be situated there were already put forth in 1994. See MNDTSD, 182; GG, II, 29. However, all indications point to a pre-13th century, possibly Liao, site. Cf. GG, II, 8. In any event, the joint expedition came to an abrupt end in August 2002 without having announced any significant discovery. See *The Email Daily News*, No. 177 [1506] of Wednesday 11 September 2002 for further details, and above, n. 70, for the site of the investigation.) As for Činggis Qan's mausoleum (the so-called 'Eight White Tents': Naiman Čayan Ger) at Ejen Qoroγa in the Ordos, there is a vast literature in various languages. Besides Pelliot's remarks (op. cit., 343ff.) and the articles cited in the above two Chinese collections, see de Rachewiltz 1994, 363-364; Chiodo 1997/98; idem 1999/2000 (and the literature cited therein); Andrews 1999; CLYE; and, especially, ČQNČO and ČQNČOBO. However, both the history of the sanctuary and the cult of Činggis Qan connected with it (and with other sanctuaries in Inner Mongolia) are beyond the scope of the present investigation.

As to Činggis' age at the time, *if* he was born in 1162, as seems probable (see above, n. 104), he must have been sixty-five. His age in YS² I, 25, is given as sixty-six, Chinese

reckoning. Cf. the SWCCL¹, 79a, where s.a. 1226, his age is given as sixty-five, thus essentially agreeing with that of the YS.

In the AT¹, 125a-b, a fairly long poetic piece is declaimed by Činggis Qan just before he died. See LDAT, 238-240. This epic passage, a later addition to the Činggis Qan saga which also occurs (with some variants) in other chronicles, has been arbitrarily inserted in Da¹, 266-269 (cf. Da⁵, 227-229). The passage in question has been the subject of a detailed philological and comparative study by S. Ozawa. See Oz¹, V, 487-537. (For other epic motifs associated with Činggis' campaign against Hsi Hsia, see Heissig 1985.) In sharp contrast to the greatly elaborated accounts of Činggis' death we find in the later Mongol sources, the news of his passing in the present section of the SH is recorded without any embellishment and, indeed quite abruptly, within the context of a rather disappointing narrative concerning the war against Hsi Hsia. In Li, 185, n. 268, Ligeti draws attention to the substantial discrepancy between the SH account of Činggis' last campaign and the other sources, especially Rašīd al-Dīn's work. It should again be emphasized that the SH gives only a very brief sketch of the campaign, totally ignoring most of the military operations carried out by Činggis Qan and the Mongol army in 1226-1227. This is due either to later editorial work, or, as I am more inclined to believe, to the author(s) of the SH, who preferred to cut a narrative that would have otherwise inevitably led him (or them) to mention the conqueror's demise *in the course of the campaign* – an event which he (or they) evidently wanted to gloss over, not (in my opinion) because the subject was taboo, but because it may indicate that Heaven's 'protection' (*ihe'el*) had been withdrawn, at least insofar as the life of Činggis Qan was concerned.

'A great part of the Tang'ut people was given (lit. "one gave") to Yisüi Qatun (Qadun in the text)', i.e. as slaves. Yisüi was the wife Činggis had taken with him on his last campaign and the one who looked after him in his final illness. Her reward was commensurate to the favour she had been shown by

her defunct lord. For the distribution of the conquered peoples and their land to the Mongol princes and princesses, and Yisüi's apanage, see Jackson 1999, 19; cf. Franke H 2002, 228-229. On the presence of a 'Tangut' clan among the Ordos Mongols in the 20th century which may originate from the Hsi Hsia slaves granted to Yisüi Qatun, see *Ordosica*, 25, 45, nos. 161, 162. Mostaert's rendering (op. cit., 45) of *maši ökbe* with 'on donna une grande partie' is preferable to Cl, 209: 'one gave exceedingly.'

§ 269. Although the *qurilta*, or general assembly, that elected Ögödei was convoked in 1228, Ögödei was not actually 'raised' (*ergübei*) as the supreme ruler and successor of Činggis Qan until the following year (13 September 1229), which was a Year of the Ox. See below. His election is vividly described by both Juvainī (HWC, 183-188) and Rašid al-Dīn (*Successors*, 30-31). The Chinese sources also refer to the division within the assembly between the supporters of Ča'adai – the eldest son of Činggis after the premature death of Joči in 1227 – those of Tolui, the youngest son, now acting as regent of the empire, and those of Ögödei, who, as we have seen (§ 255), had been chosen by Činggis himself as his successor to the throne. The Chinese sources emphasize the role of Činggis' former scribe-secretary and astronomer-astrologer Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai in persuading the assembly to carry out Činggis' will. See de Rachewiltz in ISK, 148. Cf. TDMI, 463. The whole issue of Ögödei's election is a very complex one, bound up as it is with Mongol inheritance customs, Činggis' (? written) will, and the thorny question of rivalry between the family of Ögödei and that of Tolui (on which cf. above, nn. 254 and 255). See, provisionally, Li, 212; Yao TW 1964 (esp. pp. 18-27); and Mu, III, 291-293, n. 1. Joči's son and heir Batu (d. ? 1255) is mentioned here for the first time. On him, see NMP, I, 88-89; NHHO, 28-29; DGH, 10-32; Boyle 1970a; and Bese 1974, 92. On Joči Qasar's sons Yegü and Yisüngge, see above, § 183. As is known, the domains (*ulus*) of Joči (and, subsequently, Batu) and Ča'adai

were in the west (the Qipčaq Steppe and Central Asia); that is why they are called here 'the princes of the right (= west) hand', the 'right hand' corresponding to the west wing of the army in the military organization of the Mongols. Otčigin Noyan, i.e. Temüge Otčigin (Činggis' younger brother), had his domain in northeastern Mongolia, near the border with Manchuria (see HCG, 178, and above, n. 257; and also in the north-east, in the basin of the Argun, was the apanage of Joči Qasar. See de Rachewiltz 1976, 491ff. (cf. above, n. 183). Hence the definition of 'princes of the left (= east) hand' applied to Otčigin Noyan, Yegü and Yisüngge. (For *kö'üt* 'princes', see above, n. 265.) Tolui, being the youngest son and 'keeper of the hearth', retained the Mongolian homeland, and was therefore a 'prince of the centre' – the 'centre' (*qol*) corresponding in military terms to the main body of the army (see below). Cf. TMEN, no. 307; TQUEMC, 28ff., 36.

'All assembled in full force', lit. 'assembled in *their* entirety, being (= as) a whole.'

For Köde'ü Aral (written Ködö'e Aral in § 136 and Ködö'e Aral in § 282), see above, n. 136. 'On the Kelüren', lit. 'of the Kelüren.' In the SWCCL¹, 79b, there is an entry to the effect that, in the autumn of the year *wu-tzu* (1228), emperor T'ai-tsung 太宗 (= Ögödei) returned from Hu-pa 虎八, i.e. from his *ulus*/domain on the Qobaq (Qobuk) and Emil (Imil) rivers in Central Asia (see below), and held an assembly – the *qurilta* – at the great *ordos* (太宮) of the former emperor T'ai-tsu 太祖 (= Činggis Qan), i.e. at Köde'e Aral on the Kerülen. In 1228, autumn began on 12 August and ended on 7 November. The CS 115, 2523, confirms Ögödei's presence on the Kerülen at the time, for an embassy from the Chin court was sent to him there in October and did not return to China until December 1228-January 1229. Cf. de Rachewiltz 1993/94, 4.

'They installed Ögödei Qa'an as *qan*.' The term used for 'installed (= elected)' is, literally, 'raised, lifted up' (*ergübei*), which derives from the ancient Altaic custom of enthroning the elected *qan* by actually lifting him up on a felt carpet. See

Boodberg 1939, 245. Cf. D'Ohsson, II, 528-529; MF, 21ff.; HCSL, 223, 274 n., 275 and n.; and de Rachewiltz 1960, 247-252, n. 116.

With regard to the two titles *qan* and *qa'an* assumed by Ögödei, cf. the statement of Juvainī (HWC, 187) that at the enthronement ceremony, 'Ulugh-Noyan', i.e. Tolui, took a cup and all those present 'uttered prayers, saying, "May the kingdom prosper by his being Khan!"... And they named him Qa'an.' Rašīd al-Dīn follows Juvainī almost verbatim. See *Successors*, 31. Ögödei 1) was elected *qan*, i.e. ruler of all the Mongols, and 2) was given at the same time, according to Juvainī, the name (or epithet) Qa'an, which is actually the old Turkic title of the supreme ruler. Juvainī was writing a generation later, when Ögödei was normally referred to as 'the Qa'an', i.e. the Qa'an *par excellence*, Ögödei having been the first Mongol *qan* to use this title. Cf. NMP, I, 302; and de Rachewiltz in *RSO* 64:1990, 428. In my opinion, 'the Qa'an' had almost certainly become the current appellation of Ögödei during his lifetime. Cf. the use of the single epithet in § 272. The additional Turkic title of *qaγan* (= mmo. *qa'an*; pmo. and mo. *qaγan*) was probably conferred on Ögödei in 1229 because the Mongol tribal chief or leader (*qan*) was now the supreme ruler of a vast empire besides Mongolia – an empire in which the élite was largely, if not predominantly, Turkic-speaking. Turkic was also the language of the Nestorian Christians and of the Uighur advisers and dignitaries at court; indeed, it was the *lingua franca* in Inner Asia at the time, more so than Persian which superseded it during the Yüan period. See Huang S 1986. It is no surprise therefore that the Mongols, having adopted by then (ca. 1230) many cultural elements from the Turks (especially the Uighurs), including their script, also adopted their royal title, this title now being more appropriate to the ruler of a world-empire than the essentially tribal title of *qan* borne by Činggis. On the whole question, see de Rachewiltz 1983, 272-277; and idem 1983a, 292, 308, n. 76 (where, however, my statement concerning the Persian language must be revised in the light of Huang Shijian's

contribution). Although some scholars still claim that the title *qa'an* was only given posthumously to the early Mongol *qans* (cf. Boyle 1956, 152; SDM, 474-475, n. 4), their claim is contradicted by the overwhelming evidence from legends on coins and other inscriptions. See de Rachewiltz 1983, 278, n. 8; CCME, 18-19; and the 1257 inscription in honour of Mōngke (r. 1251-59), where the emperor's name is followed by the title *qaγan*, showing beyond doubt that Mōngke was called *qaγan*, i.e. *qa'an*, in his lifetime. See Poppe 1961a, 14, 17 (1).

'Precious life', lit. 'golden life' (*altan amin*). The attribute 'golden' as usual applies to the person of the *qan*.

'The ten thousand guards who had been in close attendance on (lit. "who had been acting [= performing their duties] close to") the person of my father the Qan.' This sentence is very puzzling because of the words 'of my father the Qan' (*qan ečige-yin minu*), instead of which one would expect 'of their (i.e. Ča'adai's and Tolui's) father the Qan' (*qan ečige-yü'en* or *qan ečige-yin anu*), or 'of his (i.e. Ögödei's) father the Qan' (*qan ečige-yin inu*). In view of the closeness in sound between *inu* and *minu*, it is possible that the latter is simply a scribal error. Cleaves is of this opinion. See Cl, 209, n. 24. On the other hand, Ratchnevsky may be right in supposing that *minu* is the correct original reading (especially in view of the fact that the interlinear gloss renders it as 'my'), and that the word betrays the hand of the author of the SH. It is indeed plausible to infer, assuming that *minu* is not an error, that the author was a person who regarded Činggis Qan as his father, as, e.g., Šigi Qutuqu did, and that he (inadvertently ?) referred to him in this way in the present passage. This would then be an argument supporting the theory that Šigi Qutuqu was the author of the SH or that he had something to do with its composition. See Ratchnevsky 1965, 119-120; ISK, 92-93. At present it is impossible to give a satisfactory answer to this problem, but on purely stylistic grounds I am inclined to the view that the original text had *minu* and not *inu*. Cf. Li, 206-208; Oz¹, VI, 430; Oz², II, 217; On, 161

and n. 362; Ev-Pop, 235. See also Section Three of the Introduction.

'The domain of the centre' (*qol-un ulus*), i.e. the people and territory belonging to the central portion of the empire, this being the native territory in Mongolia proper. In terms of Mongol military organization, this corresponded to the 'army of the centre' (*qol čerik*), i.e. to the main army. As we have seen, the heart of this domain was traditionally situated in the region of the Onon and Kerulen (in the SH: Onan and Kelüren) rivers, where Činggis had his principal encampments or *ordos*, but already in Činggis' time the center of gravity had begun to shift to the region of the Orkhon (Orqon) basin further west, in the former Naiman territory, where a new important encampment was established which, under Ögödei, became the capital of the Mongol empire. It is likely, as Pelliot has suggested, that Činggis had first made Qara Qorum his *oyruy* (SH: *a'uruq*; see above, n. 136), i.e. his main base camp, at the time of the Western Campaign, ca. 1220. This became increasingly important until it was walled in 1235 by Ögödei and turned into a permanent settlement and imperial residence, with palaces, temples, etc. See NMP, I, 166-167, and below, n. 273. It seems that Qara Qorum acquired importance for the Mongols only after 1218, for there is indirect evidence that the large encampment where Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai first met Činggis Qan in 1218, and which could only have been Činggis' *ordos*, was the one in the Sa'ari Steppe, not the one in Qara Qorum. See de Rachewiltz 1962, 45-46, n. 47. Ögödei's *ulus* was not in Mongolia proper, but in the region of the Emil and Qobuk rivers, and in the basin of the upper Irtysh (see TDMI, 393) – hence the 'handing over' to him of the central *ulus* at the time of his enthronement. Regarding the handing over to Ögödei of Činggis' bodyguard, see T. Allsen in CHCAR, 367 and n. 55.

§ 270. 'The transfer of ... to himself', lit. 'making ... to be for himself.'

The expedition of Oqotur and Möngetü at the head of the auxiliary forces of Čormaqan Qorči's army is the one that took place in 1236, and not immediately after Ögödei's enthronement in 1229 as the SH leads one to believe. According to the Persian sources, Möngetü (not 'Möngetei' as in Boyle 1963, 242) was put in charge of two myriarchies (*tümen*) in the Baghlan-Kunduz-Badakhshan area on the frontiers of India; then, on his death, the command passed to Oqotur (called Hoqatur [? Hoqotur] by Rašid al-Dīn). See Boyle, loc. cit.; *Successors*, 55 and n. 216; Aubin J 1969, 71-72, 79; and above, n. 262. On Čormaqan himself and his expedition to the West in 1230/31, see above, n. 260, and below, n. 274. On the Qalibai Soltan, i.e. the sultan (= caliph) of Baghdad, see also n. 260. The SH account has confused the earlier expedition of Čormaqan against Jalāl al-Dīn with the later (1238) attack on Baghdad (on which see § 274) and the Mongol expedition against northern India, which took place at about the same time.

'A people not dealt with by his father Činggis Qa'an', lit. 'of a people left unfinished (*dorqut*) of (= by) his father Činggis Qa'an.' The word *dorqut* is a plural of *dorqun* (= mo. *dorqun*) 'lacking, incomplete, insufficient.' See Les., 262b.

The beginning of the account of Ögödei's campaign against western Asia and Europe (1236-42) is somewhat ambiguous. The Mongol princes (Batu, Büri, Güyük and Möngeke) are sent, according to the SH, 'in support' of the army of Sübe'etei Ba'atur who, earlier on (*urida*) had run into difficulties during his campaign in the West. In § 262, the SH had mentioned Sübe'etei's campaign against the eleven tribes (Qanqlin, Kibča'ut, etc.) in the north, his crossing of the rivers Idil (Volga) and Jayaq (Ural) 'rich in water' (*usutan*), and his reaching the city of Menkermen (Kiev). The same places and phraseology are repeated, with regard to Sübe'etei's campaign, in the present section, showing that the 'earlier on' to which the latter refers is clearly the campaign mentioned in § 262. As already noted, § 262 refers to the great Mongol raid of 1221-1222/23 (the one led by Jebe and Sübe'etei), which is however confused in the

SH with the great expedition of 1236-1242, as some of the place-names indicate. When Ögödei's Western Campaign was launched in the spring of 1236 (on this date, see Pelliot 1920, 166-167), Sübe'etei was indeed the senior commander of the Mongol army. The SH statement that he had been put in a difficult situation (*berkeldükteju*) earlier on may well refer to the few reverses and the human loss suffered by the Mongols, during the 1221-1222 raid, in their engagements with the Georgians, with the coalition of the Lesghians, Circassians, Alans and Qipčaq, and, lastly, with the Volga Bulgars on their way back. See Dulaurier 1858/60, 200, 203 (1858), 278-279 (1860); HNA, 295; EM, 517; KR, 238; Zimonyi 1985. On the other hand, it is more likely that the memory of these earlier reverses coalesced with that of the rebellion of the Qipčaq leaders Bayan and Čiqu in 1237, the dispatch of Sübe'etei to subdue them and the subsequent manoeuvre of the Mongol princes culminating in the capture of Bačman. In Rašīd's account of these operations in 'the country of Ās (= Alans - I.R.) and the region of Bulghar', it is specifically mentioned that Sübe'etei was sent there 'for the second time' (*Successors*, 57; cf. HWC, 269). On Ögödei's accession, a major problem confronting the Mongol court was the fact that after the early daring but ephemeral raid of Ĵebe and Sübe'etei, the various populations inhabiting the vast area forming the *ulus* of Ĵoči (and, later, of his son Batu) had failed to submit to Mongol suzerainty, relying on their distance from Mongolia and the size of their territory. It was chiefly this political consideration that prompted the expedition of 1236, as we indeed learn from Ĵuvainī. See HWC, 199; and Allsen 1983a, 14-20. The section in § 270 dealing with the names of the peoples against whom Sübe'etei had been campaigning (cf. §§ 262 and 274) has been discussed by Pelliot in NHHO, 128ff. The name Meket (Meget in §§ 274 and 275) appears here for the first time. Pelliot, *op. cit.*, 129, n. 6, reversing an earlier correct assumption, stated that 'le contexte suggère qu'il s'agisse de Moscou.' However, V. Minorsky has conclusively shown, in my opinion, that it must be

the Alan capital Magas in the Caucasus, destroyed by the Mongols in 1239. See Minorsky 1952; Allsen 1987/91, 19-20. Cf. Pelliot's reservations in NMP, I, 19; and the long discussion by T. Kobayashi (GHK, 178-187) in which the problem of the identification of Meket is examined in relation to the date of composition of the SH. For the identification of Menkermen Keyibe (= Kiwa Menkermen; in our passage Meket is erroneously joined to the Men of Menkermen), Adil (for Edil or Idil) and Ĵayaq, see above, n. 262. In our passage we also find Asut, as in §§ 262, 274; Sesüt, as in § 274 (§ 262: Sasut); MaĴar, in the singular (instead of MaĴarat, as in § 262); Sergesüt (§ 262: Serkesüt); and Buqar, an orthographic error for Bolar. For all these names, see also above, n. 262, and below, n. 274. Cf. also Li, 186, n. 270.

With regard to the princes who were sent into the field, the SH mentions Batu, the second son of Ĵoči; Büri, the eldest son of Mö'etüken, second son of Ča'adai; Güyük, the eldest son of Ögödei; and Mönngge (= Mönngke), the eldest son of Tolui. Of these four, Batu was not the eldest son (Orda was Ĵoči's eldest son); however, being Ĵoči's heir and successor, Batu was regarded as the senior of all Činggis Qan's grandsons after the latter's death (see *Successors*, 107), hence his appointment as leader of all the princes participating in the campaign according to the SH. Cf. DGH, 16. On Orda, see Pelliot's remarks in NHHO, 29-34. As to Büri, a grandson of Ča'adai, see below. Güyük and Mönngke are mentioned here for the first time. On Güyük (1206-48), the third Mongol emperor (r. 1246-48), see *Chapitre CVII*, 85-89; NMP, I, 570. On Mönngke (1208-59), the fourth emperor (r. 1251-59), see *Chapitre CVII*, 107-110; Cleaves 1949b, 423. Cf. RC, 102 (D) and 103 (E); YShi, 66-67. On the roles of these princes during the campaign, see *Successors*, 55ff.

'Princes in charge of a domain', i.e. possessing an apanage consisting of land and people (*ulus*). Cf. Ratchnevsky 1966a, n. 70; Jackson 1999, 15-16.

'Any commoners, whoever they might be', lit. 'and the many *common* people, whoever they may be' (*olon gü'ün ken ber bö'esü*). This sentence is somewhat ambiguous and could be interpreted differently. See Mostaert's remarks *apud* CI, 210, n. 33; Oz¹, VI, 441-443, n. 5.

'This principle (*yosun*) ... originates from elder brother Ča'adai', lit. 'This principle ... is from elder brother Ča'adai.' For *yosun* 'principle, norm' v. *jasay* 'law', cf. Ratchnevsky 1974, 473.

'Büri, the eldest of my sons', is, strictly speaking, an incorrect statement, for Büri was the eldest grandson of Ča'adai. However, the term *kö'üt* must be understood here *sensu lato*.

'Looking superior and mighty', lit. 'with a superior and mighty appearance (*čirai*).'

'Swords' (*mese[s]*). *Mese* (pl. *meses*) can mean 'any (edged) weapon' and 'sword.' See Kow., 2006b; Les., 537b; DO, 463b. I prefer the latter meaning in the present context. Cf. Oz¹, VI, 438, and Oz², II, 219.

The pronouncement of Ča'adai is a good illustration (and probably meant to be so) of the 'zeal and strength', i.e. of the legalistic approach and forcefulness to which Činggis' second son largely owed his reputation. It is to be noted that Ögödei accepted his decisions as final and binding. Cf. also § 271.

§ 271. Introduction to the launching of the final campaign against Chin, indicating that it was again Ča'adai who sanctioned Ögödei's proposal to proceed with it, a fact which is not mentioned in the Chinese and Persian sources.

'I have sat on *the throne made* ready by my father Činggis Qa'an', i.e. 'By assuming the imperial dignity, I have inherited a ready-made situation (*belen*) which I owe to my father and not to my own ability.' See 'Trois documents', 457, n. 43; *Lettres*, 63-64; Cleaves 1953, 66, n. 5.

'Will *people not* say of me?', lit. 'Will it be said of me?' See Mo, 238, n. 221.

'What obstacles are there?', lit. 'What hinders *it*?' On the expression *ya'u aljaqu*, cf. Cleaves 1959, 88, n. 318.

The Oldaqar Qorči of the SH is no doubt the same person called 'Olduqar Noyan' (Oldūqūr Nōyān) in *Successors*, 312. According to Rašīd he was a Ĵalayir. Elsewhere, Rašīd calls him Aūldūr (~ Üldūr) Qōrčī and refers to him as the commander of the four (great) *ordos*. See SL², I/2, 267; cf. also SL¹, 15 (1888), 133. In view of this statement, it would appear that the term *a'uruq* (see above, nn. 136, 269), as employed here by Ča'adai, refers to the four great *ordos* established by Činggis Qan, i.e. his main encampment and those of his wives situated in the Sa'ari Steppe and the Onon-Kerulen region that were inherited by Ögödei and to which the latter repaired at the beginning of 1233. See NMP, I, 328, 350. The names of the *ordos* and of Činggis' wives in charge of them are given in AT¹, 129a. See LDAT, 244. (For the Qara Qorum *a'uruq*, cf. Pelliot, op. cit., 166-167; and above, n. 269.) This is the only reference in the SH to the 'great *ordos*' (*yekes ordos*) as such. On Ögödei's return to Mongolia in 1232-1233, see below, nn. 272 and 273. The last sentence of § 271 properly belongs to § 272.

§ 272. Ögödei decided to launch the final campaign against the Chin kingdom immediately after his enthronement in the autumn of 1229. After the failure of diplomatic moves on the part of the Chin court, Mongol military operations in north China began in earnest the following year. For the various accounts of this campaign, see YS² 2, 29-33 (cf. Abramowski 1976, 124-130); CS 17, 382; 18, 403; MWESC 4, 3a-9b; SWCCL¹, 79b-84b; *Successors*, 33-42; ZUZR, 1-26; ES, 321-323. As already noted, the SH confuses the first invasion of Chin (1211) with the final campaign. In the present section the opening paragraph is nothing but a rephrasing of the beginning of § 247 and is totally anachronistic. (The words 'Having put Oldaqar Qorči in charge of the Great Palaces' at the end of § 271 are misplaced in the text as they are the actual beginning of § 272.) The date (Year of the Hare = 1231), which, incidentally, is the only one given in

the entire section on Ögödei covering §§ 270-281, refers to Ögödei's own departure for north China. He reached Yün-chung 雲中 (Ta-tung 大同 in Shansi) in September of that year. At that time, Ögödei's younger brother Tolui was leading the army which attacked Chin from the south. The two armies met at San-feng shan 三峰山 (Yü-hsien 禹縣 in Honan) in the beginning of February 1232. See MWESC 4, 6b.

The interesting episode of Ögödei's illness and Tolui's sacrifice is a story with strong epic overtones which had obviously gained wide acceptance, for it is also recorded, albeit with some variations, in the Persian and Chinese sources. Furthermore, Rašid al-Dīn himself says that 'this story is well known.' See *Successors*, 38-39, 167-168; YS² 115, 2887. Cf. D'Ohsson, II, 58 and n.1. According to Juvainī, no doubt a more reliable authority on this point, Tolui died of alcoholism. See his HWC, 549. For the version of Tolui's death in the AT¹, 114b (after the passage corresponding to the SH, § 253), see LDAT, 223-224. Cf. Li, 186-187, n. 272. See also below, at the end of the present note.

For the entire section from 'There Ögödei Qa'an fell ill' to 'Now your order shall decide!', see the translation and commentary in Mo, 226-233. The following are a few additional remarks and clarifications.

For the expression *ebedčün gürte-*, lit. 'to receive (= be attained by) illness', cf. Cleaves 1949, 110, n. 80. 'When he lost his speech and was in *great* distress', lit. 'When he was distressed losing mouth and tongue (= speech).' Cf. Poppe 1964, 372. 'Various shamans and soothsayers were ordered to divine *the cause of the illness*', lit. 'When one caused to divine by all kinds of shamans (*bö'es bö'es*) and soothsayers (*tölgečün*).' Whereas the term *bö'e* (= mo. *böge*) is the standard designation of the Mongolian shaman, *tölgeči* (< *tölge* 'omen, divination' + den. noun suff. *-či*) seems to have been a general term for diviners practising different forms of prognostication involving 'signs', such as marks on burnt shoulder blades (scapulimancy), flights of birds (augury), dreams (oniromancy),

etc. See Pelliot 1944, 93, n. 1; Mo, 227-228 (with some important remarks on the term *abidla-* 'to divine by inspecting the entrails of an animal', and on this practice among the medieval Mongols; cf. Ev-Pop, 310, n. 30); Bawden 1958/59, 1ff.; J.P. Roux in *Anthropos* 53:1958, 135ff.; CCME, 203ff.; and, especially, Róna-Tas 1972, 232ff. (also concerning the etymology of the word *tölge*). See also above, nn. 121, 201. For the role of the shaman as intermediary in the present instance, cf. Evan 1999, 174; Išžamc 1975, 136-137. 'The lords and rulers (*ejet qant*) of the land and rivers (*qaǰar usun*) of the Kitat (lit. "of the Kitat people")', i.e. the powerful nature deities in the Altaic (shamanistic) conception of the world; and here, in particular, the indwelling spirits of natural features of the areas in north China affected by the Mongol invasion. As stated in the passage in question, the cause of their violent rage was the destruction and concomitant death – hence the inevitable pollution – caused by Ögödei's armies. It should be remembered that only three years before (March 1227), in the course of the campaign against Hsi Hsia, i.e. always in north China, the Mongol army was struck by a severe epidemic, possibly of typhus as Haenisch has suggested (Haenisch 1933, 548), and almost certainly caused by the wholesale slaughter of the civilian population. See KIPMX, 72, 102, n. 76, 187; de Rachewiltz 1960, 232-233, n. 104 (for the correct dating of the event). Činggis Qan died the following August and Haenisch (loc. cit.) suggested typhus as a possible cause, although this is unlikely in view of the time elapsed between the epidemic and Činggis' death. However, it is not surprising that when Ögödei resumed the hostilities in north China and suddenly fell ill, the soothsayers would relate his illness to the renewed slaughter of the population. With regard to the expression *qaǰar usun* (= mo. *yaǰar usu*) 'land and rivers (lit. "water[s]")', the same expression in Ordos designates a place considered from the point of view of its good or bad influence when building a house. See DO, 285b. Cf. ch. *feng-shui* 風水, 'geomancy', lit. 'wind and water.' Cf. also Cleaves 1959, 69, n. 55. For the cult of water among the

Mongols, cf. IBŠ, 154-156. On the form *qant* = *qat*, see Mo, 109, 230; *Matériel II*, 38 (13r, 3); Poppe 1975, 167; Street 1990a, 358 and n. 90; and above, n. 118. For the use of *qan* in this connection, see de Rachewiltz 1983, 273; Kałużyński 1978, 129, n. 17. On the verb *talbira-* 'to relax' → '(for an illness) to abate', besides the remarks in Mo, 231-232, cf. TAJ, 358, n. 387. 'Could a person from the *Qa'an*'s family serve as a substitute?', lit. 'Will one from the persons of the family do?' Cf. Mo, 238, n. 221. On the influence of local genii, their connection with sickness and death, and the concept of a substitute offering, see Bawden 1963, 155-157; and for the ritual theme of the brother offering himself in place of the king-victim, cf. WIP, 17, n. 1. 'The *Qa'an*, opening his eyes': note the use of the single epithet 'the *Qa'an*' for 'Ögödei *Qa'an*' in this and the following sections. Cf. above, n. 269. 'What has happened?' (*ya'un bolbi*). On this expression, see Mo, 193 and n. 177.

