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**HEAVEN, EARTH AND THE MONGOLS IN THE TIME OF  
ČINGGIS QAN AND HIS IMMEDIATE SUCCESSORS  
(ca. 1160-1260) – A PRELIMINARY INVESTIGATION\***

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Abbreviations

ar.	=	Arabic	mo.	=	Written (Script) Mongolian
chin.	=	Chinese	pers.	=	Persian
eng.	=	English	pmo.	=	Preclassical Mongolian
lat.	=	Latin	tu.	=	Old Turkic
mmo.	=	Middle Mongolian			

The religious beliefs of the 'steppe' Mongols in the 12th-13th century, i.e. before a large number of them settled in their vast dominions in Western and Central Asia, and in China, have so far not been the subject of a thorough, in-depth investigation.<sup>1</sup> The reason is that for a comprehensive survey it would be necessary to collect data scattered in a large number of sources (Mongol, Chinese, Persian, Armenian