'Our fortunate father Činggis *Qa'an*.' On the expression *sutu* 'endowed with good fortune', i.e. with the fortune conferred by Heaven, cf. above, nn. 74, 111; *Lettres*, 22.

'Feeling you as one would *feel* a wether', i.e. as one would feel a wether to make sure that it is fat. See Cl, 212, n. 39. 'The great throne': see above, n. 248.

'If ... dies', lit. 'if ... becomes not right.' On the expression *jöb ese bol-* = 'to die', see Cleaves 1948, 311-320 (esp. pp. 317-318, where the present passage is translated and discussed).

For the expression 'the numerous Mongol people', cf. Cleaves 1949a, 532-533; and, especially, idem 1986, 190-191, n. 4. However, I do not share Cleaves' interpretation of *olon Mongqol ulus* as 'The people (or nation) consisting of the Many Mongyol', i.e. taking *olon Mongqol* as *Olon Mongqol*, a designation of the Mongol people. Rather than considering '*Olon Mongyol ulus*' as being the syntactic equivalent of '*Yeke Mongyol ulus*' as Cleaves does, I consider the word *olon Mongqol* of our passage as the exact equivalent of *qamuq Mongqol* 'all the Mongols' of § 52. See above, nn. 52 and 202.

'Would rejoice at their good fortune' renders Mongolian *kibqangqun*. Although written as one word, this expression is actually made up of two words, i.e. *kib* and *qangqun*. Mostaert *apud* Cleaves 1948, 311, n. 14, has suggested that *qang-* is the verb *qanu-* ~ *qang-* (before a suffix with an initial velar consonant) 'to be satisfied', and that the expression *kib qang-* corresponds to ord. *t'awaq̄ xaq̄-* 'to rejoice at somebody's misfortune' (= mo. *tabala-*). I am of the opinion that *kib* < **qib* = uig. *qiv* 'good fortune, luck.' See DTS, 449a; ED, 579a-b. This correspondence was first suggested by B. Vladimircov in SG, 272. The expression *kib qang-* would then mean 'to rejoice at one's own good fortune.' Cf. above, n. 219.

'I shall take the place of', lit. 'I shall be in the place of', i.e. 'I shall substitute.'

Tulu is the Siberian salmon (*Salmo taimen*), according to Les., 841b. The Ch'ing pentaglot (WTCWC, III, 4461.1) renders *tulu* with ma. *jelu*, which J. Norman (CMEL, 157b) translates as 'salmon trout (*Hucho taimen*).' Cf. HM, 528: 'Lachsforelle.' Actually, *tulu* is the taimen, a fish of the genus *Hucho*. See BRS, 434b; MED, 356a. The incorrect definition 'salmon trout' for the *Hucho taimen* is simply due to the fact that in Russia the salmon trout (*Salmo trutta*) is also referred to as *taimen* (both the salmon trout and the *Hucho* belong to the family *Salmonidae*). However, in my translation I have employed the word 'trout' (like Haenisch and Ligeti) for the sake of poetry. *Kileme* = mo. *kilime* 'sturgeon' (*Acipenser sturio*). Cf. Uray-Köhalmi 1984, 731-732.

The verbs *tulbal-* and *kinggüil-* according to the Chinese gloss mean 'to split, cut in half' (劈破) and 'to break through, cut across' (橫斷) respectively. For the latter term, cf. *kinggüri-* 'to cut (off)' in § 124 (HW, 102). *Tulbal-* is possibly related to *tulbas* 'overturning', on which see Mo, 156-157. For the 'cleaving' and 'renting' in the poetic fish imagery, see below.

'I have conquered *those* in the fore (lit. "the visible"),/I have pierced (= killed) *those* afar (lit. "the outside")' (*ile-yi bi*

ilaqbalqadā-yi bi qatquba), i.e. ‘I have defeated and killed the enemies who came forward and were near as well as those who stayed back and out of sight.’ However, according to Do¹, 369, 379-380, n. 7 (cf. Do², 207 and nn. 6, 7), the words *ile* and *qada* are the names (Ile and Qada) of the two Jurchen commanders defeated by Tolui. See § 251. Translators are still divided on the issue, cf. Oz¹, VI, 457; Oz², II, 222, 247, nn. 6, 7; On, 163 and n. 366 (cf. the 2001 ed., 266, n. 663); Če, 259; Ev-Pop, 237. I am of the opinion that the poetic passage is couched in general terms and does not specifically refer to individuals. This is the view of the author(s) of the Chinese interlinear gloss (Y² Sup. 2, 4a), which is also followed by CI, 213, and the same can be inferred from Rašīd al-Dīn’s account (see below). However, the proof that Doronatič’s argument is untenable is supplied by the Chinese gloss itself, which renders *qada* with *tsai-wai* 在外 ‘outside’, as in §§ 156 and 169 (see HW, 55). *Qada* ‘outside’ = *qadā* < *qada*’a, w.f. *γadaya* (mo. id.). It is evident that the word the translator glossed as *tsai-wai* must have been *γadaya*, not *qada*. The gloss does indeed settle the matter.

‘Tall of stature’, lit. ‘long of spine.’

‘Cast your spells and make your incantations!’ renders the Mongolian *arbatqun jügerütkün*. *Arba-* is glossed in Chinese as *chou* 呪 ‘to curse; to recite incantations or magic formulas.’ This term is a direct borrowing from tu. *arba-* ‘to charm, bewitch, cast a spell over; to conjure, exorcize, invoke.’ See ÉSTY, I, 168-169. Cf. R.A. Miller in JAOS 118:1998, 268. For *jüger-*, glossed *tsu* 詛 ‘to curse, imprecate; to invoke the spirits’, cf. the noun *jügelī*, meaning ‘the sacrifice in which meat is hung on a pole and offered to Heaven’, in §§ 43, 44. See above, n. 43. In Kow., 2424a, we find *jüküli* ‘mouton suspendu au bout d’une perche par les chamans: 2des paroles obscènes, des jurements, imprécations’, which corresponds to SH *jügelī*, and clearly derives from *jükü-* ~ *jüke-* ‘dire des obscénités, maudire, injurier’ (Kow., loc.cit.). Cf. Les., 1084b; kh. *zūxəl* ‘curse, malediction.’ Mo. *jükü-* ~ *jüke-* corresponds to SH *jüger-*. For

-r ~ zero, cf. Cleaves 1952, 101, n. 122; and Mostaert 1957, 550, n. 37. Cf. above, n. 66.

‘The magic water’, lit. ‘the water of incantation.’

This entire passage needs explaining. As noted by Ligeti (Li, 186-187, n. 272), in Rašīd al-Dīn’s work (*Successors*, 38-39, 167) Tolui is made to declare that if Ögödei’s sickness is due to having sinned, his own sins are even greater because, in all the lands, he himself slayed more men in battle, carrying off their wives and children and enslaving their mothers and fathers. If, on the other hand, Heaven wants Ögödei because of his fairness of face, elegance of stature and many accomplishments, Tolui is equally as handsome and accomplished, indeed more fitting and suitable. So Tolui earnestly begs Heaven to take him instead of his elder brother. In our passage, the trout, or, better, the taimen (see above) and the sturgeon are poetic images of Tolui’s helpless victims; the rest is clear in the light of Rašīd al-Dīn’s text.

‘I have become drunk’ (*soqtaba*). For *soqta-* (= mo. *soḡta-*, *soḡto-*) ‘to be(come) drunk’, cf. HCWLYTT, 256-257, no. 85. This reference to drunkenness is most significant. We know from Juvainī, a contemporary of these events, that Tolui was ‘excessively addicted to the circulating of cups of wine from morn till eve, and a malady overtook him such that two or three days did not pass before he died’ (HWC, 549). I think that Boyle (ibid., n. 5) is correct in stating that the true cause of Tolui’s death has been ‘curiously idealized’ in the Mongolian version of his demise. Tolui, who had a very close relationship with Ögödei (‘affection beyond the degree of brotherhood’, says Juvainī, op.cit., 549), is made to sacrifice his own life to save his brother, just as in § 201 Jamuqa is made to ask to be executed by Činggis who unwillingly obliges him. But, even though the present account of Tolui’s death is an idealized and, therefore, falsified version of the event, the author of the account has managed to introduce, not once but twice, a reference to Tolui’s state of drunkenness, even if in this case such a state is caused

by the shamans' magic potion – a brilliant literary device to combine intoxication with death.

'His younger brothers': this expression actually refers to the nephews – not the younger brothers – of Ögödei, i.e. the sons of Tolui by his wife Berüde. Berüde is another name of Sorqaqtani Begi (see § 186) and the sons in question are none other than Möngke, Qubilai, Hülegü and Ariq Bökö, whom Tolui, about to die, entrusts to the care of Ögödei together with his wife, the orphans and the widow. For the correct understanding of this passage, see Mo, 234-235. For the various names by which the Mongol princesses were known, cf. de Rachewiltz 1999a, 76.

'Until they are able to look after themselves', lit. 'until they attain understanding.' By 'understanding' (or 'intelligence': *oyi[n]*, mo. *oyun*) is meant the ability to cope with a situation and be independent. See Mo, 235-237. Cf. above, n. 149.

'I have said all I have to say', lit. 'I have said my whatever words.' For this expression, cf. *Lettres*, 36; Street 1981, 158.

Regarding the year of Tolui's death our sources are in disagreement. The SH gives 1231, but YS² 2, 32, gives the ninth month (16 September-15 October) of 1232. However, in the biography of Tolui (YS² 115, 2887) it is stated that in the fifth month (22 May-19 June) Ögödei fell ill; in the sixth month (20 June-19 July) his condition deteriorated. Then Tolui offered himself as expiatory victim and drank the magic water. After a few days Ögödei recovered and Tolui returned with him to the north, i.e. to Mongolia. The text then says: 'When he (Tolui) reached the territory of A-la-ho-ti-ssu 阿剌合的思 (? Alaḡ Taš, "Motley Rock[s]") he became ill and died, aged forty ... (lacuna in the text).' The rare TCHP 21, 29a, gives the tenth month (14 November-13 December) of 1232 for his death. Rašīd al-Dīn (*Successors*, 168), gives the Year of the Snake (= 1233), but since he says that his death occurred while Ögödei was on his way back to Mongolia (ibid., 38, 167), the year in question must be 1232. The inference is that he must have died towards the close of the year and that the news of his death became known in 1233. Nevertheless, the account in Tolui's biography, which

mentions *also* the locality where Tolui is supposed to have died, seems to be the most reliable as far as this event is concerned. On the problem of Tolui's name after his death, see the perceptive remarks in Boyle 1956, 146-154. Cf. also NHHO, 11, n. 2. For further references on Tolui and his relationship with his brothers, cf. MNT, I, 125-131; Szerb 1989, 370ff.; L.L. Viktorova in OUMÉIX, V/1, 155-157; and A. Sárközi in RLSAW, 314-323.

§ 273. The end of the Altan Qan, i.e. of the last Chin emperor Ai-tsung 哀宗 (r. 1224-34), came in February 1234, with the fall of Ts'ai-chou 蔡州, his last refuge in Honan. The name Seüse (< ch. *hsiao-ssu* 小廝 'Little Slave') was in all probability given to Ai-tsung by Ögödei before the former's demise in 1234. This name is also mentioned by Rašīd al-Dīn in the forms 'Shose' (*Successors*, 34), 'Suse' (SL², II, 21), or 'Säwsä' the reading proposed by Ligeti (Ligeti 1959, 243), as the actual name of the Altan Qan. We know in fact that the Chinese personal name of the Chin sovereign was Shou-hsü 守緒 (CS 17, 373; cf. RC, 101 [I]), which accounts for Rašīd's statement. The renaming by Ögödei is, in my view, nothing but a re-interpretation of the Chin emperor's original name based on the phonetic resemblance between it and the Sino-Mongolian term *seüse*. On the origin and use of this interesting term, see Ligeti, loc. cit. and n. 11; Serruys 1974, 319-325. Contrary to what is stated in the present section of the SH, Ögödei had by then (1234) left north China after entrusting his generals with the continuation and completion of the campaign against Chin. He himself had already begun his return journey to Mongolia in 1232. See above, n. 272, and below. (One may justifiably assume that this sudden withdrawal from the field was actually prompted by Ögödei's illness and his fears that the powerful and hostile spirits of the 'land of the Kitat' would eventually destroy him.) The appellation Seüse, like that of Šidurqu given by Činggis Qan to the Hsi Hsia ruler, had religious significance. It meant

that, in the afterlife, the spirit of the former Chin sovereign would serve Ögödei as a slave. Cf. above, n. 267.

‘He despoiled him of his ...’, lit. ‘He plundered their ...’ However, in the present instance *anu* ‘their’ is apparently used in place of *inu* ‘his’, as is occasionally the case in the ancient language. See above, n. 260. Alternatively, it may refer to ‘the Kitat people.’

‘Piebald horses’ renders *alašas* (pl. of *alaša*), which the interlinear gloss translates as *Huai-ma* 淮馬 ‘Huai horse(s)’. This term is puzzling, and both W. Hung (*apud* CI, 214, n. 46) and TH (p. 94; cf. JYT, 166) rightly suggest that in the present instance the gloss must be wrong. The previous renderings (‘Alashas horses’ [Ha]; ‘horses’ [Ko, Oz¹]; ‘geldings’ [Da²]; etc.), or the mere adoption of the gloss (Yao-Ja) are not satisfactory. Unfortunately, the sectional summary is of no help, since it refers to the *alašas* in general terms as ‘domestic animals’ (頭畜). See Y² Sup. 2, 26a. *Alaša* is a Turkic word. Although in most Turkic languages its meaning now is ‘gelding; horse’, originally it meant ‘motley, speckled.’ See NMP, I, 135-136; ĚSTY, I, 136-137. In 13th century Kuman (= Coman), *alača* (> *alaša*) still meant ‘speckled.’ See KoW, 34. This affords the clue to the mysterious *Huai-ma* of the SH. The character 淮 is almost certainly a scribal error for *chui* 騮 ‘piebald horse.’ For the expression *chui-ma* 騮馬, cf. PWYF, III, 2040a. *Alaša* is clearly a Turkic loanword and, in my view, it designated a particular type of piebald horse, possibly a small one. Cf. Ligeti’s ‘multicoloured horses’ (Li, 132). On the term *alaša*, cf. also Poppe 1955, 38; Mu, III, 325, n. 12; the important entry on *ālaša* in TMEN, no. N20=1965; and SSTMY, I, 30a (where, however, the reference to ‘π’ which usually means VGAS is used incorrectly – p.c. from Prof. R.A. Miller).

‘Garrison troops’ renders *tammači*, a special term designating an important institution going back to pre-Mongol times. It is made up of *tamma* (< ch. *t’an-ma* 探馬 ‘scout horse’) + name of agent suff. -či. *Tammači* were thus ‘mounted

scouts’ or ‘vanguard troops’, i.e. a specially selected corps of an advancing army. However, in the early Mongol period this term was used to designate ‘garrisoning troops’ because, as military outposts, they too performed a ‘watching’ or ‘spying’ function similar to that of scouts reconnoitering enemy territory. *Tammači* troops were deployed in border areas and in newly conquered territories. With progressive feudalization and the parcelling of the countries subject to Mongol rule, the term *tammači* during the Yüan period came to be employed for the private armies – often used by the court as auxiliary troops – belonging to the Mongol apanage-holders and leaders of entrusted territories (ch. *t’ou-hsia* 頭下; mmo. *ayimaq*), which were largely composed of members of their clans and their dependants and subjects. In this way it gradually acquired both ethnic and territorial connotations, the understanding of which is still imperfect and controversial. On *tamma* and *tammači* there is a comparatively vast literature. See the references in MEYD, 137, n. 119, 310-311; TMEN, no. 130; Buell 1980; and Murakami 1983, 101. See also TMAE, 377ff.; WHHC, 283-295; YSLC, 200ff.; Ōba Shōichi 大葉昇一 in MK 15:1984, 2-14; Hagiwara Junpei 萩尾淳平 in TYSK 36,2:1977, 79-105; Chia Ching-yen 賈敬顏 in YSLT 2:1983, 23-42; Yang Chih-chiu 楊志玖 in CKMKSC, 371-379, and in MKSYCLWC, 116-133 (see also YSSL, 27-66); RRT, 4; YShi, 104. On the *t’ou-hsia*, with which the *tammači* are intimately related, see in particular MEYD, 16, 132-133, n. 69, 137, n. 119; Ratchnevsky 1966a; Hung CF 1987; Schurmann 1951, 304-305; ESYD, 63, n. 46; Fletcher 1986, 39; and MRC, 211a (Index), s.v. ‘Appanages.’

Naming and Jüngdu are Pien/K’ai-feng and Chung-tu/Peking respectively. See above, nn. 251 and 247. In Chung-tu a resident commissioner (*daruqači*; see above, n. 263) was appointed by the Mongols as early as 1215. See de Rachewiltz 1966, 114, n. 5, 116, 135, n. 3.

For Ögödei’s return to Mongolia, see above, n. 272. See also YS² 2, 32, where it is stated that he returned to the imperial

court in the ninth month (16 September-15 October) of 1232; he hunted in the steppe of Na-lan Ch'ih-la-wen 納蘭赤剌溫 (*Naran Čila'un) in the eleventh month (14 December 1232-11 January 1233); and he reached Činggis Qan's *ordo(s)* in the twelfth month (12 January-10 February 1233). On Činggis' *ordos*, see above, n. 269. On the testimony of the SH, the camp in question was situated at Qara Qorum (ch. Ho-lin 和林 < Qorum). That is the first and only reference in the SH to this famous place near the right (= east) bank of the Orkhon which, after being walled by order of Ögödei in 1235, became the capital of the Mongol empire. Much has been written on Qara Qorum (see below), and from an early date; cf. the 13th century accounts by John of Pian di Carpine (who, however, did not visit it personally), William of Rubruck and Marco Polo (who also described it without having been there himself). In 1825, J.-P. Abel-Rémusat published a monograph, written in 1817, on Qara Qorum where, while providing some new and interesting data from the Chinese sources, he unfortunately confused this town with Qara Balyasun, the ancient capital of the Uighurs, thus misleading most writers after him. See Cordier, 2804, for Abel-Rémusat's essay; and H. Yule's comments in MP², I, 228, n. 1. Qara Balyasun was situated some 30 km north of Qara Qorum on the *left* (= west) bank of the Orkhon, whereas Qara Qorum was on the *right* (= east) bank, ca. 2 km from the river (at 47° 14 N 102° 50 E)). Qara Qorum was, therefore, in the very heartland of the ancient Turks, the so-called 'land (*or* territory) of Ötüken' (tu. *Ötüken yir*) which designated the whole territory north of the Khangai (= Ötüken) Mts. comprised within the Orkhon (Orqun), Selenga (Sälängä) and Tes (Täz) rivers. Cf. Klyashtorny 1982, 340, 346, n. 2. As a settlement prior to Činggis Qan's accession, Qara Qorum belonged to the Naiman, a tribe with Turkic affiliations (see above, n. 141), 'and perhaps also at one time to their immediate neighbours and rivals the Kerait' (NMP, I, 167). This background accounts for the fact that the name Qara Qorum, meaning 'Black Boulder', is Turkic and almost certainly Uighur in origin. See *ibid.*, 167. When

Činggis Qan launched his Western Campaign, he apparently made Qara Qorum a base camp (*a'uruq*), and possibly designated the site as his future capital at about this time, for the Chinese sources claim that he 'established his capital' there in 1220. See NMP, I, 167; Cleaves 1952, 29, 35-36, n. 5. It is not surprising then that Ögödei set up his main camp there after his accession, eventually surrounding it with a protective wall. This happened in 1235. His palace (*ordo*), known in Chinese as Wan-an kung 萬安宮, i.e. 'Palace of the Myriad Tranquilities' (pmo. *tüimen amuyulang* ?), was built in the spring of the same year. Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai, who probably gave the Chinese name Wan-an kung to the palace and who witnessed its construction, wrote a short but elegant gratulatory piece on the occasion of 'the setting up of the beams', which is found in his *Collected Works*. See de Rachewiltz 1997a, 42 and nn. 20, 21. Qara Qorum remained the official capital until Qubilai's arbitrary elevation as *qa'an* in 1260, his subsequent transfer of the seat of power to north China and the rupture with his younger brother Ariq Bökö (d. 1266) who retained Qara Qorum as his base. After Ariq Bökö's defeat and death, Qara Qorum fell into the orbit of Qubilai's rebel nephew Toq Temür (d. ca. 1279), and ultimately into that of his hostile cousin Qaidu (d. 1301). In between rebellions, the former capital, which consisted largely of tents with only a few solid structures and edifices like the palace complex and some temples, was neglected and fell into disrepair despite occasional economic help from the south. See KK, 113-114. Repair work, such as the restoration of a Buddhist shrine, was still carried out in 1342-1346, as we learn from a Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1346. Little is known about the condition of the site after the fall of the Yüan until 1586, when the famous temple complex of Erdeni Jüu (Erdeni Zuu, Erdeni Dzu) was built alongside it by Abdai Qan of the Qalqas. Following the construction of Erdeni Jüu, the fairly rich documentation that we possess, consisting of chronicles, travel accounts and epigraphies, concerns the lamasery itself, which continued to exert its influence, with numerous additions and

renovations, in the following two and a half centuries. Its decline began before the end of the 19th century, together with the decline of Lamaism throughout Mongolia in the later stages of Manchu domination. In 1889, N.M. Yadrincev discovered the ruins of the ancient capital 6 km from Erdeni Juu and from that time until the present (2003) there have been several archaeological surveys and investigations by Russian, Mongolian, Japanese and German scholars which have brought to light the remains of important structures, revealing the areas occupied by different buildings, wooden pillars, a wooden floor of beams and a roof of glazed tiles belonging to the main palace, as well as the town wall (an earthen mound 2 m. high with a wattle fence along its top). Also, a great many artifacts, ceramics and coins have been found and, more recently, a number of graves and several fragments of the commemorative stele with an inscription in Chinese which apparently belonged to the well-known stone tortoise in front of Ögödei's (or Möngke's) palace. The excavations carried out by the German Archaeological Institute in 2001 on the site of the palace have revealed basements of huge statues, and beautiful terracotta heads of Buddhas in the style of Qara Qoto. Among the most recent and interesting finds one must mention a brass (? bronze) seal with a legend in 'Phags-pa script dating from 1371. The surrounding area and, especially, the Erdeni Juu monastic complex and its inscriptions, have also been the subject of a thorough investigation. For the finds made by the joint Soviet-Mongolian expedition led by S.V. Kiselev in 1948-1949, see DMG, 123-322; for the more recent discoveries by Mongolian archaeologists, see AKK and ACK. Cf. also TMo, 94-103. The literature on Qara Qorum is, as one would expect, quite voluminous. The following is a basic list; many additional references are given in the bibliographies that accompany several of the cited works: NMP, I, 165-169 et passim (see *ibid.*, III, 220c); Cleaves 1952; DMG, 123-322; AKK; ACK; Alexandre 1979; TMo, 94-103; Tkačev 1986 (with a bibliography on pp. 230-231); Dalař 1994; Sagaster 1999; MIHH, 228-251; MNDS, 189-192, 273-274; Ts'en Chung-

mien 岑仲勉 in *CYYY* 5,4:1935, 461-463; Yi Kae-Seok in *MH* 4, 27-41 (in Korean with an English abstract); Mu, III, 326-327; Mo, 27, n. 20; TMEN, no. 1476; YShi, 41-42; *YSPFCK* 3:1978, 5-7; RBC, 156; CEME, 13. As for the native sources on Erdeni Juu, see IĖD – a valuable contribution with a rich bibliography (pp. 162-166). On it, cf. A. Sárközi in *AOH* 53:2000, 273-274. For a pun on the name Qara Qorum in ET (see ET³, 52r30), cf. Žamc.¹, 18; Žamc.², 11, where the old capital is referred to as 'a city called "Moment" (Qorumqan)', i.e. as an ephemeral town in the historical context of the early 15th century (1415), when the city as such had become only a memory of the past.

§ 274. For Čormaqan Qorči's campaign against the 'Baqtat people', i.e. the people of Baghdad, see § 260, where it is first mentioned, albeit anachronistically. Čormaqan's expedition was originally (1230/31) directed against Jalāl al-Dīn. After the latter's death (1231), Čormaqan remained in western Asia as commander-in-chief of the Mongol forces. The Mongols' unsuccessful attack on Baghdad took place in 1238. See above, nn. 260 and 270. On *tamma*, see above, n. 273. Here *tamma* = *tammači*.

'*Naq*-fabrics' renders Mongolian *naqut*, plural of *naq* (< pers. *nax*), a word designating a kind of gold brocade, also known in Europe in the Middle Ages and in the Renaissance under various names related to *nax* (*nac*, *nacchi*). See MR, II, 124-125; Pelliot 1927a, 269-271, n. 1; *idem* 1930a, 200; RCAC, 161; SI, 495-496; CEME, 134a (Index); Poppe 1955, 40; MKSLT, II, 683. For *načidut* '(gold) brocades', see above, n. 238. As stated earlier, *naq* (*nax*) and *načit* (*nasīř*) are often paired and virtually synonymous. Cf. CEME, 3.

'With gilded *thread*' renders the Mongolian *širamal altatan*. This expression is glossed in the interlinear translation as *huang-chin yu-ti* 黄金有的 'having yellow gold', the Ming translator(s) evidently having taken *širamal* as a synonym of *šira* 'yellow.' The expression *šira altan* occurs in fact immediately before, and this must have misled them. *Širamal* is a deverbal noun in *-mal*

(see GWM, 48, § 168) from *šira-* ‘to roast; to gild.’ See Les., 714b. Cf. ord. *šaramal alt’a* ‘dorure’ (DO, 609a). ‘Brocades and damasks with gilded thread’ refers to brocades and damasks embroidered with gilded silver thread. On the ‘brocades’ (*načidut*), ‘damasks’ (*dardas*), ‘small pearls’ (*subut*) and ‘big pearls’ (*tanas*), cf. also above, § 238; and Mu, III, 331-333, nn. 4-7.

Tobiča’ut is the plural of *tobičaq* (< tu. *topčaq*) ‘a fine horse from the West.’ In the MA, 350a, *tobčaq morin* is glossed ‘Arab horse.’ For many references to this term, see Poppe 1967, 515, no. 9; TMEN, no. 949.

Güring elö’üt and *da’usi kičidut* according to the Chinese interlinear gloss are designations of different kinds of camels. *Güring* must correspond to mo. *küreng* (~ *kürin*) ‘dark brown.’ See Les., 505a. The words *elö’üt* (pl. of **elö’ür* ?) and *kičidut* (a double pl. of *kičir*) cannot at present be identified with any degree of certainty. For *kičir* (*temege*) as an Alashan dialect term for a camel with an inconspicuous and soft hump, cf. TH, 216 (= JYT, 373). *Da’usi* (? orig. *ta’usi*), the written form of which was **dayusi* or, better, **tayusi*, is almost certainly derived from ch. *t’o-tzu* 駝子 ‘humpback.’ Cf. *lausa* (= mo. *luusa*, *layusa*) < ch. *lo-tzu* 騾子 ‘mule.’ For the rendering of ch. *tzu* 子 with the Mongol syllable *si*, see HCG, 150; for the rendering with the syllable *sa* (*za*), cf. ch. *t’ao-tzu* 條子 ‘braid, ribbon’ > mo. *tuuza*. I think that the ‘dark brown *elö’üt*’ are Bactrian camels, i.e. the two-humped *Camelus bactrianus*, the stallion of which is usually known as *bu’ura* (= mo. *buyura*, *buura* – a borrowing from Turkic), and the ‘humpback *kičidut*’ are the Arabian camels, i.e. the one-humped *Camelus dromedarius*. Cf. Mu, III, 333-334, n. 9. For other references to the camel in the SH, see above, nn. 65 and 152. For the camel in Mongolia, see R.I. Meserve in *ESY* 65:1993, 169-170. For the camel in China in the Mongol period, see Schafer 1950, 190-192. Cf. also MR, I, 150-151, n. 404.

Qačidut and *lausasut* are also double plurals of *qačir* (< tu.) and *lausa* (< ch.) ‘mule’ respectively. See Pelliot 1927a, 271, n. 1; TMEN, no. 1395; and above, n. 194. Mostaert (*apud* CI, 214-215, n. 55) is of the opinion that the term *lausa* ‘indicated especially the mules to be mounted.’

The campaign of Batu, Büri, Güyük and Möngke had been mentioned in § 270 in connection with Sübe’etei Ba’atur’s expedition, and all the names of peoples and places in the present section are repetitions of those found in §§ 262 and 270. As stated earlier, we are dealing here with the great expedition against the West (1236-1242). See above, nn. 262, 270. The word *ketüljü* ‘they crossed’ after the names of the two rivers ‘Ejil and Jayaq’ has been inadvertently omitted from the text (see NHHO, 129-130; 130, n. 1), and ‘Ejil’ is another form of the name of the Volga (Idil in § 262 and Adil in § 270). Cf. the form ‘Ajil’ of AT¹, 117b. See above, n. 262. For Meget (same reading in § 275; Meket in § 270) = Magas, see above, n. 270. ‘Utterly crushed’, lit. ‘utterly finished’ (*ülüttele*). As noted by Pelliot (NHHO, 130, n. 2) and Ligeti (Li, 187, n. 274), Asut, Sesüt and Bolar are not names of towns (they are properly referred to as ‘tribes’ and ‘peoples’ in §§ 262 and 270). For the mention of the Asut in the present context, see Allsen 1987/91, 31. Mankerman = Menkermen of §§ 262 and 270. The text actually has ‘Bolarman Kerman’, an obvious error for ‘Bolar Menkermen’; cf. ‘Meketmen Kermen’ for ‘Meket Menkermen’ in § 270. See above, n. 270.

From the list of peoples mentioned in this section four names are missing: Maĵar, Kerel, Sergesüt and Kešimir – probably by accident, as suggested by Ligeti (Li, 187, n. 275, where however ‘264’ is an error for ‘274’). For the establishment of resident commissioners (*daruqačin*) and garrisons (*tammačin*) in the occupied territories, see Allsen 1987/91, 32.

The SH notice on the campaign against the Jürčet (see below) and the Solangqas, i.e. the Koreans, is totally anachronistic, as these events occurred much later, during the reign of Möngke (1251-59). In 1253, Ĵalayirtai Qorči was appointed

commander of the Mongol expeditionary forces against Koryŏ and was active in Korea until his death in 1258/59. Yisüder Qorči was sent 'in support' of Ĵalayirtai, i.e. as reinforcement, in 1258. Details of the activity of these two commanders are found in the Korean and Chinese sources, and have been discussed by various scholars, in particular T. Kobayashi, G. Ledyard and W. Henthorn. See GHK, 187-190; Ledyard 1964, 1-10; KMI, 137-151, 153. Cf. also Mu, III, 336-339; Dalaĭ 2000, 75. Serov 1977 is inadequate. (The work by Ko Pyŏng-in 高柄翊 on Sino-Korean relations during the Yüan period is unfortunately not available to me.) For the name Yisüder, see Bese 1974, 92-93; Poppe 1975, 163. Commenting on the relevant passage of the SH, Cleaves (Cl, 215, n. 63) writes: 'This is a reference to the expedition of 1218, not previously mentioned in the *Secret History*. Cf. the *Yüan shih* 元史 1 (*ts'e* 1). 20r1-3.' However, the 'Mongol' commander mentioned in the YS s.a. 1218 is not Ĵalayirtai, but Ĵala. See YS² 1, 20. The reading Ĵala is confirmed not only by other passages in the YS (YS² 208, 4607, 4609, where it is written 劄刺 instead of 札刺), but also by the Sino-Korean sources. See MSXB, 210a (Index, s.v. 'Žala'). Cf. MWESC 3, 19b, where the same confusion occurs. In Y² 115, 2886, Ĵala appears as the name of a Jurchen commander; and if Ĵala = Ĵalar 札刺兒, we know that a Kitan official bore this name too. See HCG, 65. In any event, the passage of the SH in question can in no way be related to the entry in the YS insofar as the former specifically refers to 'the Ĵürčēt and the Solangqas.' The name 'Ĵürčēt' associated with 'Solangqas' in our text has nothing to do with the defunct Chin dynasty or the Jurchens of north China. It refers to the so-called 'Eastern Jurchens' of Manchuria, of the region north of the Koryŏ Long Wall (corresponding to the northeastern part of present-day North Korea), whose territory the Mongol forces had to cross in order to penetrate into eastern Koryŏ, and whose sudden raids were a constant source of harassment for the invaders. See KMI, 6 et passim. In the Mongol period, owing to the close proximity of the Eastern Jurchens and Koryŏ, the expression

'Ĵürčēt and Solangqas' became a general designation for the whole area of southeastern Manchuria and northern Korea. See Ledyard 1964, 9 and n. 37; *Successors*, 33, 281 and n. 149. For the still controversial etymology of the name Solangqas ~ Solongqos (= mo. Solangγas ~ Solongγos), plural of Solangqa ~ Solongqo (= mo. Solangγa ~ Solongγo), applied to the Koreans, see Ledyard, op. cit., 17-19; HCG, 276, 361-362; RCAC, 130-131. Cf. also DO, 582b. On the reason for the inclusion of such a late item in the Mongol chronicle, and the bearing that it has on the date of composition of the SH, see Waley 1960, 528-529; Ledyard, op. cit., 10-16; de Rachewiltz 1965, 189ff.; idem 1963/64, 6-7; and Section Two of the Introduction.

§ 275. 'From the Kibčaq campaign' (*Kibčaqčĭn ayan de'ereče*), lit. 'From on the Kibčaq (military) campaign.' For the expression *ayan de'ere*, see Cleaves 1952, 104, n. 147. The suffix *-čĭn* of *Kibčaqčĭn* is used to form nouns designating ethnic origin. Cf. the noun *Sartaqčĭn* in § 181. See Poppe 1975, 164.

For the expression *očĭjü ile-* 'to send saying (= reporting to, petitioning a superior)', see *Lettres*, 26-27.

'By the strength of Eternal Heaven and the good fortune of my uncle the Qa'an' (*möngke tenggeri-yin güčün-tür Qa'an abaqa-yin su-tur*). For this standard formula, and the connotations of the words *güčü* (= *küčü*) and *su*, see above, §§ 74 and 224. Cf. also Cleaves 1953, 40, n. 1; *Lettres*, 20-22 (with regard to *su*); Cleaves 1979, 68ff.; MD, 20ff. In this connection it may be interesting to mention the following identical expression used by Pizarro's secretary Francisco Xeres in his report to the King of Spain (Charles V) of 1534: 'By reason of his (i.e. the King's - I.R.) great power and good fortune.' See RDP, 1.

The 'eleven countries and peoples' are those listed in §§ 262 and 270; in § 274 they are mentioned again (minus four names). See above, n. 274.

For the expression 'turned back (lit. "withdrawing ourselves"), pulling in the golden reins' (*altan jĭlu'a ičün tataju*), i.e. reining in the *qan*'s war-horse, hence, figuratively, bringing

the campaign to an end, cf. § 256 and com.; Cleaves 1996, 20, n. 140.

'A large tent' renders *yeke čačir*. *Čačir* = mo. *čačar*, on which see Les., 156a. For this term, cf. TMEN, no. 1042; RH, 250, no. 7; Poppe 1955, 39; MSR, 120-121; HCWLYTT, 193, no. 55; and, especially, Serruys 1984.

'The ceremonial wine' (*ötök*): see above, n. 154. As exemplified in other incidents of this kind, all too frequent at Mongol feasts, the ceremonial on these formal occasions placed extreme importance on questions of status and precedence when serving wine and making formal toasts. See above, §§ 130, 154 and com. Cf. also Pelliot's remarks on the subject in NHHO, 133, n. 1.

'Refused to join the feast', lit. 'without feasting the feast.' The angry and scathing remarks of Büri, Güyük and Harqasun call for comment. Büri first raises the point that Batu is not superior in rank to them and should not have drunk first. Secondly, he emphasizes that Batu is actually inferior to them as a man, and is more like a woman, even though he has a beard, and carries a quiver (adds Güyük). Büri goes on saying, contemptuously, that the way to treat such 'women' is to kick them and tread on them. Güyük goes even further in vituperation and says that they should be whipped or hit with burning sticks – a form of punishment inflicted by the medieval Mongols on female criminals, implying thereby that Batu not only lacks manliness but is also evil. Harqasun joins Büri and Güyük in their tirade and suggests that they should attach a tail to Batu – as a jibe – thus adding insult to injury. As we have already seen (§ 181), the tail of an animal, especially a heavy and cumbersome tail, was an object of ridicule. To attach a wooden tail to someone, either for fun or, more likely, for punishment, was clearly meant to mock and humiliate the person concerned. Cf. also Mostaert's remarks in Cl, 216, n. 66; and *ibid.*, 110, n. 51. Cf. above, n. 181. As for Güyük's suggestion, Ligeti has pointed out (Li, 188, n. 275) that this form of punishment is mentioned by William of Rubruck in his *Itinerarium*. See SF,

304; cf. MM, 200: 'and he (Mangu Chan – I.R.) ordered her (i.e. the woman who had murdered the girl – I.R.) to be beaten with burning brands.' I think that this is what is actually meant by *žorqalda-*, a verb glossed in the Chinese interlinear version as 'to beat with firewood' (柴打). *Žorqalda-* is undoubtedly *žoryalda-*, the reciprocal form of *žorya-*, factitive of *žor-*, meaning in Written Mongolian 'to shave off, pare off, scratch, carve (wood).' See Les., 1070b. In my opinion, the meaning 'to beat with a burning brand' is a secondary and derivative one from that of 'to scratch, carve.' The reciprocal form is used here for the cooperative, as is often the case in the SH. See Haenisch 1950, 20. For a better understanding of this passage I am greatly indebted to Street 1984, 142-143 (cf. also *idem* 1990, 189). My translation is, therefore, at variance with that of Cl, 216; Oz¹, VI, 485; and other translators, but it agrees with the interlinear Chinese version.

Harqasun, who is mentioned here for the first time, was the son of Eljigidei (~ Eljigedei) of §§ 229 and 278. On him, see below, n. 278. He was executed by order of Möngke in 1251. See HWC, 587 and n. 117; *Successors*, 204, 212. Cf. MPa, 201-202. On Eljigidei see below, n. 278.

'Of a different race', lit. 'having a different liver.' In Mongolian, the word 'liver' (pmo. *helige*; mo. *elige*) has various meanings, one of which is 'blood or close relative.' See Les., 309b; Gol., I, 86a; MGDJ, I, 166b. 'To be with (= to have) a different liver' (*busu heligetü*) is 'to be unrelated' → 'to belong to a different group (= fr. *ethnie*).'

For the expression *bulqa irgen* 'rebel(lious) people', see Cleaves 1949, 111, n. 89; 'Trois documents', 492; and above, n. 150.

'Asking ourselves whether we had been successful', lit. 'saying, "Has it become right? correct?"', i.e. being still in doubt as to the outcome of the operation that has just been completed. Cf. above, n. 167.

'Büri and Güyük spoke to us in this way', lit. 'Having been so told by Büri and Güyük.' Cf. Poppe 1964, 374. With regard

to § 275, Ligeti (Li, 188, n. 275), has rightly drawn attention to the fact that this section (§ 275), together with §§ 254 and 255 (and some other sections), is almost certainly a later interpolation designed to discredit Ögödei's line of succession. According to Ligeti, the interpolation was introduced into the text of the SH when Ögödei's line had already been removed from the succession, or when this was about to happen (Güyük died in 1248).

§ 276. 'Following whose counsel (lit. "words")' renders the Mongolian *ken-ü üges-tür dölüs-güü*. The verb *dölüs-gü-* is not attested elsewhere. In § 177 there is a verb *dölüsge-* 'to disperse', used with reference to smoke and possibly related to *mo. dölüre-* 'to crack, become disjointed' (Les., 267b); however, it does not seem to be the same verb as *dölüs-gü-*. The latter is glossed in the interlinear translation as *ch'en-hung* 趁鬪 (= 趁哄). This is an old *pai-hua* expression literally meaning 'to take advantage (and participate in) commotion (or bustle)' and, by extension, 'to join somebody else's doings; to take advantage of and exploit a situation of confusion for one's own purposes.' Thus, *üges-tür dölüs-gü-* would mean something like 'to follow (or adopt) somebody else's words for one's own purposes.' The idea of 'following, imitating' is paralleled in Ögödei's words addressed to Harqasun further on. Cf. the sectional summary (Y² Sup. 2, 33a): 'Listening to whose words ...' (聽誰的言語).

'Does ... fill his mouth with talk against a person senior to him?', lit. 'does ... speak, the mouth full, *against* an elder brother person?' Here 'elder brother' (*aqqa*) = 'senior, elder.' Cf. MA, 266b, where *aya* (*aqqa*) is glossed in Chaghatai as *uluγi* 'elder.' For *aqqa gü'ün*, cf. the expression *qan gü'ün* 'a person who is a ruler' in § 155. Cf. *Matériel I*, 17 and n. 12; *Matériel II*, 27 (9r,1). Batu was Güyük's first cousin and they must have been about the same age. However, Batu, as we have seen, was regarded as the senior one among all the princes, i.e. the grandsons of Činggis Qan. See above, n. 270.

'May he *and he* alone rot like an egg!', lit. 'May the single egg rot!' Ögödei apparently means that Güyük alone among his sons should be rejected – just as one casts away a bad egg. See Cl, 216, n. 69.

'He has turned against the bosom', lit. 'he is rebelling to (or at) the breast.'

'We shall place him in the vanguard (*alginči*).' For *alginči* 'scout, spy, vanguard', cf. above, n. 37; Kałużyński, 131 (where, however, '279' is a misprint for '276').

'Until the nails of his ten fingers are worn away;.../Until the nails of his five fingers are ground down.' For this idiom, cf. § 53. For the words '... the town walls/*Which are made* of hard-pounded earth', cf. § 249: '... towns with pounded-earth walls.' (For the faulty reading *ha'utala* in place of *ha'uttala* [= *ha'udtala*], see Mo, 8.)

'You, wretched' (*či beter*) is a tentative translation. The word *beter*, not glossed in the text, has not survived in the later literary language; however, in the Ordos dialect we find the expression *Buder BADAR k'wn* 'personne à esprit borné, personne grossière, rustre, qui ne sait pas se tirer d'affaire' (DO, 101b). According to TH, 149 (= JYT, 260), in Qorchin and Qarachin *beter* means 'depressed, sorrowful, in tears.' In Persian *badtar* means 'worse, more villainous.' See PED, 162a. This word has passed also into modern Turkish (Osmanli) as *beter* id. See VWTD, IV, 1618; TEL, 339a.

'In imitation of whom', lit. 'imitating whom' (*ken-i enggešigejü*). For this verb, cf. *enggesige-* 'to imitate' in the Preclassical Mongolian version of the *Hsiao-ching*. See de Rachewiltz 1982, 34 (21a, 2). Cf. EMVHC, 87, 105, n. 155. (In view of the *Hsiao-ching* reading, the question mark in line 11503 on p. 166 of R should be deleted.)

'Have you filled your mouth with *such* boastful talk ...?', lit. 'have you spoken big words, the mouth full ...?'

'You would *then* say that We showed partiality' – a surprising statement in view of the offence that Harqasun had committed, which amounted to a crime of *lèse majesté* on the

part of a commoner. Ögödei obviously wants to appear over-careful and magnanimous vis-à-vis his subjects. Thus, Harqasun is to be banished to a far-away place and suffer hardship together with Güyük. Būri, on the other hand, has to be sent for judgement to his grandfather Ča'adai, who appointed him in the first place and to whom he must answer for his behaviour in the field. In the end, Ögödei's decision with regard to Güyük and Harqasun turns out to be wrong in terms of Činggiside law (*jasaq*), as shown in § 277. See the important remarks by Mostaert in Cl, 217, n. 76. On *alaqčilaba*, lit. 'I was partial (or biased)', see Cleaves 1950, 129, n. 299.

'As for Būri', lit. 'If one says, "As for Būri?"'

§ 277. Continuation of the episode related in § 276.

Mönggei = Möngge (§§ 270, 274) = Möngke, Tolui's son and future *qa'an* (r. 1251-59). The Alčidai in question is the one mentioned in §§ 226, 227 and 234, and later in §§ 277, 278, viz. the younger brother (or cousin?) of Ilügei, a commander of a thousand of the Jalayir tribe (see § 202, no. 5). He was executed in 1251. He is the Aljidai (= Alčidai) of the Chinese sources, and the Elčidei (~ Elčitei) Noyan of the Persian sources. On him, see HWC, 580, 583; SL², I/1, 95; *Successors*, 66, 89, 211, 224, 264; NMP, II, p. 642; and above, nn. 226, 242. The name Qongqortāi is mentioned twice in the present section in this form, and once as Qongqortaqaï in § 278, also in association with Alčidai. We are no doubt dealing with one and the same person. Qongqortaqaï, then, is to be read Qongqortayai, from which we have *Qongqorta'ai > Qongqortai (= Qongqortāi). A Mongol chief by this name (Qongqurtaqaï Noyan, read Qongqortaqaï Noyan) is mentioned by Juvainī and by Rašīd al-Dīn, following Juvainī. See HWC, 557; *Successors*, 200. This independent authority confirms the correctness of the unusual form Qongqortaqaï of our text. It is likely that the person mentioned by Juvainī is the same as that of the SH. Another Qongqortai, almost certainly unrelated to the above, is also mentioned in § 278 as a *jasau'l*, i.e. 'supervisor.' See below, n. 278. On

these questions, see NHHO, 90-91, n. 2. Janggi is known from the Chinese and Persian sources. See HWC, 580-583, and n. 88. See also HCG, 278. Pelliot [P.P.-C.R.A.C.] writes: 'Janggi: cf. Geügi [§] 202 et cf. T'ou Ki (= MWESC - I.R.) 153, 60a.' Cf. above, n. 202. Like Alčidai, he was executed by order of Möngke after the latter's enthronement in 1251. As for Mönggei ~ Möngge (-i ~ zero), cf. SG, 298, § 159; 'Quelques problèmes', 266-267 (1).

'Field matters' (*ke'er-ün üyile*), lit. 'affair(s) of the steppe.'

On the use of the emphatic *gü...gü* in the decree (*jarliq*) of Činggis Qan, see Street 1982, 624.

'Will the Qa'an not show favour and send *Güyük* to Batu, entrusting *him with the decision?*', lit. 'If the Qa'an shows favour ... and sends *Güyük* to Batu entrusting *him with it*, will it *not do?*', the words 'the Qa'an is angry with *Güyük*' and 'This is a field matter' being in between as parenthetical matter. See Cl, 218. For the same type of rhetorical question, see § 260, where it is also a question of the 'Qa'an' (here Činggis Qan) being angry at his sons.

'In the course of it' (*ja'ura*), i.e. during the campaign; however, *ja'ura* may also mean 'on the way, en route.' Either meaning can apply here, even though the interlinear gloss gives 'on the way' (路間). Cf. HW, 87; Buck, 102-103, no. 45.

'You did not leave *unlashed* the buttocks', lit. 'His buttocks did not remain *unlashed*', i.e. could not escape being whipped. Cf. Cl, 218, n. 78.

'You crushed the spirit', lit. 'You broke the mien.' By 'mien' (*čirai*) is meant the proud spirit or air, i.e. the morale and self-confidence of the troops (as shown through one's countenance), as we have seen in previous sections (§§ 196, 208, 246). Here *ot-* (= *mo. od-*) 'to go' is an auxiliary verb of completed action. Cf. Mo, 156; and above, nn. 66, 80. Ögödei reproaches *Güyük* for the harsh treatment of his own troops in the field which had led to demoralization and loss of confidence.

'Do you imagine (lit. "make out") ... of yours?' For this sentence, cf. Poppe 1964, 372; Street 1990, 177. For 'the Orusut (pl.) people', i.e. 'the Rus people', see above, n. 262.

'With pride in your heart', lit. 'holding a proud heart (or mind).'

'In the pronouncements' (*jarliq-tur*). Here *jarliq* does not mean 'decree, ordinance', but rather 'utterance, authoritative statement.' See Kow., 2306b.

'The multitudes of people make one afraid./The depth of water makes one die (i.e. by drowning)' is obviously a proverb stressing the power of numbers: a large number of people, i.e. of enemies, frightens one, just as the depth (= large amount) of water drowns one. Ögödei means that the people of Rus did not submit to the Mongols because they were overawed by Güyük's angry and violent character, but because they were frightened by the size and might of the Mongol army.

'You pretend that you have accomplished it alone', lit. 'As if you had accomplished it alone.'

Büjek, one of the army leaders in the campaign against Qipčaq and Rus, was a younger son (the seventh or eighth) of Tolui and brother of Möngke and Qubilai. See *Successors*, 352a, Index, s.v. 'Böček.' Cf. also HWC, 735b, id. His name is variously transcribed in the Mongol, Chinese and Persian sources as Büjek, Böčök, Böček/Böjek or Büček/Büjek. See HCG, 277-278; NHHO, 153. On him, see also *Chapitre CVII*, 88-89 and n. 6, 100-103.

'You haven't yet acquired as booty (*olu'ai jö'e'ei*) even the hoof of a kid.' For *ol- + jö'e-* (= mo. *jöge-*), see above, n. 212. For the expression 'not even the hoof of a kid', cf. § 195: 'not ... even the skin of a kid's hoof.' See above, n. 195. Both expressions are descriptive of a worthless thing.

'Having left home but once.' Cf. § 239 ad fin.

For the indefinite expression *ya'u ber*, see Street 1981, 156-158. Here *ya'u ber* = 'whatever, no matter what', hence 'anything, everything.' Cf. above, n. 157.

'Come out with *such* abusive and provocative language' is my tentative rendering of the Mongolian *üge da'u ulisču irejü*. For the '*mot-couple*' *üge da'u* (= mo. *dayu[n]*), lit. 'words – sounds' = 'words' (in such compounds it is the first word that counts for the meaning), see Mo, 43. The verb *ulis-* is glossed as *jo tai* 惹帶 'to provoke and involve (someone in a quarrel)', so that the expression *üge da'u ulisču* would mean, literally, 'provoking words', i.e. 'uttering words that stir up or provoke (a quarrel).' Cf. the sectional summary (Y² Sup. 2, 36b): 'You have left home for the first time and have *already* provoked a quarrel' (初出門便惹是非). Although the verb *ulis-* 'to provoke' has not survived as such, Written Mongolian and the modern languages and dialects have *uli-* 'to howl' (Les., 873a), which in Buriat also means 'to swear, abuse' (BRS, 468b). I think that the expression *üge da'u ulis-*, lit. 'to howl (= swear) words and sounds (= words)' may have meant something like 'to use abusive and provocative language, to heap abuse', an interpretation that agrees with both the interlinear gloss and the sectional summary. For a fuller discussion, see Ra, XII, 76-77.

'Have restrained ... /Have calmed ... ', lit. 'Causing to restrain ... /Being subject to the calming ... (by Mönggei, etc.).' For this alliterative passage, see Poppe 1964, 374; Khomonov 1981, 60. For the word *šinaqa* (= mo. *sinaya*) 'ladle', a borrowing from Turkic, see TMEN, no. 1125; Khomonov 1970, 31. Cf. RH, 279, no. 12.

For the words 'Right! *This* ... Harqasun', see Mo, 173, n. 156.

For an analysis of the 'legal' aspect of Ögödei's decision in the matter concerning Güyük, Büri and Harqasun, see Ratchnevsky 1987, 89-90.

§ 278. This long section contains Ögödei's regulations concerning the organization and duties of the Guard (*kešik*). It is closely related to §§ 225-233; most of the regulations are, in fact, verbatim or almost verbatim repetitions of the ones enunciated in §§ 227, 228, 229 and 232, to which the reader is referred. As

noted by Ligeti (Li, 188, n. 278), these regulations substantially confirm those issued by Činggis Qan, the main difference being in the appointment of the new commanders. In view of the substantial identity of the old and new ordinances, the Chinese sectional summary does not repeat them, but merely states that Ögödei Qa'an reproclaimed Činggis' regulations concerning the duties of the dayguards and of the officers in conformity with the previous ones. See Y² Sup. 2, 46b. The entire section has been omitted in Wei, 178.

'Which announces anew' (*tungqun du'ulqaqui*). For *tungqu-* (= mo. *tungqu-*) 'to renew, do again', see Mo, 58.

'Who have served', lit. 'who have gone (with)' (*yabuqsat*). On *yabu-* 'to be in someone's service, to serve', cf. Cleaves 1950, 124, n. 205.

'In whatever capacity', lit. 'however.' 'In the same capacity', lit. 'in the same manner.'

'In accordance with the previous order.' See § 229 for the ordinance (*qauli*) in question.

'The nightguards shall patrol' (*muqurituqai*). For the verb *muquri-* 'to patrol, go round about', see de Rachewiltz 1982a, 416-417. Cf. Chao-na-ssu-t'u 照那斯圖 (Junast) in *MTYW*, 1994, 4, 11-12.

'The nightguards shall seize anyone', lit. 'the nightguards shall seize the people.'

'They shall split their heads open.' See also § 229; cf. above, n. 255. For this passage, cf. Bese 1969, 123.

On the office of *ĵasa'ul* (= mo. *ĵasaγul*, a dev. noun from *ĵasa-* 'to manage, be in charge'), see Vlad.², 181; *Successors*, 312-313 and n. 207; and, especially, TMEN, no. 1863.

The Qongqortai mentioned here is undoubtedly a different person from the Qongqortāi of § 277 and the Qongqortaqui mentioned further on in this section, these last two being one and the same person. See above, n. 277, and below. Širaqan does not seem to be mentioned elsewhere. It is impossible to say whether the Qongqortai of § 278 is also a contraction of the name Qongqortaqui (= Qongqortayai); however, most scholars

are of the opinion that it is not. Cf. Da¹, 274; Γa, 210; Oz¹, VI, 714; Ir, 277; Če, 264.

On the incident involving Elĵigidei (on whom see below), see § 229 ad fin., and above, n. 229. Cf. also Ligeti 1971, 147.

For the expression *ĵarliq busu ülü bolqa-* 'not to contravene the order(s)', cf. Cleaves 1953, 79, n. 10.

'One must not walk beyond (lit. "on the upper side of") the nightguards' post (lit. "seat").' By 'seat' (*sa'urin*) is meant the whole area where the guards around the Palace (*ordo*) were stationed. Cf. the slightly differently phrased passage in § 229.

'Who walk beyond or between them', lit. 'who walk beyond and who walk between the nightguards.'

'Who shall have asked their number', lit. 'who shall have asked the number of the nightguards.'

'No one is to sit above the place (lit. "seat") of the nightguards.' Cf. the slightly different passage in § 229. For the adverbs *dege'ün* 'on the upper side, above (= beyond)', and *ĵaqa'un* 'between', see Ligeti 1971, 146-147. For *qubčasun* 'clothes' = *qubčan* (§ 136), see above, n. 136.

'The nightguards shall take care of the standards and drums, and of the spears, bowls and vessels arranged beneath them.' See the corresponding passage in § 232 and com.

'The nightguards shall supervise drink and food – the uncut (lit. "thick") meat.' Cf. § 232 and com.

Regarding the movements of the nightguards during a military campaign and the shifting of the encampment at the time of the great hunts, cf. the corresponding passages in §§ 232 and 233. See also Cleaves 1955, 37, n. 26.

Qada'an, the new commander of the nightguards, was one of the commanders of a thousand listed in § 202 (no. 63). According to Na², 279, followed by Li, 224; Mu, I, 225, n. 4; II, 382, n. 70; and Cl, 255a (Index), our Qada'an is the same person as the Qada'an Daldurqan mentioned in §§ 120, 124 and 174. However, this is unlikely, since the latter was a Tarqut (see § 120), whereas the former was, at least according to Rašīd al-Dīn (SL², I/2, 270), a Sönit. The name Qada'an (> Qadān) was fairly

common. See HCG, 475b, s.v. On the other hand, nothing further is known of Bulqadar (~ Bolqadar), except for a later mention (§ 279) in connection with the post-relay system under Ögödei. In the present passage his name is written Bul<a>qadar. On his name see Poppe 1975, 163. Regarding the appointment of the new officers in charge of the nightguards' companies, cf. the terminology used in § 227, which deals with Činggis Qan's appointment of commanders of the dayguards. For *qaqas* 'separately', here rendered as 'respectively', see Mo, 146, 150; cf. also above, n. 174.

We lack information concerning Amal and Čanar. In § 176 an Onggirat chief called Amel (= Emel) is mentioned, but this is beyond doubt only the second element of the name Terge Emel (cf. the Dergek Emel of § 141). See above, nn. 141 and 176.

A Qadai Güregen, son-in-law of Činggis Qan, is also listed in § 202 (no. 84). Na², 565 (following Ho Ch'iu-t'ao 何秋滿) identifies our Qadai with him. Pelliot thinks that this identification is probably correct, and that the Qadai of the SH is actually the same person as the Qatai (Noyan) of the Qonggirat (= Onggirat) mentioned by Rašid al-Dīn in connection with the Mongol campaign in north China in 1211-1212, and the Qatai (哈台) of the SWCCL¹, 64b (s.a. 1213). See SL², I/2, 168-169; Pelliot 1935, 924-925, n. 4. He may also be identified with the personage called Qatai and Qatai Noyan, a cousin of Činggis' wife Börte and, likewise, an Onggirat, who is mentioned in SL², I/1, 162, 163, and I/2, 271, among the commanders of a thousand of the left wing. For another Qatai, also an Onggirat, who may be considered, see Pelliot, op. cit., 925 and 930, n. 20. With regard to Qadai Güregen, see Murakami's remarks in Mu, II, 391, n. 91.

Qori Qaçar, Yalbaq and Qara'udar do not seem to be known other than through this section of the SH. In the passage dealing with the last two commanders, the word *bara'un* 'right (= west)' is missing, almost certainly through scribal inadvertence. For the name Qara'udar, see Bese 1974, 92-93; Poppe 1975, 163.

'Further, the nightguards shall stand around the Palace ... and they shall lie down guarding the door.' This is an incorrect rephrasing of the corresponding regulation in § 229, which says that the nightguards lie down around the Palace and stand guarding the door. It is interesting to note that the commanders of the nightguards' companies, eight in all (four on the right side and four on the left side of the *ordo*-Palace), are new appointments: Qada'an, Amal, Qadai and Yalbaq on the right or western side, and Bulqadar, Čanar, Qori Qaçar and Qara'udar on the left or eastern side. Li, 188, n. 278, has confused the sides.

For the quiverbearers Yisün Tö'e (~ Yisün Te'e), Bükidei (~ Bügidei), Horqudaq and Labalqa (~ Lablaqa), and their duties as set by Činggis Qan, see § 225. For the understanding of the relevant passage in the present section, see above n. 225, where the same passage is discussed. Thus, the commanders of the four companies of quiverbearers are the same four commanders previously appointed by Činggis and reconfirmed in office by Ögödei. For *ačit* (pl. of *ači*) 'bodyguards', see Poppe 1967, 507-508, no. 1; Oz¹, VI, 523-524, n. 5. Cf. Street 1990a, 363 (D).

On the 'elders' (*ötögüs*), i.e. the senior officers in charge of the dayguards' companies, see § 227 and com.

Alčidai (Elčidei, Eljidei) is the only member of the 'old guard' who retained command in Ögödei's reshuffle. On him see §§ 226-227, 277 and com. Qongqortaqai is the Qongqortāi of § 277, mentioned there also in association with Alčidai. See above, n. 277. (The 'Qongqortai' in L², 254, and Ra, XII, 37, is an error for 'Qongqortaqai.') Temüder, Ĵegü and Mangqutai are all new appointments. In Činggis' reorganization of the Guard, Buqa, Alčidai, Dödei Čerbi and Doqolqu Čerbi were appointed 'elders' (*ötögüs*) of the four two-thousand-man strong companies of dayguards, each with two thousand men. Now we have Alčidai and Qongqortāi jointly in charge of one company, Temüder and Ĵegü jointly in charge of one company, and Mangqutai in charge of the reserve (*gejigele'ül*, lit. 'the supporters' =

'the auxiliaries'). Cf. above, n. 170. For the name Temüder, see Bese 1974, 93; Poppe 1975, 163.

'To consult together' (*eyetüldii-*) means 'to take joint decisions', hence 'to share command.' Cf. HW, 48: 'gemeinsam verwalten, kommandieren.' See above, nn. 36, 191.

The Eljigidei mentioned here as the commander-in-chief of the Guard is the Eljigedei of § 229, and the Eljigidei mentioned in § 275 and earlier on in this section. He is the Eljigitei of the Persian authors and the Eljigidei of the Chinese sources, mentioned also in the 13th century western sources (as Ercalthay, Eschartay, etc. – all forms to be read Elcheltay < Eljigidei). He succeeded Čormaqan and Baiju as Mongol commander in West Asia and was eventually (1251) executed by order of Möngke, together with his sons, one of whom was Harqasun. On him, see HWC, 256-257, 512, 590; *Successors*, 26, 183, 213. Cf. MPa, 116-117, 154-155, 171-175, 201-203 (esp. pp. 202-203, n. 1); RCAC, 47-48, n. 1; Poppe 1975, 162. For a locality in Mongolia at the confluence of the Khanui (Xanuī) and Selenga rivers associated with Eljigidei, see BBKT, 183.

'In accordance with the previous order', i.e. with Činggis' ordinance, for which see § 227. This section, an almost verbatim repetition of the corresponding section in § 227, is translated and discussed in detail in Mo, 239-249.

For the punishment to be meted out to the elders of the companies who fail in their duties and who take advantage of their 'seniority', see also the corresponding passage in § 227 and com. Cf. Mo, 110. With regard to the legal connotations of Ögödei's ordinances, cf. Ratchnevsky 1974, 473, n. 8; idem 1987, 92; de Rachewiltz 1993, 98.

For the last ordinance in this section, cf. § 228.

Although no date is given for the reorganization of the army, it must have taken place immediately after Ögödei's enthronement in 1229-1230, together with the reform of the taxation system and the new regulations for the post-relay service on which see below, n. 279.

§ 279. This important section contains the regulations concerning taxes and the post-relay service.

'We shall not cause suffering to the nation that our father Činggis Qa'an established with *so much* toil.' For this sentence, cf. Cleaves 1952, 94, n. 65, 100-101, n. 118.

'We shall make *the people* rejoice, causing them to rest (lit. "put down")/Their feet upon the ground,/Their hands upon the earth.' This is a popular Mongol saying describing a state of rest: both hands and feet on the ground, i.e. no motion, no work or toil. Cf. MCÜD, I, 22, no. 908: *Gar gazar, Xöl xösör*, with identical meaning. Cf. also the various examples given in Cl, 223-224, n. 103; and in WG, 111-112, n. 6. To these we must add the passage in the 'Holy Činggis Qayan's Precepts to His Younger Brothers and Sons', in which Ögödei uses the same figures of speech, thus ultimately echoing the words of the SH. See MX, 57, lines 6-7; Kotvič 1923, 95. Cf. also Cérésodnom 1986, 76.

'Sitting *now* on *the throne* made ready by Our father the Qa'an', i.e. by Činggis Qan. See § 271 and com. for this expression.

'For *Our* soup' (*šülen-e*). On the term *šülen*, see above, n. 124, and the discussion in Smith 1970, 68. Here the 'soup' (= sustenance, support) of the Qa'an is meant, i.e. the contribution that each owner of a flock of sheep was under obligation to give to the emperor, hence its placing as the first item of taxation. This new levy of one sheep (a year) out of every flock (of one hundred sheep) must have been a lighter burden compared to previous exactions of which we have no record. Next comes the contribution – also one sheep out of a hundred – to the poor 'belonging to the unit on which the owners of these sheep depend' (Mostaert *apud* Cl, 224, n. 104).

'Poor and needy' (*üge'ün duta'un*). For this expression, see Ligeti 1971, 145. On the early Mongol taxation system, see ESYD, 65ff.; Schurmann 1951; idem 1956; Smith 1970; MSKK, 116ff.; CEME, 56 and n. 44; and above, n. 151. The new tributes and levies imposed on the Mongols themselves in the

steppe were followed soon after (1230-31) by a fiscal system devised by the Sino-Mongol administration specifically for the people of north China. Cf. de Rachewiltz 1966, 103-105, and n. 132; KIPMX, 72-73.

'The numerous troops (= officers)', lit. 'many men – geldings.' For this '*mot-couple*', see above, nn. 239, 260. Cf. Mo, 132, n. 129.

'Mare-milkers' renders the Mongolian *sa'arinčintan*, plural of *sa'arinčin* (from *sa'arin* 'milch mare'). 'Herders of milch mares' renders *unuqučin* on the basis of the Chinese gloss. For these two terms, cf. DO, 563a, 736a; *Ordosica*, 36, nos. 147 and 34 respectively. The term for 'campmasters' used here is *nuntučitan*, which is actually *nuntūčitan* (< *nuntu'učitan* < *nuntuqučitan*), and not *nuntu[q]čitan* as stated in Pe, 118, n. 3; L², 256; R, 171, 275b; and Ra, X, 57, n. 232. See above, n. 232.

'Gold and silver ingots', lit. 'axes' (*sükes*). In 13th and 14th century Mongolian, the term *süke* was the regular designation for 'ingot', either gold (*altan süke*) or silver (*menggü süke*). Thus, the Chinese gloss *yin-ting* 銀錠 'silver ingot' is too restrictive. See Cleaves 1950, 118, n. 123. 'The land-tax grains', lit. 'the granaries' (*sang'ut*, pl. of *sang* < ch. *ts'ang* 倉 'granary') = 'the granary tax.' See MMHS, 83, Note 10; Schurmann 1951, 301, 305; idem 1956, 364. The reading *tsangūd* (for *sang'ut*) in Oz¹, VI, 526, 534, n. 6, is not justified in view of the fact that ch. *ts'ang* 倉 is regularly transcribed as *sang*, not *tsang*, in the early Mongolian monuments in Uighur script. Cf. Cleaves 1951, 63b; idem 1954, 66a. The term *sang* corresponds here to *qan-u sang amu* 'grain for the government granary.'

For the expression *ulus irgen* 'people', lit. 'nation (or state) – people', cf. Cleaves 1983, 44, n. 32; idem 1996, 21, n. 142; Fletcher 1986, 37. For *nuntuq usu* 'camps (= grazing grounds) and water' i.e. pastures and water resources, cf. Fletcher, loc. cit.

'That will surely be an appropriate measure', lit. 'will it not do?'

For the Čöl (lit. 'Desert') = the Gobi, see above, § 188 and com. Here the term is perhaps used in a more general sense ('the desert country'), as the word *qajar* following it seems to indicate. Some scholars have opted for the latter interpretation, which is however at variance with the interlinear gloss. See Do¹, 416; Oz¹, VI, 530; Ev-Pop, 245.

Čanai of the Uru'ut was last mentioned in § 234. On him, see § 226 and com. Ui'urtai (w.f. Uyiurtai), i.e. 'the Uighur', was the son of Qutluq Buqa and grandson of Körgüz (= George), the commander of Khorasan. He came from a Christian (Nestorian) Uighur family. See *Successors*, 26, 141, and 359b, s.v. 'Körgüz.' For his name cf. also above, n. 198.

'For people to live in this rather vast area' (*irgen-e aqui-a saqut*), lit. 'for people, rather widely.' For *saqut* (= mo. *suyud*) 'a little, somewhat', cf. DO, 633b. The interpretation of this sentence is based on the paraphrase in the Chinese sectional summary (see Y² Sup. 2, 51a; Pa, 158; Wei, 179; cf. Oz¹, VI, 530, and Oz², II, 235), but the text is not very clear and can be interpreted in other ways. See, for example, Li, 137 ('in order to give somewhat wider possibilities to the inhabitants').

For *quduq* (= mo. *quduq*) 'well', see TMEN, no. 272; RH, 245, no. 3.

The second half of § 279 and part of § 280 are devoted to the Mongol post-relay service (*jam*), on which see the rather unsatisfactory work by P. Olbricht (PCUM), which relies heavily on Haneda Tōru's fundamental investigation of the subject (GEZ), a subject of extreme interest and importance, and far from being exhausted (Olbricht's work must be regarded merely as an introduction to it). For the relevant sections, see PCUM, 40-42, 60, 78. Cf. also Pèrléé 1962, 32ff.; Ch'en Kao-hua 陳高華 in YSLT 2:1983, 125ff.; and YShi, 151-153. On the term *jam* (tu. *yam*) < ch. *chan* 站 'post-relay station', see TMEN, no. 1812; HCWLYTT, 20-26, no. 5.

For *ha'ul-* 'to ride in haste', see above, n. 54.

'Moving freely among the population' renders the Mongolian *ulus bitü'ülün*, lit. 'making them roam about the

people', i.e. riding freely through populated areas. The abuses by the 'messengers' (*elč'in*), i.e. by the couriers and envoys on official business to which the local population was constantly subjected under the Mongols are well known, and Ögödei's new regulations outlined in this section, issued immediately after his enthronement in 1229 (see SWCCL¹, 80a; YS² 2, 29; PCUM, 40), were in fact designed to check such abuses.

'The pace', lit. 'the going' (*yabudal*).

For the expression *oqo'ata oroši'ul-* 'to settle matters once and for all', see 'Trois documents', 476.

'By providing', lit. 'bringing forth.'

Ĵamuč'in and *ula'ač'in* are the plurals of *Ĵamuči* (= mo. *Ĵamči*) and *ula'ači* (= mo. *ulayači[n]*, *ulayči[n]*) respectively. On the term *Ĵamuči* 'person in charge of a post-relay station', see *ibid.*, 438; TMEN, no. 1814; HCWLYTT, 20-26, no. 5; Cleaves 1953, 83, n. 19; *Lettres*, 40. For *ula'ači* 'person in charge of post horses' (from *ula'a* 'post horse'; see above, n. 199), see TMEN, no. 617; 'Trois documents', 440-441; Ligeti 1958, 222, n. 17; HCWLYTT, 50-57, no. 13; Ting Kuo-fan 丁國范 in *YSLT* 1:1982, 197-199.

'At every stage', lit. 'at stopping-places and stopping-places' (*sa'urit sa'urit*). In § 280, the word *sa'urit* (pl. of *sa'uri[n]*, mo. *sayuri[n]*) occurs in the form *sa'urint*. Cf. the forms *hont*, *qonint*, *qadunt* for *hot*, *qonit*, *qadut* (= *qatut*), etc. See above, nn. 118, 198, 264. Cf. Poppe 1975, 167.

'Unless on urgent business', lit. 'without importance' (*qadaqa* [= pmo. *qadaya*] *ügei*), i.e. without having important (= urgent) matters. For this expression, cf. KW, 158b.

'If We do this, it will surely be an appropriate measure', lit. 'If, providing ... will it not do?'

Bolqadar is the same person called Bulqadar in § 278.

'We considered that they were indeed right', lit. 'We thought, saying to Ourselves, "Are they not right?"' – a rhetorical question.

'These measures under discussion', lit. 'the acts which are spoken of.'

'You have asked me in your message', lit. 'you have sent asking.'

'Thus, act accordingly!', lit. 'And so do!' For this passage, cf. Street 1986, 9; VG, 90.

'I shall have post stations connecting with (lit. "facing") yours.' For the expression *Ĵanut barildu'ul-* (= pmo. *Ĵamud barilduyul-*) 'to connect post stations', see *Lettres*, 74.

Ügülejü ire-, lit. 'to come speaking', describes the action of the speaker, whether the action is carried out in person ('he came and spoke') or, as here, through someone else ('his message or word came').

§ 280. For the princes of the right hand (= west), the left hand (= east), and of the centre (*qol*), see above, § 269 and com.

'Have all together approved the following: "If"', lit. 'have all together (*büri-yer*) approved. At the moment when they approved, when they said, "If" For *büri-yer* (pmo. *büriyer*; mo. *büri-ber*) 'all together', cf. *Lettres*, 76-77. Further on, I render *büri-yer ele* more emphatically as 'unanimously.' Cf. Street 1986, 17 (28).

'The Universal Ruler.' The text has *dalai-yin qa'an*, where *qa'an* is a later editorial change, the original text reading *dalai-yin qan*, as in the legend of Güyük's seal. *Dalai-yin qan* means 'ruler of all within the seas', i.e. 'ruler of the whole world' (= ger. *Weltherrscher*). For a critical discussion of this designation of the Mongol emperors, see de Rachewiltz 1983, 274ff. Cf. also ČK, 82-83, n. 2; and M. Weiers in *MS* 36:1984-85, 683.

'It won't be a burden at all', lit. 'what is it?', i.e. nothing at all. ('Ce n'est rien du tout' [A.M.].) For the levy in question and the subsequent measures mentioned in this section, see above, § 279 and com. Cf. Ratchnevsky 1987, 68-69.

'One-year-old sheep' (*Ĵusaq*). The term *Ĵusaq* (= mo. *Ĵusay*) in Written Mongolian means 'between two and three years old (of female sheep, goat or deer)' (Les., 1080b). Cf. DO, 221a.

For the rare word *ilübte* (< **ilüb* ‘advantage, convenience’ + den. noun suff. *-te*) ‘convenient’, see de Rachewiltz 1982, 52, n. 4. Cf. Cleaves 1982, 78, n. 19. (It should be pointed out, however, that the reading *ilübteken* of the *Hsiao-ching* adopted by both authors should be amended, the correct reading almost certainly being *ilübtegen* (= pmo. *ilübdegen*). For the den. noun suff. *-yan/-gen*, cf. ‘Trois documents’, 452-453.)

‘Herders of milch mares were *also* assigned’, lit. ‘they made herders of milch mares sit *over them*.’ Cf. ch. *tso* 坐 ‘to sit; to assign.’

‘The distance between each stage’, lit. ‘the distance (*qajār*, see § 4 and com.) of stage after stage.’

Aračan (阿剌淺): Pelliot has ‘Araĵān’ and ‘Aračan?’ (Pe, 119 and n. 3); Haenisch (Ha, 146): ‘Aratsen’; Olbricht (PCUM, 41 and n. 86): ‘Aračin’; Ligeti (Li, 138): ‘Aracsan’ (= Aračan), but ‘Araĵan’ in the text edition (L², 258); Cleaves (Cl, 226): ‘Arasen’; Ozawa (Oz¹, VI, 543): ‘Aračan’; Onon (On [2001 ed.], 276), and Even and Pop (Ev-Pop, 312, n. 71): ‘Araĵan’; etc. (see Ir, 284-285, n. 1). These differences are essentially due to a certain confusion arising from the value of the character 淺 of the Chinese transcription. This character is ambivalent and can be read *ch’ien* (< *ts’ian*) and *chien* (< *tsian*). Cf. Ba, III, ‘Chuyin tzu-tien 注音字典’, 160. The original form of this name in the manuscript of the SH in Uighur-Mongol script was in all probability Aračan/Araĵan – the letters *č* and *ĵ* being identically written in such a position. The Ming transcribers, to whom this name did not mean anything, could not decide which way to read the final syllable: *čan* or *ĵan*. In my opinion, they chose for the purpose a Chinese character presenting the same ambiguity, viz. 淺, which I believe occurs only in this instance in the SH. (It is not even included in the ‘exhaustive’ list in Hattori 1973.) 淺 may, in fact, be used to render both Mongolian *čan* and *ĵan* in a back-vocalic word as is the case here, and *čen* and *ĵen* in a front-vocalic one (cf. the character *yen* 顏 = *yanlyen*). It is difficult to determine whether the original name was Aračan or

Araĵan, hence my reading Aračan is given with reservations; in any case, I would definitely exclude Aratsen, Aračin and Arasen from consideration. Some scholars have tried to identify Aračan or Araĵan with the A-li-hsien 阿里鮮 of the HYC, A, 11a-b et passim. See TOA, 59, n. 2, 161a (Index); Mu, III, 371-372, n. 13. However, as pointed out by Pelliot in his review of Waley’s book, there is no real justification for it. See *TP* 28:1931, 419. A-li-hsien is apparently the transcription of a Tangut name. As noted by Ligeti (Li, 189, n. 280), Aračan’s colleague Toqučar is not the homonymous grandson of Ögödei, but the Toqučar of § 257, on whom see above, n. 257. The appointment of these two officials as functionaries in charge of the post-relay system under Ögödei, and the changes to the system introduced by the latter, must be placed s.a. 1234, as correctly surmised by Olbricht (PCUM, 40-41). It should be noted in this connection that the credit for the important measures designed to curb the abuses of government couriers is ascribed to Yeh-lü Ch’u-ts’ai, s.a. 1237, by Sung Tzu-chen 宋子貞 (1187-1267) in his funerary inscription (*shen-tao pei* 神道碑) for Yeh-lü. See KIPMX, 81. I have discussed these measures in de Rachewiltz 1960, 428-432, n. 271.

For the items listed in Ögödei’s ordinance (geldings, sheep, milch mares, etc.), see *Lettres*, 441; and Mo, 223, n. 209.

‘From the amount fixed’, lit. ‘from the limit measured’ (*kemleksen kem-eče*).

For *ši’üsün* (= mo. *sigüsü[n]*) ‘provisions’, cf. above, n. 199. On this term, see TMEN, nos. 238, 239; and HCWLYTT, 293-298, n. 103.

The poetic passage presents serious difficulties of interpretation. I have followed the one proposed by Mostaert (Mo, 146-149, n. 144), except that I regard *orqol* = *orgil* ‘top’, and the gloss *nao hsiang* 惱項 as a mistake for *nao ting* 惱頂 ‘top of the head.’ Both these suggestions were proposed by Mostaert himself, *ibid.*, 147. ‘A piece of string’, lit. ‘a short cord.’ For *bugi* ‘rope, cord’, cf. Mo, 37. As for the puzzling word *orqol*,

Onon (On, 172, and n. 378; cf. the 2001 ed., 277 and n. 682), following TH, 127 (= JYT, 222), renders it as ‘right down the centre’ by splitting *orqol* into two distinct words: *ör* ‘pit of the stomach; heart’, and *qol* ‘central, centre.’ Cf. Oz¹, VI, 543, 545. This, however, cannot be reconciled with the Chinese gloss, whether one reads *nao hsiang* or *nao ting*. For *qalbuqa* (= mo. *qalbuqa*, *qalbaya*) ‘spoon’, see TMEN, no. 1393; RH, 279, no. 13. In his translation of this passage (CI, 226-227), Cleaves follows Mostaert’s interpretation, while Ligeti (Li, 138) follows Haenisch’s (Ha, 146-147), on which see Mo, 147-148. I think that Mostaert is correct in seeing in the two parallel Mongol sentences a figure of speech expressing the idea of halving the possessions of the offender, one half going to the government as penalty for the offence, the other half being retained by the offender himself. As pointed out by Mostaert, the sectional summary clearly states (Y² Sup. 2, 54b) that the penalty was the confiscation, by the government, of half the culprit’s patrimony (家財一半沒官).

§ 281. Conclusion of the section on Ögödei with a sort of apology and self-criticism of the Qa’an which smacks of a posthumous assessment and has, therefore, a bearing also on the date of compilation of the SH. For this question, see below, n. 282.

The term *Jaquut* has been discussed by Pelliot in NMP, I, 228-229. Cf. Li, 189, n. 281; Oz¹, VI, 554-555, n. 1; Nakamura & Matsukawa 1993, 66-67; Ev-Pop, 312-313, n. 73. In spite of Pelliot’s explanation, and of other interpretations, its etymology remains doubtful; but it is most likely that, as Pelliot claims, this term is a borrowing from Kitan. There is not much doubt, however, as to its meaning. The Chinese gloss is *Chin jen* 金人 ‘the Chin people’, i.e. ‘the Jurchen people’ of north China, or *sensu lato* ‘the people of Chin’, i.e. the inhabitants of the (former) Chin kingdom, including the northern Chinese. Elsewhere in the SH, the Jurchen people of China and the Chin dynasty are called ‘the Kitat (people)’, and the Chin ruler ‘the Altan (“Golden” = Chin 金) Qan of the Kitat people.’ See CI,

230a-b, 247a (Index). We also find the name *Jürčēt*, plural of *Jürčēn* (§§ 247, 248, 253, 274). The term *Kitat*, plural of *Kitan*, could only apply to the people and region of north China formerly ruled by the Kitan/Liao and later by the Jurchen/Chin, and would therefore not apply, for instance, to the Tangut/Hsia. On the other hand, the term *Jaquut* (? a plural of *Jaquun*), even though it is glossed *Chin jen* in the SH, was actually an inclusive one designating *all* the people and regions of north China. This is confirmed by Rašīd al-Dīn, who says (*Successors*, 225): ‘The Jauquut (= the *Jaquut* of the SH – I.R.) consist of [the people of] *Khitai* (i.e. the northern Chinese – I.R.), *Tangquut*, *Jürche* (= *Jürčēn* – I.R.), and *Solangqa* (i.e. the Koreans – I.R.), which regions are called *Jauquut* by the Mongols.’

‘And I destroyed them’, lit. ‘and I destroyed the *Jaquut* people.’

‘All necessities’, lit. ‘needs and necessities’ (*kerek jaraq*).

For Ögödei’s ordinance concerning the digging of wells in the Čöl, see above, § 279 and com. For the establishment of scouts (*alginčīn*) and garrison troops (*tammačīn*) in the conquered cities, see § 273.

‘Causing them to rest/Their feet upon the ground, etc.’: cf. § 279.

‘Being placed on the great throne by my father the Qa’an and being made to take upon myself (lit. “to carry on my back”: *ačiju ottaju*) the burden of his many peoples.’ Cf. Tolui’s words to the sick Ögödei in § 272. For the expression *ačiju ottaju* (= mo. *odtaju*), cf. H, 124, n. 281 (5); and Poppe 1964, 370 (where ‘218’ is a printing error for ‘281’). However, in view of the above-mentioned passage in § 272, I wonder whether *ottaju* is not a mistake for *ökdejü*, even though the Chinese gloss does not support the amendment as it does in § 272.

‘By wine’, lit. ‘by grape wine’ (*bor darasun-a*). There is ample evidence that Ögödei was inordinately fond of wine, eventually dying of alcoholism at the age of fifty-five in 1241. For the Chinese sources, see KIPMX, 83, 121, n. 197, 124, n. 206, 193-194, 198. For the Persian sources, see HWC, 197-200,

214; *Successors*, 65-66, 83; cf. D'Ohsson, II, 85-86. Our text specifies that it was grape wine (*bor darasun*), rather than the Turco-Mongolian traditional drink kumis (mo. *esüg ~ üsüg, ayiray, taray*). In the expression *bor darasun*, the first element *bor* < uig. *bor* < mpers. *bōr* < gr. βότρυς 'grape wine.' See ED, 354a; Pelliot 1914a; Poppe 1955, 39; MSR, 164; Huang SC 1988, 167; Zieme 1997, 436-438; MNTK, 235; RH, 296, no. 16. The second element *darasun* means 'wine (from grain)' = ch. *chiu* 酒. See TMEN, no. 197; RCAC, 149; HCWLYTT, 234-237, no. 73; Huang SC 1984, 213; idem 1988, 166; RH, 81, no. 29. For the passage in the SH, cf. also Mostaert 1927, 146 and n. 2. (However, I am of the opinion that Ögödei's portrait to which Mostaert refers was painted much later, the artist deliberately making him look like a drunkard.) Grape wine was sent as tribute to the Mongol court from central and western Asia, as well as from north China (Shansi). See SI, 234-237; Pelliot 1927a, 278; and CEME, 42.

The second 'fault' of Ögödei concerns his unlawful seizure of girls from the *ulus* of his uncle Temüge Otčigin, this action having been prompted by the advice of an 'unprincipled' (*yosu ügei*; for this expression, cf. Cleaves 1953, 73, n. 12) woman. Who the woman was we do not know, but the event in question may well be related, as suggested by Naka (Na², 579-580,) to an entry in YS² 2, 35, and to an unedifying episode recorded by Juvainī (known to Naka through D'Ohsson, II, 98). The YS entry says: 'In the sixth month (of the ninth year of T'ai-tsung = 24 June-23 July 1237), the tribes of the left wing spread a groundless rumour about a requisition of women. The Emperor was angry at it and, having ordered to requisition them, made presents of them to his officers.' The Emperor (T'ai-tsung) is, of course, Ögödei. In Juvainī (HWC, 235-236) we read the following: 'Among the tribe of . . .',⁶⁶ who was the commander of a thousand, a rumour sprang up that [191] it had been decreed that the daughters of that tribe should be affianced to certain persons. Being frightened by this news they affianced most of their daughters to husbands within the tribe and some they

actually delivered up to them. Tidings hereof spread from mouth to mouth and reached the ear of the Emperor. He appointed a group of emirs to go there and investigate the matter. When the truth of the report had been established, he gave orders that all girls over seven years old should be gathered together and that all who had been given that year to husbands taken back from them. Four thousand starlike maidens . . . were thus assembled. . . . And first he ordered those who were the daughters of emirs to be separated from the rest; and all who were present were commanded to have intercourse with them. And two moonlike damsels from amongst them expired. As for the remaining chaste ones, he had them drawn up in rows in front of the *ordu*, and such as were worthy thereof were dispatched to the harem, while some were given to the keepers of cheetahs and wild beasts and others to the various attendants at the Court, and others again were sent to the brothel and the hostel of the envoys to wait upon travellers. As for those that still remained it was decreed that all present, whether Mongols or Moslems, might carry them off. And their fathers, brothers, relatives, kinsmen and husbands looked on and were unable to breathe or move their tongues. And this is an absolute proof of his rigid enforcement of his orders and of the obedience of his army.' In note 66 on p. 235 we read: 'There is a blank in A and B. D has "the Oirat", which does not make sense in the context, though according to Rashid-ad-Din's version of the anecdote (Blochet, 84) the tribe in question were in fact the Oirat.' For Rašīd's version, see *Successors*, 93-94. There is no doubt, I think, that the YS entry refers to the same event related by Juvainī. The YS notice records also that the event took place among the tribes of the left wing, and we know that Temüge Otčigin's *ulus* was situated in the northeastern corner of Mongolia and was thus comprised in the left (= eastern) wing group of tribes. Naka is probably right in relating the events recorded in these sources; however, to connect this episode with the one in Yeh-lü Ch'u-t'ai's biography (YS² 146, 3461) concerning an

order for the requisition of women for Ögödei's harem is, in my opinion, unwarranted.

Regarding the third 'fault', we have no other evidence to go by. As noted by Ligeti (Li, 189, n. 281), while Rašīd al-Dīn mentions the military activity of Doqolqu, i.e. Doqolqu Čerbi of the Mangqut tribe (on whom see the SH, § 120 et passim), during the reign of Ögödei, there is no mention of his having been executed by order of Ögödei. See *Successors*, 36, 38, 167. Nevertheless, this seems to have been the case if we rely on the statement that he was 'secretly harmed', i.e. killed. There is no doubt that 'harmed' is synonymous with 'killed.' See above, §§ 67 and 68, from which we learn that the surreptitious harm was caused by poison. Since the same expression is used in connection with Doqolqu, we may assume (but only assume) that the same method was employed to dispose of him. In the interlinear version, the verb *kegesüle-* is glossed *yin-hai* 陰害, lit. 'to secretly harm', and is rendered 'to secretly harm because of a personal grudge' (因私恨陰害) in the sectional summary (Y² Sup. 2, 58a). In § 67 we find the noun *kegesü*, meaning 'enmity, grievance', in connection with the poisoning of Temüjin's father Yisügei by the Tatars. See above, nn. 67, 68. In § 67 we also find the verb *oyisulat-* glossed *an-huai* 暗懷 'to harbour secret thoughts (of hate, revenge).' The same verb in the passive voice *oyisulaqda-* occurs in § 68 glossed *pei yin-hai* 被陰害 'to be secretly harmed.' However, *oyisulaqda-* presupposes *oyisula-*, not *oyisulat-*. In § 245 we again find *oyisulat-* glossed 'to secretly harm', and in the present section the form *öyisület-* occurs with the same meaning. The verbs *oyisula-*, *oyisulat-* (w.f. *oyisulad-*), *öyisület-* (w.f. *öyisüled-*) are not found in our dictionaries (cf. Mo, 157), and *kegesüle-* is registered only with the meaning of 'to furnish with or make spokes' (Les., 443a). Thus, in § 281 both *kegesüle-* and *öyisület-* are glossed *yin-hai*, and must therefore be regarded as synonyms. However, in view of the fact that the text uses two different words with the same meaning, I have rendered *kegesüle-* (the 'kesesüle-' of L², 259,

is a printing error) with 'to secretly injure', and *öyisület-* with 'to secretly harm.' As stated in nn. 67 and 68 above, the latter verb is ultimately derived from *oš* 'hate, revenge.' Cf. mo. *oš*, *ösi-*, *ösiye-*, *ösiyele-* (Les., 645a), and SH *ösö-* 'to avenge' (HW, 128, s.v. 'osügu'). In view of combinations like *ösöl ösöjü kisal kisaju* 'taking revenge and requiting the wrong' (§§ 58, 154) and *oš kiš* 'hatred and resentment' in *öšten kišten* (§ 136), one may postulate a similar relationship between *öyisüle(t)-* and *kegesüle-* with semantic roots in the concept of 'hatred, revenge' from which the meaning of 'to harm, injure' has subsequently evolved. This problem requires further investigation.

'And why was it a fault?', lit. 'If one says, "Why a fault?"'

'Who strove (or fought) fiercely.' Cf. above, n. 254.

'My father the Qan.' The later editor(s) who methodically went through the SH changing *qan* into *qa'an* missed this occurrence, almost certainly because it comes at the end of the work and close to another occurrence. See de Rachewiltz 1983, 276; and above, n. 255. Cf. Ratchnevsky 1965, 120, n. 149 ad fin. On Ögödei's 'fault and mistake' of having Doqolqu killed, see idem 1987, 102.

There is also no direct additional evidence concerning Ögödei's fourth 'fault', i.e. the fencing in of his hunting grounds to prevent game from straying into his brothers' territory. Here the wild animals are also referred to as 'having a destiny ordained by Heaven and Earth' – their destiny being, no doubt, to serve as quarry for the emperor's battues. On the extended concept of the destiny (*ĵaya'an*) preordained by Heaven and Earth, cf. above, n. 1. Cf. also Mo, xiv, for the present passage. Ögödei is made to say that he did that out of greed (*qaram*). This is strange in view of the reputation he had, and which is so amply recorded, of generosity and liberality unequalled by any other Mongol ruler. On the other hand, we also know that the animals reserved for the great winter hunt were almost sacred, and that severe penalties were meted out to anyone breaking the rules. See, e.g., HWC, 27-28. Ĵuvainī also mentions the construction by Ögödei of a wall of wood and clay between

north China and his winter quarters, with gates set into it 'so that much game might enter it from a great distance', and how Chaghatai (= Ča'adai) constructed similar hunting grounds in the valley of the Ili. This piece of information may perhaps be related to the problem of boundaries and the issue concerning Ögödei's fourth 'fault.' See *ibid.*, 29. For the words *quru'a yo'urqa nödü'üljü*, lit. 'making one build fences (*quru'a*; mo. *qoroya*, see Kow., 963b) and walls of pounded earth (*yo'urqa*; see above, n. 203)', cf. Cleaves 1949, 112, n. 95.

'Confining them', lit. 'hindering (or blocking) them' (*jet-güjü*).

'Resentful words' (*čimaliqai üge*). See above, n. 260. On the location of Ögödei's winter quarters, see Boyle 1974, 148-150. On Ögödei's character, see HWC, 198, 201-236; *Successors*, 76-93; D'Ohsson, II, 87-99; and above, n. 255.

This section ends the short portion of the SH devoted to Ögödei. There is no mention of his death, but (as stated earlier) the description of his positive accomplishments and of his major 'faults' seems to be a posthumous assessment. The work thus comes to an abrupt and rather unsatisfactory conclusion. See Section Two of the Introduction.

§ 282. The short colophon of the SH is more problem-ridden than any other passage of this work, confirming the old saying that the tail is the most difficult part of the animal to skin. To which Great Assembly (*yeke qurilta*) does the text refer? Which Year of the Rat? Does *bičijü da'usba* mean the end of the writing = composition, or the end of the writing = copying? And who did the writing? Does the indication of the locality in the text contain a lacuna? Indeed, more has been written on the colophon of the SH than on any other section of the work.

With regard to the year of 'writing' and the authorship of the SH, see Sections Two and Three of the Introduction. I have restated (and updated) there my earlier argument that the colophon applies to the main body of the work (§§ 1-268) – the remaining portion of the SH about Ögödei's reign (§§ 269-281)

being a later addition – and that the Year of the Rat (*quluqana jil*) must consequently be 1228. The Great Assembly was, in my view, that which eventually elected Ögödei in 1229, i.e. the one mentioned in § 269 of the SH when all the princes and military leaders 'assembled in full force at Köde'ü Aral of (= on) the Kelüren River.' The 'month of the Roebuck' (*quran sara*) is the seventh month (see Mo, 262, n. 252), thus the date of the colophon would correspond to 2-31 August 1228, exactly one year after Činggis' death. (For *quran sara* and the Mongol calendar, see also Clark 1998, 46ff.; MSR, 177-179; for the names of the months in Middle Mongolian, cf. V. Rybatzki's study in the Add. & Corr.) The great or general assembly (*yeke qurilta*) is the natural development of the earlier great council (*yeke eye*) mentioned in § 154. The assembly that elected Činggis Qan in 1206 was undoubtedly also a (*yeke*) *qurilta*. For this fundamental institution, see MSK, 361-449; Endicott-West 1986; Fletcher 1986, 26; Haider 1994. The term *qurilta* is a deverbal noun in *-lta(l-lte)* from *quri-* 'to gather, assemble.' See GWM, 47, § 163; MÜIT, 2687a-b, no. 260. It alternates with *quriltai* (for *qurilta* ~ *quriltai*, cf. SG, 295-299, § 159). The same phenomenon is observed in the Turkic languages where this word is a borrowing from Mongolian. See TMEN, no. 305. The form in *-i*, current in the western Mongol empire, gained predominance in Persian and Turkic and is the one generally used in the West, whereas in the later Mongolian literary language and dialects *quriltai*, as well as *qurilta*, have disappeared, being replaced by *qural* (< *qura-* 'to gather, assemble' [= pmo. *quri-*] + dev. noun suff. *-l*; see GWM, 47, § 159). Cf. Oz¹, VI, 560-562, n. 1. In our passage I have used 'convened' instead of 'was assembled' to avoid a phonetic clash with 'Assembly.'

With regard to the place where the *ordos* ('Palaces'), i.e. the imperial encampment, was pitched in the seventh month of the Year of the Rat and where the work was completed, Naka (Na², 586) and Haenisch (Ha, 148), disregarding the fact that the name Dolo'an Boldaq is in the dative-locative case (*Dolo'an Boldaq-*

a), understood the passage as meaning that the place in question was situated between the two (*qoyar ja'ura*) localities called Dolo'an Boldaq and Šilginček. Kozin, for his part, rendered *Dolo'an Boldaq-a* correctly, but in order to retain the 'two' localities of which the text speaks, he split Šilginček into 'Šil'gim' (a printing error for 'Šil'gin') and 'Cek' (Ko, 199). Mostaert (Mo, 258-261), in his brilliant analysis of the colophon, demonstrated the inaccuracy of both Haenisch's and Kozin's interpretations, and showed at the same time that there must be a lacuna in the text immediately after 'Šilginček', the name of the second locality having dropped out in the course of transmission of the Chinese text. Ligeti did not accept Mostaert's argument and followed Haenisch's interpretation, claiming that the misunderstanding derives from the fact that 'boldaka' (= *boldaqa*) is a simple scribal error for 'boldak' (= *boldaq*), since in Uighur script it is a common mistake for a scribe to add or leave out a 'tooth', i.e. the little horizontal stroke representing the letters *a, e, n*, etc. See Li, 189, n. 282. In the present instance, however, it is not a question of an additional 'tooth' turning *boldaq* into *boldaqa*. As pointed out by Mostaert, the Ming translators noted the dative-locative suffix *-a*, which they duly rendered with *hsing* 行; the word in Uighur-Mongol script must, therefore, have been written as *boldaq-a*, i.e. with the final *-a* separated from the body of the word, and not as *boldaqa*. Moreover, they were familiar with the word *boldaq* (= mo. *bolday*), which they regularly glossed *ku-shan* 孤山 'solitary (= isolated) hill' in the interlinear version, as they had already done before (§ 88). Thus, even if the suffix *-a* had been joined directly to the word, which is unlikely, they would not have misunderstood it – a fact confirmed, after all, by the very presence of the 行. Therefore, one must agree with Mostaert (op. cit., 259, n. 246) that 'Il n'est pas possible de supposer que *bolday-a* du colophon de l'*Hist. Secr.* soit dû à une faute du scribe qui avait copié le mss. qu'utilisèrent plus tard les transcritteurs des Ming, et que ces mêmes transcritteurs, non

seulement n'auraient pas remarqué la faute, mais auraient encore pris cette forme fautive pour un locatif.' Haenisch's interpretation has been followed (among others) by Damdinsürén, Murakami, Yao and Jagchid, and, more recently, Doronatib, Eldengtei and Ardaĵab, Mansang, Gaadamba, and Cérénsodnom. Cleaves, as well as Taube, Even and Pop, Street, and I have followed Mostaert's interpretation. Ozawa at first adopted also the latter with reservations (Oz¹, VI, 560, 563-564, n. 3), but subsequently modified it following an earlier (1994) interpretation by the Inner Mongolian scholar Būrinbatu who sees in the word 'Šilginček' two place-names (as Kozin did), these being 'Šilgin' and '(Če)ček' (Oz², II, 239-240, 254-255, n. 2). In similar fashion, Onon, after adopting Mostaert's interpretation (On, 173), revised it in his later version (2001 ed., 278), where he rendered the words *Šilginček qoyar ja'ura* as 'between two [places called] Shilginček.⁶⁸⁸' In note 688 on the same page, Onon writes: '*Shilginček*, here used (by way of exception) as a place-name, meant a high, narrow hill. For the explanation "between two Shilginčeks", see the article by Būrinbatu in the Academic Journal of the University of Inner Mongolia, no. 4 (1994), pp. 66-70.' (For the meaning of Šilginček see below.)

The writing of the SH was then completed and, presumably, also carried out at Dolo'an Boldaq, which is the same locality mentioned in § 136 in the plural form Dolo'an Boldaq'ut ('Seven Solitary Hills'), at Köde'e Aral (the Ködö'e Aral of § 136 and Köde'ü Aral of § 269) or 'Barren Island' – one of the great historic sites of Mongolia. Köde'e Aral and the seven hills which have given the name to the place have been positively identified; see above n. 136. Mostaert (op. cit., 260) regards 'Šilginček' as a Mongolian compound name 'Šilgin-ček' meaning 'la colline où il croît de la rue des montagnes', i.e. 'Mountain Rue Hill.' This is an ingenious interpretation indirectly supported by the name Tülkinče'üt = Tülkin Če'üt, plural of *Tülkin Ček, which appears in § 190. However, in the MA, 407a, we find the Turkic word *silkinček* meaning 'neck amulet', and this may well be the same word written *šilginček* in the SH.

Other interpretations are possible (for instance on the basis of Kalmuck), but whatever the meaning of this word, it would appear from the context that Šilginček or Šilgin Ček was the name of one of the seven hills, and that the lacuna in the text contained the name of another locality in the same area: it was between these two places that the *ordos* were established at the time. Having personally inspected this area in August 1997, I am no longer of the opinion that the missing name must be that of another of the seven hills, as I somewhat rashly stated in Ra, XII, 92, n. 282. The situation of these hills is, in fact, such as to preclude the possibility of establishing a large encampment 'between' them. See the map in Damdinsurén 1974, 107; and my report in de Rachewiltz 1998, 251-254. Starting from the (wrong) premise that the *ordos* were between Dolo'an Boldaq and Šilginček, Pêrlécé, and J. Schubert after him, situated the latter place in the area of present-day Zamagtaï Nuur, in the plain behind, i.e. north of, the seven hills, bordering on the Avargyn Gol. See Pêrlécé², 7 (= Pêrlécé⁴, 92); RBC, 110; and Schubert 1966, 55-56. But why would the author of the colophon, who, like most of his contemporaries was undoubtedly well acquainted with this area, feel the need to specify more in detail where the camp was established when Dolo'an Boldaq would have been sufficient, given the reference to Köde'e Aral? As I wrote in my report (p. 253), the only reason I can give for this additional localization is that Köde'e Aral comprised a much larger area than generally supposed, and that its present limits must be pushed much further to the west and to the north, thus encompassing the entire steppe plain (*köde'e*) between the Bayan Uul, the Xêrlên (Kerulen) and Cênxêr (Senggür) rivers. See above, n. 136. It is only when placed in this much broader geographical context that the author of the colophon would have felt the need to be more specific as to the exact spot where the *ordos* were at that particular time during the long assembly. As we know, it was the custom of the *qans* and their entourage to move camp frequently because of pasture requirements. In August of that year, i.e. at the height of

summer, the encampment had been pitched somewhere between Šilginček and another locality, probably somewhere further east. This was the conclusion I reached in 1998. I would only add that, in my present view, the *ordos* set up in 1228-1229 at Köde'e Aral were almost certainly east of Šilginček, i.e. of Dolo'an Boldaq, and that the localization proposed by Pêrlécé could still be valid if pushed somewhat further to the south, i.e. to the area between the seven hills and the Avargyn Gol.

As to the question of whether the last two words of the colophon (*bičijü da'usba*) mean that the text of the SH was 'written' or 'copied', Waley's objection (in Waley 1960, 529) that the Chinese sectional summary (Y² Sup. 2, 58b) by using the verb *hsieh* 寫 indicates that the text was not composed, but merely 'copied' in the Year of the Rat, does not stand. The verb *hsieh* was used by the Ming translators simply to render Mongolian *biči-* 'to write'; the question of original composition or copying of the text does not come into the picture at all, as this was, in any case, something that the translators would certainly not have been able to judge. Cf. Li, 190, n. 282. I agree with Mostaert (op. cit., 263-264) that in the present context *biči-* can only mean 'to compose.' On the other hand, since we do not know whether this was the work of a single author or of several, I now think that it is better to make the verb impersonal in English – as it is in the original and in the sectional summary – rather than translate *bičijü da'usba* '[Nous] avons achevé d'écrire', as Mostaert does.

A radically different interpretation of the colophon has been put forward by Š. Bira who translates it as follows: 'Having finished the record as a result of (by reason of) the convocation of the Grand Assembly, in the month of the Doe [the seventh month] of the Mouse Year, upon location of the court at Dolo'an-Boldaq at Ködege Island in the Kerülen River, namely between (there) and Šilginček.' (MHW, 20.) Bira is thus of the opinion that the *yeke qurilta* was directly involved in the compilation of the SH; indeed, it was convoked for the express purpose of recording for posterity the history of the 'Golden

Clan' (*altan uruq*), i.e. the *qan*'s lineage, by the actual representatives of the clan headed by the *qan* himself, with the participation of the surviving companions of Činggis Qan and aided by court records, story-tellers and oral tradition. See *ibid.*, 20-21; cf. MIs, 41-42.

There are, in my view, two major objections to Bira's interpretation: 1) while a great assembly may have been convoked for such a purpose in later times (see Haider 1994), it is most unlikely that it would have been held in the first half of the 13th century, whether in 1228 or 1240. In this early period, a *yeke qurilta* was convoked only to deliberate on the most important state affairs, like the election of a new *qan*, the succession issue, military campaigns and family/clan disputes, as the Persian and Chinese sources inform us (the reading of the *jasaq* and of Činggis' pronouncements in the course of the *qurilta* was done within the context of these deliberations); 2) Bira's rendering of the colophon is at variance with the abridged translation provided by the Ming translators, who were well acquainted with the language of the SH. The Chinese version clearly says, 'The writing of this book was completed when the Great Assembly was convened, in the seventh month of the Year of the Rat, at the time when (the Palaces) were established in the region of Köde'e Aral of the Kelüren River' (Y² Sup. 2, 58b; cf. Mo, 263). I see no reason to question the correctness of this interpretation.

APPENDIX ONE

ČINGGIS QAN'S CAMPAIGNS IN MONGOLIA, SIBERIA AND CENTRAL ASIA 1204-1219

A chronological summary of events

The chronology of Činggis Qan's campaigns is still a subject of controversy among historians of the Mongol period because of the often conflicting reports found in the SH, the accounts of the Persian authors (Juvainī and Rašīd al-Dīn in particular) and the Chinese sources, notably the YS. For Činggis' early military exploits, the most important contribution is undoubtedly that of P. Pelliot in HCG; his data are incorporated in GK (1973). Unfortunately, Pelliot's meticulous investigation, left unfinished by his premature death, ends with section XXI (out of 80 sections) of the SWCCL, corresponding to AD 1202. For the subsequent campaigns within and beyond Mongolia, one can make profitable use of Martin (1950), GK (1973), TDMI (4th ed., 1977), ČK (1983), and the specialized articles by Th. T. Allsen (Allsen 1983 and Allsen 1987/91) and P.D. Buell (Buell 1992 and his contribution in ISK, 14-18 [1993]).

The most contentious dates concern the events following the Mongols' campaigns against the Naiman and the Merkit, and the flight of Tayang Qan's son Güčülük Qan and of Toqto'a Beki's sons with the remnants of their forces to Central Asia, prompting the expeditions led by Ĵebe and Sübe'etei; the 'first' encounter of the Mongol expeditionary forces with those of the *šāh* Muḥammad of Khwārazm; the movements of the Mongol army in central and northern Asia, and the submission of the so-called 'People of the Forest' (mmo. *hoi-yin irgen*), also in relation to the final campaign against Güčülük and the expedition against Khwārazm, i.e. the 'Western Campaign' (ch. *hsi-cheng* 西征), after the so-called 'Otrar Incident' of 1218.

The chronology of events as presented below is based on an interpretation of the data found chiefly in the SH, HWC, SL², SWCCL¹, the *Basic Annals* (*pen-chi* 本紀) of T'ai-tsu 太祖, i.e. Činggis Qan, in YS² 1, 1-28, the two biographies of Sübe'etei in YS² 121, 2975-2978 and 122, 3008-3009, and the short notice on him in Wang Yün's 王惲 inscription for Sübe'etei's son Uriyangqadai (1201-72) in CCWC 50, 2a-3a. It will be noticed that my chronology broadly agrees with the dates accepted by Barthold, Ratchnevsky and Allsen, but is at variance with the 'shorter' chronology proposed by Buell. I shall discuss the discrepancies in detail in a forthcoming article.

The first date, the Year of the Rat 1204, is the undisputed date for the defeat and death of the Naiman leader Tayang Qan, and for Činggis Qan's victory over Toqto'a Beki of the Merkit. The events that follow are dominated by the pursuit and final destruction of the Naiman and Merkit remnants whose principal leaders were Buyirūq Qan and Güčülük Qan (of the Naiman), and after Toqto'a Beki's death in 1208, his sons Qudu, Čila'un and Qal.

1204 (Rat) Summer: Defeat of Tayang Qan of the Naiman at Naqu Cliff. Death of Tayang and flight of his son Güčülük to Tayang's brother Buyirūq Qan in western Mongolia (Kobdo-Altai region).

Autumn/Winter: Defeat of Toqto'a Beki of the Merkit at the Qaradal Source. He and his sons Qudu, Čila'un and Qal also flee to Buyirūq Qan. Surrender of Dayir Usun of the U'as Merkit. His subsequent rebellion with a sizable Merkit force in the area of the Qara'un Gorge on the Selenga River (north of Kyakhta). Expedition of Boroqul Noyan, Čila'un Ba'atur and Čimbai to the Selenga to quell the rebellion.

1204/1205 (Rat/Ox) Defeat of Dayir Usun at the Taiqal stronghold.

1205 (Ox) Činggis' first limited campaign against Hsi Hsia, with destruction of fortresses and pillage, the motivation being mainly the acquisition of booty (camels, cattle).

1206 (Tiger) Spring: Enthronement of Činggis Qan and general reorganization of the army.

Resumption of the campaign against the Naiman-Merkit coalition in western Mongolia. Their defeat at the Soqoq River (= Upper Kobdo River). Flight of Buyirūq Qan across the Altai to the Urungu River and Lake Kišil Baš (= Ulyungur Nör), where he is captured by the Mongols. Flight of Güčülük and Toqto'a Beki and his sons across the Altai to the Irtysh River.

1207 (Hare) Embassy to the Kirghiz of the Yenisei, one of the leading People of the Forest. Their submission to Činggis Qan.

Autumn: Second limited incursion into Hsi Hsia territory for more looting.

1208 (Dragon) Spring: Činggis returns to Mongolia from the Tangut country and spends the summer there.

Autumn/Winter: Resumption of the campaign against the Naiman-Merkit coalition. Joči's submission of Quduqa Beki of the Oyirat, another People of the Forest of the Angara-Yenisei region. The Mongol army uses Oyirat guides to reach Güčülük and Toqto'a Beki on the Irtysh. The Naiman and Merkit forces are defeated at the junction of the Bukhtarma and Irtysh rivers. Toqto'a is killed by a stray arrow. Güčülük and the Naiman remnants flee to the *gür qan* of Qara Kitai in the Chu-Ili region, while the Merkit remnants led by Qudu cross the Irtysh into Uighur country. Other Merkit (under Qudu's brothers?) flee eastwards to the Qıqçaqs and northwards to the Kem Kemji'üt (Upper Yenisei and Kemchik region).

1209 (Snake) Güčülük reaches Ğuz Ordo (Balāsāyūn), the Qara Kitai capital on the Chu River (SW of Tokmak in Kazakhstan) and enters the *gür qan*'s service.

Qudu sends envoys to Barčuq Art Tegin, the Uighur *ıduqut* residing at Beš Baliq (= Jimasa/Jimsar, NE of Urumchi in

- Sinkiang). Barčuq has the envoys killed, then drives off Qudu and his Merkit, defeating them at the Cham/Chem River (the exact name and identification of this river have not been established; it could be the present-day Ch'ang-chi Ho, the Manas Ho, or one of the rivers disappearing into the southern fringes of the Dzungarian desert north of Jimasa). Autumn: After having informed him of the battle, Barčuq offers his submission to Činggis Qan. Qudu moves to Qara Kitai where he joins Güčülük again and lends him support in his rise to power. Činggis leads the first major expedition against Hsi Hsia.
- 1210 (Horse) The Hsi Hsia ruler (Li An-ch'üan 李安全) asks for peace. Činggis returns to Mongolia and begins preparations for the war against 'the Kitai people', i.e. the Jurchen Chin.
- 1211 (Sheep) Spring: Expedition of Qubilai Noyan against the Qarluqs (in the area of Qayaliq, i.e. modern Taldy-Kurgan in SE Kazakhstan). Voluntary submission of their ruler Arslan Qan. The Mongols extend their control as far as the Ili. Güčülük dethrones the Qara Kitai ruler (Chih-lu-ku 直魯古) and assumes the title of *gür qan* himself. Qudu moves from Qara Kitai to the Qangli-Qipčaq territory (Upper Chu and Sary Su rivers). Visit of the Uighur *iduqut* to Činggis' *ordo* on the Kerulen. His adoption as Činggis' 'fifth son.' Činggis Qan invades Chin with Ĵebe and Sübe'etei, and with Muqali as commander of the left wing; and with Joči, Ča'adai and Ögödei in charge of the right wing.
- 1211-1215 (Sheep-Pig) Campaign against Chin in north China. The capital Chung-tu (Peking) is captured at the end of May 1215 after a ten-month siege. The city is sacked and burned. Činggis returns to his *ordo* on the Kerulen leaving his generals to continue the southern offensive. The reason for his departure is the planning of the final campaigns against Qudu and Güčülük and their supporters in Central Asia.

- Hostilities between Muḥammad of Khwārazm and Güčülük for the control of the (former) Qara Kitai territory.
- 1216 (Rat) Expedition of Joči, Toqučar and Sübe'etei (especially equipped with 'iron carts') against Qudu and his Merkit. Ĵebe is sent to attack Güčülük. Expedition of Muḥammad against the Qipčaq.
- 1216/1217 (Rat/Ox) Defeat of Qudu, first on the Chu River and, finally, at Yü-yü (玉峪 = ? Yūyūr) in Qipčaq country. Collision of the Khwārazmian troops with the Mongols, apparently in the area between the rivers Qaili and Qaimich (? Irgiz and Turghai). Yeh-lü Hsieh-ch'e's 耶律薛闡 rescue of Joči and the 'fires' ruse of the Mongols must also be referred to this occasion. The Mongols withdraw without fighting. Embassy from Muḥammad to Činggis.
- 1217 (Ox) Revolt of the Qori Tumat, another People of the Forest of the Angara-Yenisei region, and their capture of Qorči Noyan and Qutuqa Beki. Expedition of Boroqul and Dörbei against the Qori Tumat. Death of Boroqul. Muqali is made *gui ong* (= *kuo-wang* 國王) by Činggis Qan and is appointed commander-in-chief of the operations in north China. Further exchanges (envoys, trading caravans) between Činggis Qan and Muḥammad. Činggis offers a peace treaty to Muḥammad, placing him however on a level with his 'son' (i.e. implying that Muḥammad should be regarded as Činggis' vassal). Muḥammad agrees to the peace treaty, but is resentful and feels threatened by the Mongols' 'expansion' in Central Asia.
- 1218 (Tiger) The 'Otrar Incident' (see SH § 254): one hundred merchants and their leader bearing official credentials as Činggis Qan's envoys are arrested and killed by Ĵnalčiq, the governor of the frontier town of Otrar (= Uṭrār, the former Fārāb on the Syr Darya near present-day Kok-Saray), apparently with Muḥammad's connivance. Expedition of Ĵebe

against Güčülük in the Chu-Ili region. Barčuq lends military support to the Mongols. Güčülük flees south, is eventually hunted down and killed by Ismail, the former Qara Kitai governor of Kāsān and ally of the Mongols, at Sariq Qōl in the Pamirs, near the border of India.

The Kirghiz of the Yenisei refuse to assist the Mongols against the Qori Tumat. General revolt of the People of the Forest against the Mongols.

1218/1219 (Tiger/Hare) Činggis sends envoys to Muḥammad to protest and demand the surrender of Īnalčiq. Muḥammad has the envoys killed. This act of defiance makes Činggis' punitive expedition unavoidable.

Joči's campaign against the rebellious People of the Forest. Joči crosses the frozen Selenga and Yenisei rivers. Muqali's brother Buqa acts as vanguard.

1219 (Hare) Spring: The Kirghiz, Qori Tumat and other People of the Forest are brought into submission.

In May, Činggis Qan leaves his *ordo* on the Kerulen and sets out on his Western Campaign against Muḥammad of Khwārazm. Ĵebe and Sübe'etei (who are still in the field after the destruction of Güčülük) lead the vanguard.

Summer: After a brief halt on the Eder River, Činggis crosses the Altai and spends the height of summer on the banks of the Irtysh. He then moves towards Otrar by way of Qayaliq; in that plain he is joined by the Uighur and Qarluq leaders with their forces, the joint army consisting of 150-200,000 men.

In September/October the Mongols and their allies reach Otrar, where Činggis divides his forces prior to laying siege to the town. The invasion of Khwārazm has begun.

APPENDIX TWO

SECRET HISTORY PASSAGES IN THE *ALTAN TOBČI* (1990: AT¹)*Finding List*

SH	AT ¹	SH	AT ¹
§ 1	4a-b	§ 29	7a
§ 2	4b	§ 30	7a-b
§ 3	4b	§ 31	7b
§ 4	4b	§ 32	7b
§ 5	5a	§ 33	7b
§ 6	5a	§ 34	7b-8a
§ 7	5a	§ 35	8a
§ 8	5a	§ 36	8a
§ 9	5a	§ 37	8a
§ 10	5b	§ 38	8a
§ 11	5b	§ 39	<i>deest</i>
§ 12	5b	§ 40	8a
§ 13	5b	§ 41	8a-b
§ 14	5b	§ 42	8b
§ 15	5b	§ 43	8b
§ 16	5b-6a	§ 44	8b
§ 17	6a	§ 45	8b
§ 18	6a	§ 46	9a
§ 19	6a	§ 47	9a-b
§ 20	6a	§ 48	9b
§ 21	6a-b	§ 49	9b
§ 22	6b	§ 50	9b-10a
§ 23	6b	§ 51	10a
§ 24	6b-7a	§ 52	10a
§ 25	7a	§ 53	10a-b
§ 26	7a	§ 54	10b
§ 27	7a	§ 55	10b-11a
§ 28	7a	§ 56	11a

§ 57 11a-11b
 § 58 11b
 § 59 12a-b
 § 60 13b
 § 61 13b-14a
 § 62 14a
 § 63 14a
 § 64 14a-b
 § 65 14b
 § 66 14b
 § 67 15a
 § 68 15a
 § 69 15a-b
 § 70 15b
 § 71 15b-16a
 § 72 16a
 § 73 16a
 § 74 16a-17a
 § 75 17a
 § 76 17a-b
 § 77 17b
 § 78 17b-18a
 § 79 18a-b
 § 80 18b-19a
 § 81 19a
 § 82 19a-b
 § 83 19b
 § 84 19b-20a
 § 85 20a
 § 86 20a-b
 § 87 20b
 § 88 20b
 § 89 20b
 § 90 20b-21b
 § 91 21b-22a
 § 92 22a

§ 93 22a-b
 § 94 22b
 § 95 22b-23a
 § 96 23a
 § 97 23a-b
 § 98 23b
 § 99 23b
 § 100 23b-24a
 § 101 24a-b
 § 102 24b
 § 103 24b-25a
 § 104 25a-b
 § 105 26a-b
 § 106 26b-27a
 § 107 27a
 § 108 27a-b
 § 109 27b-28a
 § 110 28a-b
 § 111 28b-29a
 § 112 29a
 § 113 29a-b
 § 114 29b
 § 115 29b
 § 116 29b-30a
 § 117 30a-b
 § 118 30a-31a
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 § 120 31a-b
 § 121 31b-32a
 § 122 32a-b
 § 123 32a-33a
 § 124 33a-34a
 § 125 34a
 § 126 34a-b
 § 127 34b
 § 128 34b-35a

§ 129 35a
 § 130 35a-36a
 § 131 36a-b
 § 132 36b-37b
 § 133 37b-38a
 § 134 38a-b
 § 135 38b
 § 136 38b-39a
 § 137 39a-b
 § 138 39b-40a
 § 139 40a
 § 140 40a-b
 § 141 40b-41a
 § 142 41a-b
 § 143 41b
 § 144 42a
 § 145 42a-43b
 § 146 43b-44a
 § 147 44b
 § 148 44b-45a
 § 149 51a-53a
 § 150 53a
 § 151 53a-b
 § 152 53b-54b
 § 153 54b-55a
 § 154 55a-b
 § 155 55b-56a
 § 156 56a-b
 § 157 56b
 § 158 56b-57a
 § 159 57a
 § 160 57a
 § 161 57a-b
 § 162 57b
 § 163 57b-58a
 § 164 58a-b
 § 165 58b-59a
 § 166 59a-b
 § 167 59b-60a
 § 168 60a-b
 § 169 60b-61a
 § 170 61a-62b
 § 171 62b-63b
 § 172 63b
 § 173 63b-64a
 § 174 64a-b
 § 175 64b-65a
 § 176 65a
 §§ 177-207 *desunt*
 § 208 65a-66a
 § 209 66a-b
 § 210 66b
 § 211 66b-67a
 § 212 67a
 § 213 67a-b
 § 214 67b-69a
 § 215 69a
 § 216 69a
 § 217 69a-b
 § 218 69b
 § 219 69b-70b
 § 220 70b-71a
 § 221 71a
 § 222 71a
 § 223 71a
 § 224 71a-72a
 § 225 72a-b
 § 226 72b-73a
 § 227 73a-74a
 § 228 74a
 § 229 74a-75a
 § 230 75a-b

§ 231	75b	§ 251	112a-b
§ 232	75b-76a	§ 252	112b-113b
§ 233	76a	§ 253	113b
§ 234	76a-b	§ 254	114b-115a
§ 235	85b	§ 255	<i>deest</i>
§ 236	86a	§ 256	115a
§ 237	86a	§ 257	115a-116a
§ 238	86a-b	§ 258	116a-b
§ 239	86b-87b	§ 259	116b
§ 240	87b-88a	§ 260	116b-117b
§ 241	88a-b	§ 261	117b
§ 242	89a-b	§ 262	117b
§ 243	89b	§ 263	117b-118a
§ 244	94b-96a	§ 264	118a-b
§ 245	96a-98a	§ 265	122a, 124a
§ 246	98a-b	§ 266	121a
§ 247	110a-b	§ 267	<i>deest</i>
§ 248	110b-111b	§ 268	125a, 126b
§ 249	111b-112a	§§ 269-282	<i>desunt</i>
§ 250	112a		

APPENDIX THREE

ALTAN TOBČI PASSAGES CITED IN C. DAMDINSÜRÉN'S
MONGOLYN NUUC TOVČOO (1976: Da⁵)

Finding List

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§ 56	p. 29
§ 60	p. 30
§ 69	pp. 35-36
§ 74	p. 37
§ 86	p. 42
§ 91	p. 45
§ 92	p. 45
§ 94	p. 46
§ 100	p. 47
§ 103	p. 48
§ 118	p. 62
§ 132	p. 75
§ 139	p. 78
§ 141	p. 79
§ 149	pp. 89-100
§ 176	p. 121
§ 208	p. 171
§ 235	pp. 194-195
§ 238	p. 195
§ 245	p. 202
§ 268	pp. 227-229

APPENDIX FOUR

A. MOSTAERT: *SUR QUELQUES PASSAGES
DE L'HISTOIRE SECRÈTE DES MONGOLS* (1953: Mo)

A Paragraph-Page Reference List

(The + sign following the page number indicates that
there is more than one reference on that page)

SH	Mo	SH	Mo	SH	Mo	SH	Mo
§ 1	p. xii	§ 57	pp. 35, 58	§ 103	pp. 27, 35, 147	§ 155	pp. xvi, 70, 73, 90, 236
§ 3	p. xvi	§ 64	pp. xvi, 8, 194, 224	§ 104	pp. 40, 51, 84, 87, 110, 151, 152	§ 160	p. 169
§ 11	p. 71	§ 66	pp. 12, 73	§ 105	pp. 43, 260	§ 161	p. 19
§ 12	pp. 228, 230	§ 68	pp. 13, 157, 234	§ 109	pp. 46+, 48, 123, 176, 178	§ 162	p. 231
§ 13	p. 82	§ 70	pp. 14, 245, 249	§ 111	pp. 39, 50, 62, 91, 167, 183, 225	§ 164	pp. 97, 171, 210
§ 16	p. 11	§ 71	p. 14	§ 112	p. 62	§ 166	p. 23
§ 22	p. 243	§ 72	p. 14	§ 117	p. 53	§ 167	p. 74
§ 23	p. 231	§ 74	pp. 157, 200, 201	§ 118	p. 80	§ 168	p. 121
§ 24	pp. 49, 95	§ 75	p. xvi	§ 119	p. 240	§ 169	pp. 79, 169
§ 28	p. 26	§ 77	p. 29	§ 121	pp. xv+, 11, 57+	§ 170	pp. 82, 89, 90, 104, 108
§ 29	p. 4	§ 82	pp. 24, 37, 131	§ 122	p. 134	§ 172	pp. 96, 120
§ 31	p. 26	§ 83	pp. 24, 33, 95, 133	§ 124	pp. 109, 134	§ 173	p. 90
§ 33	p. 71	§ 85	pp. 26, 61, 204	§ 125	p. 178	§ 174	pp. 52, 62, 90, 146, 150
§ 34	p. 208	§ 87	p. 199	§ 127	p. 98	§ 175	p. 41 (<i>pro</i> § 204)
§ 39	p. 231	§ 90	pp. xv, 29, 33, 57, 94	§ 129	p. 103	§ 176	pp. 92, 94, 182, 194
§ 45	p. xviii	§ 96	p. 30	§ 130	p. 59	§ 177	pp. 19, 25, 58, 95, 98, 100, 171, 173, 210
§ 46	pp. 103, 169, 172, 186	§ 99	pp. 30, 94, 254	§ 131	p. 71	§ 178	pp. 90, 101, 238
§ 48	p. xviii	§ 102	pp. 32, 45, 62, 133	§ 132	p. 231	§ 179	pp. 101, 168
§ 49	p. 60	§ 103	pp. 32, 45, 62, 133	§ 136	pp. 177, 178, 258, 263	§ 181	p. 174
§ 53	p. 6	§ 104	pp. 32, 45, 62, 133	§ 137	pp. 8, 182	§ 183	pp. 30, 41, 90, 176, 178
§ 54	p. 224	§ 105	pp. 32, 45, 62, 133	§ 141	p. 94	§ 184	pp. 87, 103
§ 55	p. 107	§ 106	pp. 32, 45, 62, 133	§ 142	p. 80	§ 185	p. 87
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		§ 109	pp. 32, 45, 62, 133	§ 147	pp. 52, 65	§ 190	pp. 111, 260
		§ 110	pp. 32, 45, 62, 133	§ 149	pp. 64, 67, 114, 236, 242	§ 191	pp. 139, 253, 254
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§ 198	pp. 109, 177, 178	§ 239	p. 223
§ 199	pp. 107, 124, 197	§ 240	pp. 46, 87, 172, 173
§ 200	pp. 122, 126, 163, 174, 182, 193	§ 242	pp. 147, 150, 173
§ 201	pp. 70, 97, 228, 244+	§ 243	p. 187
§ 202	pp. xviii, 181	§ 244	pp. 119, 184
§ 203	pp. 97, 148 (<i>pro</i> § 205), 184	§ 245	pp. 155, 157, 160, 163, 186, 191
§ 204	p. 41	§ 246	pp. 17, 43, 97, 164, 170, 173, 231
§ 205	p. 195	§ 247	pp. 87, 99, 179
§ 206	p. 223	§ 248	pp. 102, 179
§ 208	p. 73	§ 249	p. 95
§ 209	pp. 129, 195	§ 251	p. 175
§ 212	pp. 254, 255	§ 252	p. 179
§ 213	p. 205	§ 253	p. 95
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§ 221	pp. 132, 254, 255	§ 255	pp. 123, 125, 156, 168, 194+, 208, 264
§ 223	pp. 131, 132, 256	§ 256	pp. 173, 208, 212
§ 224	pp. 43, 139 (§§ 224-234), 148 (<i>pro</i> § 244), 243+, 246, 247, 250, 256	§ 257	p. 89
§ 225	p. 247	§ 259	p. 65
§ 227	pp. 43, 148, 241, 242, 247+	§ 260	pp. 214, 231, 243
§ 228	p. 97	§ 264	p. 261
§ 229	pp. 18, 247	§ 265	pp. 41, 42, 173+, 209, 210, 217
§ 230	pp. 135, 200	§ 267	pp. 112, 220
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		§ 282	pp. 258, 263

APPENDIX FIVE

F.W. CLEAVES, tr.: *THE SECRET HISTORY OF THE MONGOLS*
(1982: CI)

Additions and Corrections

(The lines are those of the Translation. f.b. = from bottom)

- p. xxv l. 10 for "Ta-tan" read "Ta-ta"
 p. xlvii the last line of this page should be the last line of the text
 p. 3 l. 4 read uncle Dobun Mergen
 p. 10 ll. 10, 16 read Čaujin
 p. 18 l. 6 read they had formerly been
 p. 26 l. 15 read he lay on his back
 p. 26 l. 16 for cangue read buya'u
 p. 28 n. 35 for note 13 read note 14
 p. 28 n. 35 delete 88
 p. 30 n. 42 for 13 read 14
 p. 31 last line read three days and three nights
 p. 32 l. 4 read [36v]
 p. 35 l. 22 for within, read within.
 p. 37 l. 9 read [Mount] Burqan Qaldun.
 p. 42 n. 14 for 13 read 14
 p. 52 a note similar to n. 47 should be inserted with regard to Jelme and Ča'urqan and Sübe'etei Ba'atur, these last two being the cousins, not the brothers, of Jelme
 p. 55 l. 18 read Doqolqu Čerbi
 p. 57 l. 2 read geldings."
 p. 57 l. 10 read [bowshot]."
 p. 71 l. 29 read Mine eyes
 p. 73 l. 4 f.b. for buya'u read jarbiyal
 p. 79 ll. 8-9 the ten thousand Tübege and the many Dongqayid (in §§ 170 and 171 the same people

- are called Tümen Tübege and Olon Dongqayid, as in fact stated in n. 13, but then why the different designations?)
 p. 82 l. 5 for Čahan read Čayan
 p. 86 l. 18 for Eter read Eder
 p. 88 l. 12 read Who will govern all [my] people?
 p. 89 l. 5 read the crafty wild beasts,
 p. 91 l. 22 read [44r] At
 p. 98 l. 4 f.b. read [12r] Having
 p. 100 l. 22 read is [here] with
 p. 102 l. 10 read bad daughters in law [21 v] to
 p. 105 l. 3 f.b. read saying,
 p. 107 l. 8 read [35r] When
 p. 107 l. 15 read [35v] When
 p. 100 l. 16 for Sügegi read Sügegei
 p. 111 et passim for Čaqrqan read Čayurqan
 p. 115 ll. 7-8, 10 the Tümen Tübe'en ... the many Dongqayid (see above, p. 79)
 p. 117 l. 1 read spake: "The head
 p. 117 l. 2 read [10r] break
 p. 120 l. 24 read for Arqai Qasar,
 p. 125 l. 26 read Qubilai [34v]
 p. 130 l. 19 read "Nayā, why
 p. 130 l. 27 read [47v] Peradventure
 p. 130 l. 30 read mother [48r] did
 p. 130 n. 69 for 197 read 199
 p. 133 l. 7 read Sarda'ul
 p. 133 l. 27 read Sübētei
 p. 141 l. 4 delete Now
 p. 141 l. 4 for speak read Speak
 p. 145 nn. 67&68 for 13 read 14
 p. 159 l. 18 read decide [what they might be]."
 p. 164 ll. 27-28 read There were two thousand nightguards with quiverbearers
 p. 164 last line read [into
 p. 166 l. 26 telling [it] (what is the subject of 'telling'?)

- p. 174 l. 24 *read* [19v]
 p. 175 l. 7 *read* the Tumad people,
 p. 176 l. 23 *read* hath thought."⁴⁰
 p. 189 l. 3 *delete full stop after* Buiging.³⁵
 p. 193 l. 5 *read* [25v] When your father
 p. 197 n. 71 *transfer* See Chapter III, note 17. *to the end of*
n. 72
 p. 199 n. 89 *for* 246 *read* 264
 p. 200 l. 21 *read* Sisten,¹⁰³ when the messengers gave him
 this message, at the moment
 p. 200 n. 100 *for* 76 *read* 82
 p. 203 l. 13 *read* laws of the cities,
 p. 210 l. 6 *read* Orusud, Asud, Sesüd,²⁷
 p. 210 n. 26 *for* 260 *read* 261
 p. 210 n. 29 *for* 219 *read* 129
 p. 212 l. 6 f.b. *read* [23r] younger brethren
 p. 215 l. 7 *read* and Kiwa to submit themselves,
 p. 219 l. 17 *read* Güyüg and Haryasun,"⁸⁵
 p. 219 l. 27 *read* the former [decree,]
 p. 222 l. 15 *read* he said, [44r] "If
 p. 230a *s.v.* Alčidai 242 (*a conflation of two different*
persons?)
 p. 231a *s.v.* Aru *add* ; v. Iru
 p. 231a l. 25 *add* 184
 p. 233a l. 8 *after* 120 *add* , 213
 p. 235b l. 8 f.b. *for* Čahan Tatar *read* Čayan Tatar
 p. 236a *for* Čahan Tatar *read* Čayan Tatar
 p. 236a l. 29 *for* Čakir Ma'ud *read* Čakirma'ud
 p. 236b l. 8 *delete* [= Ča'uĵin]
 p. 237b l. 3 *read* Temüĵin
 p. 239a l. 28 *transfer* (pl.) *to line* 31
 p. 239b l. 2 f.b. *before* 177 *insert* 161,
 p. 240b ll. 4-6 *delete entry* Eter Altai-yin belčir-iyer
 p. 243a *the entry* Iru *should read* Iru (= ? Herat) (ct.)
 258, 259; v. Aru
 p. 246a l. 21 *for* Kelürenu *read* Kelüren

- p. 248b *s.v.* Menggetü Kiyān *add* ; v. Mōnggetü Kiyān,
 Mūnggetü Kiyān
 p. 250a *s.v.* Mōnggetü Kiyān-u kö'ü *add* ; v. Menggetü
 Kiyān, Mūnggetü Kiyān
 p. 250b *s.v.* Mūnggetü Kiyān *add*; v. Menggetü Kiyān,
 Mōnggetü Kiyān
 p. 252a *transfer the entries* Odčigin Abaya and Odčigin
 Noyan *after* Odčigin-nu uruy
 p. 253b l. 15 *for* Talqal *read* Talqun
 p. 253b l. 28 *after* 144 *add* , 239
 p. 253b l. 34 *for* Ögelen *read* Ögölen
 p. 253b ll. 36-37 *delete entry on* Ögelen Čerbi
 p. 254a l. 8 *for* Ögelen *read* Ögölen
 p. 254a *insert entry* Ögölen Čerbi 120
 p. 254a *insert entry* Önggüd 239
 p. 255a *s.v.* Qada'an (of the Taryud) 202, 278 (2);
 Qada'an Daldurqan (*the Qada'an of §§ 202 and*
278 may not be a Taryud to be identified with
Qada'an Daldurqan)
 p. 256a *insert entry* Qalqa-yin Buyur Na'ur-tur 176
 p. 256b l. 9 *delete entry* Qara Kitad 152 ...
 p. 257a l. 17 *insert* 124,
 p. 259b *s.v.* Qutuqul Nu'u *add* , 220
 p. 267b l. 2 f.b. *add* , 264
 p. 269a last line *read* Uriangqajin
 p. 270a l. 4 *before* 210 *insert* 120,
 p. 270b l. 12 f.b. *for* 183 *read* 269
 p. 270b l. 11 f.b. *for* 269 *read* 183
 p. 274a *insert an explanatory entry on the word* ĵarbiyal
in § 146
 p. 274b *s.v.* naqud *italicize* *naq, n(a)x
 p. 276b l. 3 f.b. *add* 189
 p. 277a l. 6 *add* 189

APPENDIX SIX

I. DE RACHEWILTZ: INDEX TO THE SECRET HISTORY
OF THE MONGOLS (1972: R)*Additions and Corrections*

I. Text (Part One) and Index (Part Two)

For *bawūl-* read *bawul-* throughout. See, however, below, N.B.

For *ilē-* read *ile-* throughout

p. 3 l. 6 for brackets. read brackets.^{19a}

p. 9 after note 19 insert note 19a to read as follows:
See P. Pelliot, "Deux lacunes dans le texte mongol actuel de l'*Histoire secrète des Mongols*", *Mélanges Asiatiques* [= JA 232 (1940-41)], 1-18. Cf. also his article "Un passage altéré dans le texte mongol ancien de l'*Histoire secrète des Mongols*," *TP* 27 (1930), 199-202.

p. 13 l. 502 for *börte-cinō* read *börte cinō*
for *qo'ai-maral* read *qo'ai maral*

p. 16 l. 726 for *söyü-'er* read *söyü'er*

p. 18 l. 825 for *qono[q]* read *qono[n]*

p. 19 l. 910 for *bodoncar* read *bodoncar-i*

p. 20 l. 932 for *jewüredei* read *jewürēdei*

l. 933 for *jewüredei* read *jewürēdei*

l. 934 for *jewüredei* read *jewürēdei*

l. 936 for *jeüred-ün* read *jeürēd-ü*

p. 22 l. 1107 for *ökin-iyē[n]* read *ökin-iyen*

l. 1122 for *buruqui-lu'a* read *burütqui-lu'a*

p. 23 l. 1210 for *olqu* read *ol<u>qu*

p. 24 l. 1227 for *qatqun* read *hatqun*

p. 29 l. 1630 for *de'ü-yeyen* read *de'ü-yiyen*

l. 1633 for *bilji'ür* read *bilji'ur*

p. 30 l. 1710 for *qatqun* read *hatqun*

p. 33 l. 1907 for *qono'a'ululāi* read *qono[n] a'ululāi*

p. 34 l. 2004 for *singgeksen-ü* read *singgeksen-nü*

p. 45 l. 2732 for *cilbur* read *cilbūr*

p. 47 l. 2912 for *corqan* read *cōrqan*

p. 54 l. 3427 for *cinos* read *cinōs*

p. 55 l. 3505 for *onan-u* read *onan-nu*

l. 3516 for *cilbur* read *cilbūr*

p. 56 ll. 3525-6 for *ijilidülcen* read *ijilidulcan*

p. 57 l. 3628 for *qahan-a* read *qahan-na*

l. 3632 for *cinggis-qahan-a* read *cinggis-qahan-na*

p. 58 l. 3711 for *cinggis-qahan-u* read *cinggis-qahan-nu*

l. 3714 for *cinggis-qahan-a* read *cinggis-qahan-na*

l. 3716 for *onan-u* read *onan-nu*

p. 60 l. 3820 for *ökin-barqaq* read *ökin-bar<a>qaq*

l. 3902 for *uqa* read *uqa[n]*

p. 61 l. 3915 for *dörben-ü* read *dörben-nü*

p. 68 l. 4512 for *cinggis-qahan-a* read *cinggis-qahan-na*

l. 4518 for *cinggis-qahan-a* read *cinggis-qahan-na*

p. 70 l. 4607 for *ong-qan-a* read *ong-qan-na*

l. 4621 for *cui-müren-e* read *cui-müren-ne*

p. 71 l. 4628 for *ong-qan-a* read *ong-qan-na*

p. 75 l. 4921 for *ong-qan-a* read *ong-qan-na*

l. 4923 for *bildü'ür* read *bildu'ur*

l. 4929 for *ede ci* read *ede-ci*

l. 4932 for *tubu'ud-i* read *tübü'üd-i*

l. 4933 for *ong-qan-u* read *ong-qan-nu*

l. 4934 for *ong-qan-u* read *ong-qan-nu*

p. 76 l. 5005 for *kö'ün-nece-'en* read *kö'ün-ece-'en*

p. 78 l. 5116 for *itegejü'ü* read *itegejü-'ü*

l. 5133 for *be'en* read *be'engedün*

p. 79 l. 5211 for *quyu* read *quyu[n?]*

p. 80 l. 5302 for *a[b]cira* read *abcira*

p. 82 l. 5426 for *tübegēn-ü* read *tübegēn-[ü]*

l. 5427 for *ong-qan-u* read *ong-qan-nu*

p. 86 l. 5721 for *cinggis-qahan-a* read *cinggis-qahan-na*

l. 5804 for *hüni* read *huni*

p. 92 l. 6209 for *cinggis-qahan-a* read *cinggis-qahan-na*

- p. 93 l. 6220 *for -jidün-ü read -jidun-u*
 l. 6223 *for jewüredei read jewürēdei*
 p. 94 l. 6314 *for cinggis-qahan-a read cinggis-qahan-na*
 l. 6323 *for qan-iyān read qan-niyan*
 p. 95 l. 6326 *for cinggis-qahan-a read cinggis-qahan-na*
 p. 97 l. 6511 *for oru'at read ōru'at*
 p. 101 l. 6806 *for cinggis-qahan-a read cinggis-qahan-na*
 l. 6819 *for ese-gü read ese-gū*
 l. 6822 *for ündür-ün read undurun*
 p. 102 l. 6908 *for ilējü'üi read irejü'üi*
 p. 104 l. 7023 *for uru'u[t] read uru'ut*
 p. 105 l. 7030 *for gü[b]cin read gübcin*
 p. 108 l. 7308 *for arai-iyar read arai(?) -iyar*
 p. 109 l. 7322 *for arai-iyar read arai(?) -iyar*
 l. 7402 *for telegetü read telegetü-yi*
 p. 114 l. 7723 *for to[b]saqa read tobsaqa*
 p. 115 l. 7813 *for uruqutala read urqutala*
 p. 118 l. 8004 *for de[b]segü read debsegü*
 l. 8009 *for -jidün-i read -jidun-i*
 l. 8013 *for nendü read nendü[k?]*
 l. 8018 *for cinos read cinōs*
 l. 8027 *for do[b]tulju read dobtulju*
 p. 119 l. 8101 *for maqutqaju read muqutqaju*
 l. 8106 *for buraqsan-i read baraqsan-i*
 p. 120 l. 8206 *for noyas read noqas*
 p. 122 l. 8315 *for önggin read önggür*
 l. 8319 *for soyurqa[']a]su read soyurqāsu*
 p. 123 l. 8418 *for juldu read jüldü*
 p. 124 l. 8421 *for juldu read jüldü*
 l. 8426 *for juldu read jüldü*
 l. 8435 *for boroqu[l] read boroqul*
 p. 126 l. 8534 *for nuntu[q] read nuntuq*
 p. 127 l. 8620 *for -bilji-ür read -bilji'ur*
 p. 133 l. 9106 *for jirin(?) read jirim*
 p. 136 l. 9306 *for at- read at=*
 l. 9307 *delete (?)*

- p. 136 l. 9310 *for qorgi-daca read qorgid-aca*
 p. 137 l. 9417 *delete (?)*
 p. 138 l. 9506 *for belgütai-ya read belgütei-ya*
 p. 139 l. 9511 *for hünü read huni*
 l. 9512 *for hünü read huni*
 p. 141 l. 9627 *for temüge-otcigin-a read temüge-otcigin-na*
 p. 142 l. 9714 *for otcigin-u read otcikin-u*
 p. 143 l. 9802 *for o[']rcu read ōrcu*
 l. 9816 *for bolqa'asu read bolqā'asu*
for bolqaqdaba read bolqāqdaba
 p. 146 l. 10105 *for jeugon-tur read jaugon-tur*
 p. 147 l. 10107 *delete hyphen after kitat*
 l. 10108 *for jeugon-tur read jaugon-tur*
 p. 149 l. 10230 *for elcin-nü'en read elcin-ü'en*
 p. 152 l. 10432 *for üge-tür-iyen read üges-tür-iyen*
 p. 153 l. 10516 *for otcigin-u read otcigin-nu*
 l. 10533 *for arai-iyar read arai(?) -iyar*
 p. 156 l. 10724 *for cimar-i'ar read cimāli'ar*
 l. 10724 *for söyü-'er read söyü'er*
 p. 158 l. 10831 *for erdiš read erdiš-i*
 l. 10903 *for qadun-daca read qadun<d>-aca*
 l. 10912 *for qahan-u read qahan-nu*
 l. 10914 *for cinggis-qahan-a read cinggis-qahan-na*
 p. 159 l. 10930 *for eri-qaya read eriqaya*
for eri-je'ü-yi read erije'ü-yi
 l. 10931 *for cinggis-qahan-a read cinggis-qahan-na*
 p. 160 l. 11024 *for cinggis-qahan-a read cinggis-qahan-na*
 p. 161 l. 11118 *for cinggis-qahan-u read cinggis-qahan-nu*
 p. 163 l. 11224 *for ilē[']e]sü read ilesü*
 p. 164 l. 11317 *for kibqangqun read kib qangqun*
 p. 165 l. 11414 *for ögödei-qahan-a read ögödei-qahan-na*
 p. 166 l. 11503 *delete (?)*
 l. 11508 *for qongqortai read qongqortāi*
 p. 167 l. 11514 *for söyü-'er read söyü'er*
 l. 11525 *for üliscü read uliscu (?)*
 l. 11525 *for qongqortai read qongqortāi*

- p. 171 l. 11807 *for sa'ari<n>cintan-i read sa'arincintan-i*
for nuntu[q]citan-i read nuntūcitan-i
- p. 172 l. 11825 *for ilējü'üi read irejü'üi*
 l. 11829 *for ilējü'üi read irejü'üi*
 l. 11902 *for qahan-u read qahan-nu*
- p. 177a-b s.v. -a *delete* 3628, 3632, 3714, 4512, 4518,
 4607, 4628, 4921, 5721, 6209, 6314, 6326, 6809,
 9627, 10914, 10931, 11024, 11414,
 s.v. -aca *insert* 9310, and 10903,
insert the entry alai-iyar v. arai-iyar
- p. 179b *for ala'ai* 4421, 4504, 10024 *read*
 p. 181a ala'ai¹ 10024
 p. 181b ala'ai² 4421, 4504
- p. 185b *after arai-iyar insert* [alai-iyar?]
- p. 187a *delete the entry* at-kiraq [atkiraq?] 9306
for atkiraq v. at-kiraq read atkiraq 9306
- p. 188b *insert the entry* a'ululāi 1907
- p. 189a *the entry* ba 816...11929 *to read now as follows:*
 ba¹ 1312, 1315, 1316, 1318, 1319, 1627, 2505,
 3122, 3123, 3123, 3215, 3218, 3218, 3220,
 3403, 3405, 3728, 4228, 4513, 4514, 4515,
 5118, 5522, 6230, 7612, 8622, 10024, 10025,
 10029, 10029, 10420, 10426, 10635, 10718,
 10731, 10734, 10918, 11426
 ba² 816, 2016, 2902, 2903, 2903, 2904, 2904,
 3020, 3201, 3202, 3521, 4035, 4111, 4111,
 4612, 4613, 5230, 7328, 8537, 9620, 9620,
 9705, 9727, 10007, 10921, 11203, 11207,
 11816, 11817, 11929
- p. 190a *insert the entry* baraqsan-i 8106
- p. 191b *for baruq* 1004, 1005, 1717 *read*
 baruq¹ 1004, 1005
 baruq² 1717
- p. 195b s.v. -be'en *delete the entry* , 5133
insert the entry be'engedün 5133
- p. 196b *for bildü'ür read* bildu'ur

- p.196b *for bilji'ür read* bilji'ur
 s.v. bodoncar *delete the entry* 910,
 s.v. bodoncar-i *add* , 910
- p. 198a *for bolqaqdaba* 9816 *read* bolqāqdaba 9816
- p. 198b *for bolqa'asu* 3221, 9816 *read*
 bolqa'asu 3221
 bolqā'asu 9816
- p. 199b *for boro read* boro¹ *and delete* 512,
insert the entry boro² *pr. name* 512
for boro-yi read boro¹-yi
- p. 200a *after börte insert* 502,
delete the entry börte-cinō 502
- p. 203b *delete the entry* buraqsan-i 8106
- p. 204b *for buruqui-lu'a read* burūtqui-lu'a
- p. 208a s.v. ci *delete* 4929,
 s.v. -ci *insert* 4929,
for cilbur read cilbūr
- p. 208b *insert the entry* cimali'ar 10724
- p. 209a *delete the entry* cimar-i'ar 10724
- p. 209b l. 2 *for cinggis-qahan-a read* cinggis-qahan
- p. 209b-210a *delete the entry* cinggis-qahan-a
- p. 210a s.v. cinggis-qahan-na *insert* 3627, 3632, 3714,
 4512, 4518, 5721, 6209, 6314, 6326, 6806,
 10914, 10931, 11024
 s.v. cinggis-qahan-nu *insert* 3711, 11117
delete the entry cinggis-qahan-u 3711, 11117
- p. 210a *the entries* cinos *and* cinos-un *should read*
 cinōs *and* cinōs-un
- p. 211a *after cölke add* (=jölke)
for corqan read cōrqan
- p. 211b l. 2 *for -da read* -da¹
 s.v. cui-müren-e *delete* 4621,
insert the entry cui-müren-ne 4621
for -da read -da¹
 s.v. -da¹ *delete* 620
- p. 212a l. 2 *for dabā-'ar read* -da²

- p. 212a *insert the entry* -da² 620
s.v. -daca *delete* 9310, *and* , 10903
- p. 213a *the entry* darun 1712...9608 *to read now as follows:*
darun¹ 1712, 3834, 4707, 9608
darun² 9232, 9233
- p. 214a *for* dayir¹ 512, 9805, *read* dayir¹ 9805
after dayir² *pr. name insert* 512,
p. 216a *delete the entry* de'ü-yeyen 1630
insert the entry de'ü-yiyen 1630
- p. 217a *for* dörben²-ü 3915 *read* dörben²-nü 3915
- p. 219a s.v. -e *delete* 4621,
p. 220b s.v. -ece-'en *insert* 5005,
p. 221a s.v. ede-ci *insert* 4929,
p. 222b *delete the entry* elcin-nü'en 10230
insert the entry elcin-ü'en 10230
- p. 224a *delete* erbegeje'üljü v. erbegelje'üljü
after erbegelje'üljü *delete* [erbegeje'üljü?]
s.v. erdiš *delete* , 10831
insert the entry erdiš-i 10831
- p. 224b s.v. erekün *last figure to read* 11007
delete the entry eri-je'ü-yi 10930
delete the entry eri-qaya 10930
insert the entry erije'ü-yi 10930
insert the entry eriqaya 10930
- p. 225b s.v. ese-gü *delete* 6819
insert the entry ese-gü 6819
delete gedün 5133
- p. 229a s.v. -gü *delete* 6819,
p. 232b *insert the entry* hatqun 1227, 1710
- p. 235a *for* hūni *read* huni
- p. 238a *for* ijilidülcen *read* ijilidulcan
- p. 238b s.v. ilejü'üi *delete* 6908, 11825, 11829
- p. 239a *insert the entry* ilesü 11224
s.v. ilē'esü *delete* 11224
- p. 240b s.v. irejü'üi *insert* 6908, 11825, 11829

- p. 242a *for* itegejü'ü *read* itegejü-ü
p. 242b s.v. -iyan *delete* 6323,
p. 243b I. 2 *for* jabajiin-iyar *read* jabajin-iyar
s.v. -i'ar *delete* 10724
- p. 246a *insert* jaugon-tur 10105, 10108
p. 248a *delete the entry* je'ü-yi 10930
the entries jeüred, jeüredei *should read* jeürēd,
jeürēdei
delete jaugon-tur 10105, 10108
- p. 248b *for* jidün-i *read* jidun-i
for jidün-ü *read* jidun-u
for jirim v. jirin *read* jirim 9106
delete the entry jirin¹ [=jirim] 9106
delete ² *from all* jirin *entries*
p. 250b *for* juldu *read* jüldü
p. 257a *the entry* ke'er 1202...10126 *to read now as follows:*
ke'er¹ 1202, 4931, 7109, 10126
ke'er² 5301, 5305, 5307, 5311
for ke'er-e *read* ke'er¹ -e
for ke'er-e-gü *read* ke'er¹ -e-gü
for ke'er-ece *read* ke'er¹ -ece
for ke'er-i *read* ke'er¹ -i
p. 257b *for* ke'er-ün *read* ke'er¹ -ün
insert the entry kib 11317
delete the entry kibqangqun 11317
- p. 258b *delete the entry* kiraq 9307
p. 259a *insert the entry* kirü'es-ece v. kirü'es-ece
after kirü'es-ece *insert* [=kirü'es-ece]
s.v. kitat *insert* 10107,
delete the entry kitat-irgen-tür 10107
- p. 261a s.v. kö'ün-ece-'en *insert* 5005,
delete the entry kö'ün-nece-'en 5005
- p. 263a *delete the entry* maqutqaju 8101
- p. 268b s.v. muqutqaju *insert* 8101,
s.v. müren-e *delete* 4621,

- p. 268b s.v. *müren-ne add*, 4621
- p. 269a s.v. *-na insert* 3628, 3632, 3714, 4512, 4518, 4607, 4628, 4921, 5721, 6209, 6314, 6326, 6806, 9627, 10914, 10931, 11024, 11414
- p. 270b s.v. *-ne insert* 4621,
delete the entry -nece-'en 5005
- p. 271a *for nendü read* nendü [=nendük?]
insert the entry nendük v. nendü
- p. 273b s.v. *-niyan insert* 6323,
- p. 274b *after noqas-iyān* 8203 *add*, 8206
- p. 275a *delete the entry* noyas-iyān 8206
for -nu read -nu/-nü
s.v. *-nu/-nü insert* 2004, 3505, 3711, 3716, 3915, 4933, 4934, 5427,
- p. 275b s.v. *-nu/-nü insert* 10516, 10912, 11118, 11902
insert the entry nuntūcitan-i 11807
delete the entry nuntuqcitan-i 11807
delete the entry -nü'cn 10230
- p. 276b *delete the entry* ögödei-qahan-a 11414
s.v. *ögödei-qahan-na add*, 11414
- p. 278a *for olja-'ü v. ölje-'ü read* olja-'ü v. ölje-'ü
- p. 279a s.v. *onan-nu insert* 3505, 3716,
s.v. *onan-u delete* 3505, 3716,
- p. 279b *delete the entry* ong-qan-a 4607, 4628, 4921
s.v. *ong-qan-na add*, 4607, 4628, 4921
s.v. *ong-qan-nu insert* 4933, 4934, 5427,
delete the entry ong-qan-u 4933, 4934, 5427
delete the entry önggin 8315
- p. 280a s.v. *önggür insert* 8315,
- p. 280b *after ora'a insert* [=oro'a]
insert the entry örcu 9802
- p. 281a *the entry* oron 933...10324 *to read now as follows:*
oron¹ 933, 1731, 2725, 6003, 6428, 9624, 10324
oron² 9104, 9706, 9713
- p. 281b *after oro'a insert cf.* ora'a, ura'a

- p. 282a *for oru'at read* öru'at
- p. 282b s.v. *otcigin-a delete* 9627,
insert the entry otcigin-na 9627
insert the entry otcigin-nu 10516
delete the entry otcigin-u 9714, 10516
s.v. *otcikin-u insert* 9714,
- p. 283b s.v. *o'orcu delete*, 9802
- p. 284a *after* qa¹ *insert cf.* qa³
after qa³ *insert cf.* qa¹
- p. 285b *insert the entry* qadud-aca v. qadund-aca
delete the entry qadun-daca 10903
insert the entry qadund-aca [=qadud-aca] 10903
- p. 286b *delete the entry* qahan-a
s.v. *qahan-na insert* 3628, 3632, 3714, 4512, 4518, 5721, 6209, 6314, 6326, 6806, 10914, 10931, 11024, 11414,
s.v. *qahan-nu insert* 3711, 10912, 11118, 11902,
delete the entry qahan-u
- p. 288b s.v. *qan-a delete* 4607, 4628, 4921,
s.v. *qan-iyān delete* 6323,
- p. 289a s.v. *qan-na add*, 4607, 4628, 4921
s.v. *qan-niyan insert* 6323,
s.v. *qan-nu insert* 4933, 4934, 5427,
s.v. *qan-u delete* 4933, 4934, 5427
- p. 289b *insert the entry* qangqun 11317
- p. 290b *for* qara'un-jidün-i *read* qara'un-jidun-i
for qara'un-jidün-ü *read* qara'un-jidun-u
- p. 293b *delete the entry* qatqun 1227, 1710
s.v. *qaya delete*, 10930
- p. 295a s.v. *qongqortai delete* 11508, 11525
insert the entry qongqortāi 11508, 11525
- p. 295b *insert the entry* qonon 825, 1907
s.v. *qonoq delete* 825,
delete the entry qono'a'ululāi
- p. 296a *for* qorgi-daca *read* qorgid-aca
- p. 296b *after* qoroqun *insert cf.* quoroqun

- p. 298b
p. 300a
for qo'ai-maral read qo'ai
for qun read qun¹
insert the entry qun² v. qun²-a, qun²-nu, qun²-tur, qun²-u
for qun-a read qun²-a
for qun-nu read qun²-nu
for qun-tur read qun²-tur
for qun-u read qun²-u
- p. 301b
p. 302a
after quroqun insert [=qoroqun]
for quyu read quyu[n?]
insert the entry quyun v. quyu[n?]
- p. 304a
delete the entry sa'arincintan-i v. sa'arincintan-i
s.v. sa'arincintan-i delete [=sa'arincintan-i]
- p. 307a
insert the entry singgeksen-nü 2004
s.v. singgeksen-ü delete 2004,
delete the entry söyü-'er 726, 10724, 11514
- p. 309a
p. 309b
insert the entry soyurqāsu 8319
s.v. soyurqa'asu delete 8319,
insert the entry söyü'er 726, 10724, 11514
- p. 315a
s.v. telegetü delete 7402,
insert the entry teletetü-yi 7402
- p. 315b
p. 317a
for temüge-otcigin-a read temüge-otcigin-na
for terge 5725, 9216, 9229 read
terge¹ 9216, 9229
terge² pr. name 5725
- p. 319b
after törülmisi insert [=törülmiş]
insert the entry törülmiş v. törülmisi
for toyitcu read töyitcü
- p. 320b
p. 325a-326a
for tubu'ud-i read tübü'üd-i
s.v. -u/-ü delete 2004, 3505, 3711, 3716, 3919, 4933, 4934, 5427, 10516, 10912, 11118, 11902,
- p. 327b
for üge read üge¹
s.v. üge delete 1223,
insert the entry üge² 1223

- p. 327b
for üge-ben, üge-ber, üge-dür-iyen, üge-tür, üge-yi, üge-yin read üge¹-ben, üge¹-ber, üge¹-dür-iyen, üge¹-tür, üge¹-yi, üge¹-yin
delete the entry üge-tür-iyen 10432
s.v. üge-yi delete 1227,
insert the entry üge²-yi 1227
- p. 328a 1. 2
1. 3
for üge-'er read üge¹-'er
for üge-'er read üge¹-'er
s.v. üges-tür-iyen add, 10432
- p. 331a
p. 333a
for üliscü read uliscu (? üliscü)
s.v. ündür-ün delete 6822
insert undurun 6822
- p. 334b
delete the entry uqa 3902
after uqan 3014, 3019, add 3902,
after ura'a insert [=oro'a]
- p. 335a
p. 335b
p. 336a
p. 337a
p. 340a
p. 340b
p. 342a
p. 343b
s.v. urqutala insert 7813,
delete the entry uruqutala 7813
s.v. -ü'en insert 10230,
delete the entry -yeyen 1630
s.v. -yi insert 7402,
s.v. -yiyen insert 1630,
s.v. -'er delete 726, 10724, 11514
s.v. -' ü/-ü insert 5116,

II. Pagination of the Yeh/Comm. Press editions (last two columns of Part One)

<i>line</i>		<i>corr.</i>	<i>line</i>	<i>corr.</i>
521	4a	1-2	2631	3-4
527		3-5a1	3216	2-3
601		4-5b2	3217	3-5
604		1-3	3308	4-5
608	6b	1-2	3402	2-3
630		3-10a2	4004	4-33b1
733		3-15a1	4622	5-14b1
917		2	7317	5-3b1

<i>line</i>		<i>corr.</i>	<i>line</i>		<i>corr.</i>
1008	28a	1-2	8607		5-25b1
1135	37a	1-2	10332	25a	2-3
1939		3-4	11001		3-4
2105		5-34a1	11026		4-10a1
2630	9a	2	11410		3-5

N.B. For the value of -h- and -w- in the present transcription, see the Commentary, § 1.

APPENDIX SEVEN

WADE-GILES -- PINYIN CONVERSION TABLE

Wade-Giles	Pinyin	Wade-Giles	Pinyin	Wade-Giles	Pinyin
a	a	ch'iao	qiao	ch'üan	quan
ai	ai	chieh	jie	chuang	zhuang
an	an	ch'ieh	qie	ch'uang	chuang
ang	ang	chien	jian	chüch	jue
ao	ao	ch'ien	qian	ch'üeh	que
cha	zha	chih	zhi	chui	zhui
ch'a	cha	ch'ih	chi	ch'ui	chui
chai	zhai	chin	jin	chun	zhun
ch'ai	chai	ch'in	qin	ch'un	chun
chan	zhan	ching	jing	chün	jun
ch'an	chan	ch'ing	qing	ch'ün	qun
chang	zhang	chiu	jiu	chung	zhong
ch'ang	chang	ch'iu	qiu	ch'ung	chong
chao	zhao	chiung	jiong	e	e
ch'ao	chao	ch'iuung	qiong	ei	ei
che	zhe	cho	zhuo	en	en
ch'e	che	ch'o	chuo	eng	eng
chei	zhei	chou	zhou	erh	er
chen	zhen	ch'ou	chou	fa	fa
ch'en	chen	chu	zhu	fan	fan
cheng	zheng	ch'u	chu	fang	fang
ch'eng	cheng	chü	ju	fei	fei
chi	ji	ch'ü	qu	fen	fen
ch'i	qi	chua	zhua	feng	feng
chia	jia	chuai	zhuai	fo	fo
ch'ia	qia	ch'uai	chuai	fou	fou
chiang	jiang	chuan	zhuang	fu	fu
ch'iang	qiang	ch'uan	chuan	ha	ha
chiao	jiao	chüan	juan	hai	hai

Wade-Giles	Pinyin	Wade-Giles	Pinyin	Wade-Giles	Pinyin
han	han	jang	rang	ku	gu
hang	hang	jao	rao	k'u	ku
hao	hao	je	re	kua	gua
he	he	jen	ren	k'ua	kua
hei	hei	jeng	reng	kuai	guai
hen	hen	jih	ri	k'uai	kuai
heng	heng	jo	ruo	kuan	guan
ho	he	jou	rou	k'uan	kuan
hou	hou	ju	ru	kuang	guang
hsi	xi	juan	ruan	k'uang	kuang
hsia	xia	jui	ruai	kuei	guei
hsiang	xiang	jun	run	k'uei	kuei
hsiao	xiao	jung	rong	kun	gun
hsieh	xie	ka	ga	k'un	kun
hsien	xian	k'a	ka	kung	gong
hsin	xin	kai	gai	k'ung	kong
hsing	xing	k'ai	kai	kuo	guo
hsiu	xiu	kan	gan	k'uo	kuo
hsiung	xiong	k'an	kan	la	la
hsü	xu	kang	gang	lai	lai
hsüan	xuan	k'ang	kang	lan	lan
hsüeh	xue	kao	gao	lang	lang
hsün	xun	k'ao	kao	lao	lao
hu	hu	ke	ge	le	le
hua	hua	k'c	ke	lei	lei
huai	huai	kei	gei	leng	leng
huan	huan	ken	gen	li	li
huang	huang	k'en	ken	lia	lia
hui	hui	keng	geng	liang	liang
hun	hun	k'eng	keng	liao	liao
hung	hong	ko	ge	lieh	lie
huo	huo	k'o	ke	lien	lian
i	yi	kou	gou	lin	lin
jan	ran	k'ou	kou	ling	ling

Wade-Giles	Pinyin	Wade-Giles	Pinyin	Wade-Giles	Pinyin
liu	liu	neng	neng	p'i	pi
lo	luo	ni	ni	piao	biao
lou	lou	niang	niang	p'iao	piao
lu	lu	niao	niao	pieh	bie
lü	lǜ	nieh	nie	p'ieh	pie
luan	luan	nien	nian	pien	bian
lüh	lǜe	nin	nin	p'ien	pian
lun	lun	ning	ning	pin	bin
lung	long	niu	niu	p'in	pin
ma	ma	no	nuo	ping	bing
mai	mai	nou	nou	p'ing	ping
man	man	nu	nu	po	bo
mang	mang	nü	nǜ	p'o	po
mao	mao	nuan	nuan	p'ou	pou
mei	mei	nüeh	nüe	pu	bu
men	men	nung	nong	p'u	pu
meng	meng	o	o, e	sa	sa
mi	mi	ou	ou	sai	sai
miao	miao	pa	ba	san	san
mieh	mie	p'a	pa	sang	sang
mien	mian	pai	bai	sao	sao
min	min	p'ai	pai	se	se
ming	ming	pan	ban	sen	sen
miu	miu	p'an	pan	seng	seng
mo	mo	pang	bang	sha	sha
mou	mou	p'ang	pang	shai	shai
mu	mu	pao	bao	shan	shan
na	na	p'ao	pao	shang	shang
nai	nai	pei	bei	shao	shao
nan	nan	p'ei	pei	she	she
nang	nang	pen	ben	shei	shei
nao	nao	p'en	pen	shen	shen
ne	ne	peng	beng	sheng	sheng
nei	nei	p'eng	peng	shih	shi
nen	nen	pi	bi	shou	shou

Wade-Giles	Pinyin	Wade-Giles	Pinyin	Wade-Giles	Pinyin
shu	shu	tei	dei	tse	ze
shua	shua	teng	deng	ts'e	ce
shuai	shuai	t'eng	teng	tsei	zei
shuan	shuan	ti	di	tsen	zen
shuang	shuang	t'i	ti	ts'en	cen
shui	shui	tiao	diao	wa	wa
shun	shun	t'iao	tiao	wai	wai
shuo	shuo	tieh	die	wan	wan
so	suo	t'ieh	tie	wang	wang
sou	sou	tien	dian	wei	wei
su	su	t'ien	tian	wen	wen
suan	suan	ting	ding	weng	weng
sui	sui	t'ing	ting	wo	wo
sun	sun	tiu	diu	wu	wu
sung	song	to	duo	ya	ya
szu	si	t'o	tuo	yang	yang
ta	da	tou	dou	yao	yao
t'a	ta	t'ou	tou	yeh	ye
tai	dai	tsa	za	yen	yan
t'ai	tai	ts'a	ca	yin	yin
tan	dan	tsai	zai	ying	ying
t'an	tan	ts'ai	cai	yu	you
tang	dang	tsan	zan	yü	yu
t'ang	tang	ts'an	can	yüan	yuan
tao	dao	tsang	zang	yüeh	yue
t'ao	tao	ts'ang	cang	yün	yun
te	de	tsao	zao	yung	yong
t'e	te	ts'ao	cao		

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(In the alphabetical order, letters with diacritics always follow those without them: c, č, e, é, j, j̄, etc. However, in Japanese surnames ō = o)

1. Periodicals, Collections and Reference Works

- AA = *Acta Asiatica. Bulletin of the Institute of Eastern Culture*
 AAWG = *Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. Philologisch-Historische Klasse*
 ACS = *Area and Culture Studies* (東京外國語大學論集)
 ADAW = *Abhandlungen der deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Klasse für Sprachen, Literatur und Kunst*
 AEMA = *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi*
 AF = *Asiatische Forschungen*
 AFS = *Asian Folklore Studies* (Nagoya)
 AH = *Altai Hakpo. Journal of the Altaic Society of Korea*
 AJP = *American Journal of Philology*
 Altaica (Moscow)
 AM = *Asia Major*
 AMo = *Acta Mongolica*
 AO = *Acta Orientalia* (Helsinki)
 AOH = *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*
 AOr = *Archiv Orientální*
 ASAW = *Abhandlungen der philologisch-historischen Klasse der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*
 BAVA = *Beiträge zur allgemeinen und vergleichenden Archäologie*
 BCUP = *Bulletin of the Catholic University of Peking*
 BEFEO = *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*
 BIAMS = *The IAMS News Information on Mongol Studies Bulletin* (Ulan Bator)
 BIHEC = *Bibliothèque de l'Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises*
 BMFEA = *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*
 BOH = *Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica*

- BSOAS = *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*
(formerly BSOS)
BSOS = *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies London*
Institution (later BSOAS)
BSYS = *Bulletin of Sung Yuan Studies* (later JSYS)
BŠUAM = *BNMAU Šinžlëx Uxaany Akademiin Mëdëe*
CAJ = *Central Asiatic Journal*
CAS = *Central Asiatic Studies*
CHWSLT = 中華文史論叢
CKSYCTT = 中國史研究動態
CKTYNP = 中國東亞學術研究計劃委員會年報. *Bulletin of the China*
Council for East Asian Studies
CKWHYCHK = 中國文學研究彙刊. *Bulletin of Chinese Studies*
CKYSYC = 中國元史研究通訊
CMJS = *Corea-Mongol Joint Studies*
CMR = *The Canada-Mongolia Review. La Revue Canada-*
Mongolie
CNHP = 中南民族學院學報
CO = *Collectanea Orientalia*
CSM = *Corpus Scriptorum Mongolorum Instituti Linguae et*
Litterarum Comiteti Scientiarum et Educationis Altae Rei-
publicae Populi Mongoli
CSSH = *Comparative Studies in Society and History*
CYYY = 中央研究院歷史語言研究所集刊. *Bulletin of the Institute of*
History and Philology (Academia Sinica)
DAN = *Doklady Akademii Nauk SSSR* (Leningrad)
EAH = *East Asian History* (Canberra)
EM = *Études mongoles* (later EMS)
EMS = *Études mongoles et sibériennes* (formerly EM)
EP = *Etnografia Polska*
ESY = *Eurasian Studies Yearbook*
GAF = *Göttinger Asiatische Forschungen*
GK = 語言研究
HBK = 北方文化研究. *Bulletin of the Institute for the Study of*
North Eurasian Cultures Hokkaido University

- HHYC = 漢學研究. *Chinese Studies*
HJAS = *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*
HKDK = 北海道教育大學紀要(社會科學編)
HO = *Handbuch der Orientalistik*
HPMTTK = 西北民族文化研究叢刊
HS = *Hakluyt Society* (Series)
HSLWC = 學術論文集
HUS = *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*
HYISIS = *Harvard-Yenching Institute Sinological Index Series*
IAN = *Izvestiya Akademii Nauk SSSR* (Leningrad)
IASCCAIB = *Information Bulletin of the International Association*
for the Study of the Cultures of Central Asia, UNESCO
(Moscow)
IJCAS = *International Journal of Central Asian Studies*
IRAN = *Izvestiya Rossijskoj Akademii Nauk* (Petrograd)
IS = *Islamic Studies*
ISO AN SSSR = *Izvestiya Sibirskogo Otdeleniya Akademii Nauk*
SSSR
IVLMMT = *Indices verborum linguae Mongolicae monumentis*
traditorum
JA = *Journal asiatique*
JAAS = *Journal of Asian and African Studies*
JAH = *Journal of Asian History*
JAMS = *Journal of the Anglo-Mongolian Society*
JAOS = *Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JCBRAS = *Journal of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic*
Society
JESHO = *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the*
Orient (Leiden)
JHKBRAS = *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal*
Asiatic Society
JJWK = 人人文庫 (Taipei)
JOSA = *Journal of the Oriental Society of Australia*
JRAS = *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*
JS = *Journal des savants*

- JSFOu* = *Journal de la Société Finno-ougrienne*
JSYS = *Journal of Sung-Yuan Studies* (formerly *SNS* and *BSYS*)
JTS = *Journal of Turkish Studies* (Harvard University)
KDTR = 九州大學東洋史論集
KG = 考古
KGDR = 神戸外國語大學論叢
KS = *Keleti Szemle*
KSINA = *Kratkie soobščeniya Instituta Narodov Azii*
LCYYWCTL = 遼金元語文僅存錄 (Taipei)
LSYC = 歷史研究
MCB = *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques*
MCO = *Mémoires de la Commission Orientaliste* (Kraków)
MG = 蒙古學
MH = *Mongolhok. Mongolian Studies*
MK = モンゴル研究. *Bulletin of the Japan Association of Mongolian Studies*
MKĴT = *Mongyol kele ĵokiyal teüke* (Hohhot)
MKSYC = 蒙古史研究. *Studia historica Mongolica. Mongyol teüke sudulul*
MKUĴ = *Mongyol kele udqa ĵokiyal*
MLMC = *Monumenta linguae Mongolicae collecta*
MM = 滿蒙
MN = *Mongol nyelvemléktár*
Mongolica = *Mongolica. An International Annual of Mongol Studies* (Ulan Bator)
MRDTB = *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko*
MS = *Monumenta Serica*
MSB = *Mongyol-un sudulul bičig. Bulletin of the Institute for Mongol Studies, The Mongolian State University*
MSBu = *The Mongolia Society Bulletin*
MSFOu = *Mémoires de la Société Finno-ougrienne*
MSK = 明代史研究
MSM = *Monumenta Serica Monograph Series*
MSNI = *The Mongolia Society Newsletter*

- MSOP* = *Mongolia Society Occasional Papers*
MSOS = *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen an der Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin. Westasiatische Studien*
MSSP = *The Mongolia Society Special Papers*
MSt = *Mongolian Studies. Journal of the Mongolia Society*
MSu = *Mongolyn sudlal. Studia Mongolica. See SM*
MTHP = 民族學報
MTSHHP = 民族社會學報
MTYC = 民族研究
MTYW = 民族語文
MZGK = 民族學研究
NAA = *Narody Azii i Afriki*
NAGK = 內陸アジア語言の研究
NASK = 內陸アジア史研究
NB = 日本文化
NCTHHP = 南京大學學報
NK = *Nyelvtudományi közlemények*
NMGK = 日本モンゴ學會會報
NŠU = *Neyigem-ün sinĵilekü uqayan. Inner Mongolia Social Science*
OGDG = 大阪外國語大學學報
OLZ = *Orientalische Literaturzeitung*
ÖMBYS = *Öbör Mongyol-un baysi-yin yeke suryayuli erdem sinĵilegen-ü sedgül*
ÖMNŠU = *Öbör Mongyol-un neyigem-ün sinĵilekü uqayan. Inner Mongolia Social Sciences*
ÖMYS = *Öber Mongyol-un yeke suryayuli erdem sinĵilegen-ü sedgül. 內蒙古大學學報. Journal of Inner Mongolia University Philosophy & Social Sciences*
PEFEO = *Publications de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*
PFEH = *Papers on Far Eastern History* (Canberra)
PO = *Przegląd Orientalistyczny*
PR = *Psychological Reports*
RHR = *Revue de l'histoire des religions*

- RK = 歷史教育
 RO = *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*
 ROC = *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*
 RP = *Romance Philology*
 RSO = *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*
 SA = *Scientific American*
 SA_r = *Sinologische Arbeiten* (漢學集刊)
 SAM = *Arxeologiün sudlal. Studia archeologica Inst. Hist. Com. Scient. et Educ. Altae Reipubl. Pop. Mong.*
 SE = *Ėtnografiün sudlal. Studia ethnographica Inst. Hist. Acad. Scient. Reipubl. Pop. Mong.*
 SEC = *Studia Etymologica Cracoviensia*
 SĖ = *Sovetskaya ėtnografiya*
 SF = *Aman zoxiol sudlal. Studia folclorica Inst. Linguae et Litt. Acad. Scient. Reipubl. Pop. Mong.*
 SGKAO = *Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des alten Orients* (Berlin)
 SH = *Tüüxiün sudlal. Studia historica Inst. Historiae Acad. Scient. Reipubl. Pop. Mong.*
 Shaman = *Shaman. Journal of the International Society for Shamanistic Research*
 Shikan = 史觀
 Shirin = 史林
 Shisō = 思想
 SHM = *Mongyol teüke sudulul. 蒙古史研究. Studia historica Mongolica*
 SI = *Studia Islamica*
 SIK = 史學彙刊
 SLCAAMS = (*Institute for the) Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa Monograph Series* (Tokyo University of Foreign Studies)
 SLTS = 史料叢書 (Taipei)
 SM = *Studia Mongolica Inst. Linguae et Litt. Com. Scient. et Educ. Altae Reipubl. Pop. Mong.* See MSu
 SNV = *Strany i narody vostoka*

- SO = *Studia Orientalia* (Helsinki)
 SO_r = *Studi Orientali*
 SOLL = *Sources of Oriental Languages and Literatures* (Harvard University)
 SPTK = 四部叢刊
 SS = *Studia Serica*
 SSM = *Studia Serica Monographs*
 SSN = *Sung Studies Newsletter* (later BSYS and JSYS)
 ST = *Studia Tibetica*
 SUA = *Studia Uralo-Altaica*
 SZ = 史學雜誌
 ŠU = *Šinžlëx uxaan. Nauka*
 TBI = *Trudy Buryatskogo Instituta Obščestvennykh Nauk BF SO AN SSSR* (Ulan-Ude)
 TBKK = 東洋文化研究所紀要
 TBR = 東洋文庫論叢
 TČRDMP = *Trudy Členov Rossijskoj Dухovnoj Missi v Pekine* (St. Petersburg)
 TD = *Türkoloji Dergisi* (Ankara)
 TDA = *Türk Dilleri Araştırmaları*
 TDAYB = *Türk Dili Araştırma Yıllığı-Belleten*
 TGDR = 東京外國語大學論集
 THG = 東方學
 THGH = 東方學報
 TLTC = 大陸雜誌
 TP = *T'oung Pao*
 TSCC = 叢書集成
 TSCIA = *Toronto Studies in Central and Inner Asia*
 TVOIRAO = *Trudy Vostočnago Otdeleniya Imperatorskago Russkogo Arkheologičeskago Obščestva* (St. Petersburg)
 TYGH = 東洋學報
 TYSK = 東洋史研究
 TYSR = 東洋史論集
 UAB = *Ural-Altäische Bibliothek*
 UAJ = *Ural-Altäische Jahrbücher*

UAS = *Uralic and Altaic Series*

UNTKM = *Ulsyn Nér Tom'yoony Komissyn Médée*

VFPA = *Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology*

VS = *Vostočnyĭ sbornik* (St. Petersburg)

WDK = 早稻大學語學教育研究所紀要

WS = 文史

WSCHP = 文史哲學報

WW = 文物

XZS = *Xël zoxiolyn sudlal. Studia linguae et litterarum Inst. Linguae et Litt. Acad. Scient. Reipubl. Pop. Mong.*

YCHP = 燕京學報

YS = 元史

YSPFCK = 元史及北方民族史研究集刊

YSLT = 元史論叢

ZAS = *Zentralasiatische Studien*

ZDMG = *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*

ZKV = *Zapiski Kollegii Vostokovedov* (Leningrad)

ZVOIRAO = *Zapiski Vostočnago Otdeleniya Imperatorskago Russkago Arkheologičeskago Obščestva*

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AAC I = D. Sinor, ed., *Aspects of Altaic Civilization. Proceedings of the Fifth Meeting of the Permanent International Altaistic Conference Held at Indiana University, June 4-9, 1962*, UAS 23, Bloomington, 1963

AAC II = L.V. Clark, P.A. Draghi, eds, *Aspects of Altaic Civilization II. Proceedings of the XVIII PIAC, Bloomington, June 29-July 5, 1975*, Bloomington, 1978

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1. PROPER AND PLACE NAMES

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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

(The publications listed below appeared, were received, or came to my notice too late for inclusion in the Introduction, the Commentary and the Bibliography; and some of the references were inadvertently omitted at the time of writing)

- p. lxxii, ll. 2-3: a new transcription of the text of the SH by Songqor was published in Hohhot in 2002 under the title *Mongyol-un niyuča tobčiyān-u sergügelte* (p.c. of Dr E. Chiodo).
- p. xc, n. 114: with regard to the HIIY of 1389, a new *Word- and Suffix-Index to the Hua-yi Yi-yü based on the Romanized Transcription of L. Ligeti* by Hitoshi Kuribayashi 栗林均 was published by The Center for Northeast Asian Studies (CNEAS) of Tohoku University, Sendai, 2003. This work includes an excellent photo-reproduction of the Chinese text.
- p. civ, n. 297, cviii, n. 338: a second edition of Li is in preparation in Hungary. It will be issued, under the original title, by the publishing house Osiris, with an Afterword, a revised chronological table and bibliography by G. Kara (p.c. of Prof. Kara).
- p. cx, n. 356: to the recent studies on Middle Mongolian one must now add Yoshio Saitō's 齋藤純男 book 中期モンゴル語の文字と音声 (*Script and Sound in Middle Mongolian*), Kyoto, 2003; and V. Rybatzki's contribution 'Middle Mongol', in J. Janhunen, ed., *The Mongolic Languages*, London & New York, 2003, 57-82.
- p. 223, l. 5 f.b.: on the intervocalic hiatus and Y. Saitō's contribution, see above.
- p. 224, l. 3: for the reading *č'inō* v. *č'ino*, see below, under p. 479.
- p. 234, l. 9 f.b.: *after* Ch'en Te-chih *add* 陳得芝.

- p. 341, last line: for the directive suffix *-ru/-rü*, cf. J.E. Erickson, 'On the Origin of the Directive Case in Turkic', *AOH* 55:2002, 403-411.
- p. 350, 4th para.: on the great standard (*tuq*) of the Mongols, cf. also D. Sinor 'Dix années d'orientalisme hongrois (1940-1950)', *JA* 239:1951, 222.
- p. 358, ll. 9-12: regarding the edible plants mentioned in §§ 74 and 75 of the SH, the full reference to Khasbagan and Imzab's article (in Chinese) is: 哈斯巴根, 音扎布, "“蒙古秘史” 食用植物的民族物學研究", 干旱資源與環境增刊, 內蒙古植物資源研究, 1992, 130-138 (English abstract, p. 138). The identifications proposed by Khasbagan and Imzab are the following: 1. *ölirsün* (§ 74) = *Malus baccata* (L.) Borkh.; 2. *moyilsun* (§ 74) = *Prunus padus* L.; 3. *südiin* (§ 74) = *Sanguisorba officinalis* L.; 4. *čičigina* (§ 74) = *Potentilla anserina* L.; 5. *qaliyarsun* (§ 74) = *Allium victorialis* L.; 6. *manggirsun* (§§ 74, 75) = *Allium senescens* L.; 7. *ja'uqasu* (§ 74) = *Lilium pumilum* DC.; 8. *qoqosun* (§ 75) = *Allium ramosum* L. As for the *qaraqana* (§ 195), i.e. *Caragana arborescens*, and the *deresün* (§ 249), i.e. *Lasiogrostis splendens*, cf. also Arch. Palladius in the *Bulletin de géographie historique et descriptive*, 1894.1, 59 and n. 1, et passim (on *Lasiogrostis*), 68 (on *Caragana*). For some interesting asides, cf. also the recent article by R.I. Meserve, 'On the History of Medicinal Plant Research in Mongolia', in J. Janhunen and A. Parpola, *Remota Relata. Essays on the History of Oriental Studies in Honour of Harry Halén*, Helsinki, 2003, 155-167.
- p. 419: for the Tangut title *nga-mbju* (> SH *gambu*), see also H. Franke, 'Zur chinesisch-uirgurischen Inschrift von 1361', *ZDMG* 153:2003, 147.
- p. 443, l. 6 f.b.: for the pronoun *bidanu'ai*, see below under p. 569.

- p. 479, 3rd para.: concerning the reading *činō* v. *čino* (see above, p. 224) and *Činōs* v. *Činos*, the argument in favour of *ō* (> *o*) as propounded here must be subject to some caution, since the long vowel of the second syllable is apparently not present in any modern Mongolian language or dialect.
- p. 551, ll. 5-6: for the Arabic-Mongolian document of 1272, see A. Temir, *Kirşehir Emiri Caca Oğlu Nur el-Din'in 1272 tarihli Arapça-Moğolca varfiyesi*, Ankara, 1959, 160 (l. 27), 164 (l. 27), 197. Cf. MPr, 271 (l. 27). The following is a tentative translation of the relevant portion (ll. 1-61): 'On the second *qaučid* of the first month of summer of the year of the Monkey (= 20 May 1272), when Nuradin (= Nūr al-Dīn), the son of Čaja (?), was at Ladib Kermen Sarai, he relinquished his own possessions, all of them, making them an *uqb* (= ar. *wakf*) for the sake of Heaven. He had (the deed) entered in this document: "After me, no one, whether (they be) my brothers, my sons, my daughters or sons-in-law, my grandchildren or great-grandchildren, shall make changes to this *uqb* (and include) people other than the persons recorded in this document. If (someone) contravenes, he shall be culpable (and liable to punishment) by Eternal Heaven!" Being told to accomplish (this) and carry it out in accordance with what has been written in this document, we, together with all (our) companions – these officials (*noyad*) – have acted as witnesses, being (the following): Samayar, Bainal, Dayir, Kökečü, T(e)mür, Abügen, Köke, Buqa T(e)mür, Samdayu, Iltüge (? Iltöge), the post-stations inspector Tajadin, Maryus, Tarayai, /Nabči's commander of a hundred/ Uriangqadai, the equerry Alay, Unuyučar (? Onoyučar), Ungiyan (? Ongqiyan) and the steward Bala, Čirgin (? Čirbin), Qutu Buqa, Buyačar, Boranud's commanders (*noyad*) Ögöljin (and) Čamtu, the commander of a hundred Samdayu, the equeries Čoban, Negbei; Mayu, Čaqa (? Čaya), Nabči's intendant Toytoya, Ašen, Čauya, Toyan, Turumtai, Audači (? Ečüdeči), Uriangqadai's son Qitadai, Nabči's camp-master Qanglidai, Talbar, Keremün; further, the companions of

- the commander Samayar, the stewards Mergegü, Tarayai, Bökmiš (? Bükmiš), T(e)mür, Qurtuḡa; Tödegü, Šongqor, Botoyan, Bora, Körbuḡa, Qalḡayai, Il Qutluḡ, Mulayidai, Mamačuḡ, Tegene, Sadi, Tabar, Šongqor *bayatur*, Bainal's companions, Masqud, Külebir, Mulaid, Qoltu Qoḡa, Kökečü, Noyai, Böbeg (? Bübeg), Kökedei, Iduḡadai, Nasuqutluḡ, Yüreg, Aban; further, the commander of a thousand Ayid, the commanders of a hundred Uḡsa, Toḡuladai, Ḡasan, Kökedei, Türkmen, Yisüder, ... egesün (?), Qadaḡan, Qoçḡar, the intendant Mönḡkeḡür, (and) Qutuḡu. We all, complying with Nuradin's (word =) order, have acted as witnesses for this *uqb'*. (Lines 62-67 are by another hand.)
- p. 551, l. 12 f.b.: for tu. *el*, see also I. Zimonyi, 'Bodun und *el* im Frühmittelalter', *AOH* 56:2003, 57-79.
- p. 552, 2nd para.: for the name given by the Tanguts to their own kingdom, see Franke H 2002, 227 and n. 3.
- p. 569, l. 2: for a comprehensive study of Mongolian personal pronouns in the SH, see now Hitoshi Kuribayashi's article "元朝秘史"におけるモンゴル語と漢語の称代名詞対応' in 東北アジア研究 7:2003, 1-32.
- p. 691, l. 2 f.b.: for a re-examination of the Chinese sources on the *kešik* of the Yüan dynasty, see Chin-fu Hung 洪金富, '元朝怯薛輪值史料攷釋' ('Reexamination of Chinese Sources on the Kesig or Imperial Guard of the Yüan Dynasty'), *CYYY* 74:2003, 325-388 (English abstract, pp. 387-388).
- p. 764, l. 3: *insert* (14) Čülgetei: this personage may well be the Čilḡütei of the Suldus mentioned in §§ 120, 124. Cf. Li, 219, s.v. 'Csülgetej'. In Cl, 238a, his name is incorrectly transcribed as 'Čülgetü'.
- p. 764, l. 12: on Müge (38), see Franke, *op. cit.*, 241.
- p. 824, l. 6: the names of Alčidai, Elčidei, Elḡigidei and their variants are hopelessly confused in our sources. As Pelliot

- rightly points out, 'Il est impossible de dire, sans un examen minutieux de tous les textes, quels sont ceux qui se rapportent à Älḡigidäi, fils de Qači'un, et ceux qui concernent des homonymes ou quasi-homonymes'. (*Chapitre CVII*, 29-30, n.1.) Even then, I doubt whether some of the individuals bearing these names can be positively identified.
- p. 889, l. 13 f.b.: for the military system of the Chin dynasty, see also H. Franke, *Krieg und Krieger im chinesischen Mittelalter (12. bis 14. Jahrhundert)*. *Drei Studien*, Stuttgart, 2003 (esp. pp. 215-245).
- p. 938, l. 11: for the name Aša (of Aša Gambu), cf. also H. Franke, 'Zur chinesisch-uirgischen Inschrift von 1361' (see above, under p. 419), 149-150.
- p. 982: for the latest developments on the search for Činggis Qan's grave, see John G. Man's book *Genghis Khan: Life, Death and Resurrection*, Transworld, London, 2003 (in press).
- p. 1039, ll. 11-12: for the names of the months in Middle Mongolian, cf. V. Rybatzki, 'Names of the Month in Middle Mongol', in A. Sárközi, A. Rákos, eds, *Altaica Budapestinensia MMII. Proceedings of the 45th Permanent International Altaistic Conference. Budapest, Hungary, June 23-28, 2002*, Budapest, 2003, 256-290.
- p. 1101, l. 5: a new edition of Cév., revised and enlarged by C. Šagdasarén, was published in Hohhot in 2002 under the double title *Mongol xělnüi tovč taiḡbar tol'*. *Mongyol kelen-ü tobči tayilburi toli*.
- p. 1182, l. 12 f.b.: a new unaltered edition of Šayḡa (1937), with the same title but different pagination, was prepared by Š. Čoyima and published in Ulan Bator and Hohhot in 1996/97.

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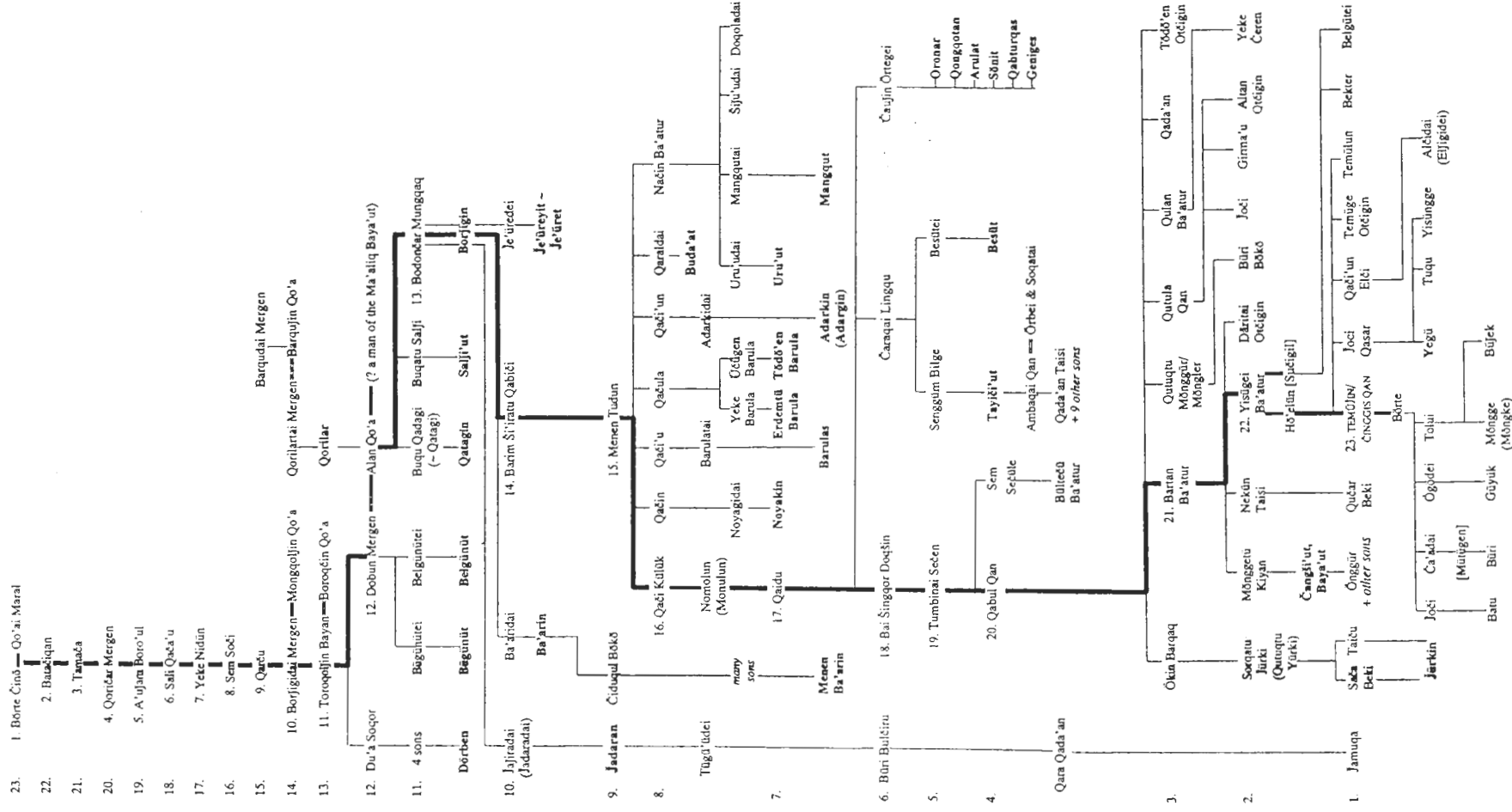


Table 1. Genealogy of Temüjin (Činggis Qan) and origin of the Mongol clans according to the *Secret History of the Mongols* (Clan names are in bold type; variant and alternative names are in round brackets; and names absent from the *Secret History* are in square brackets)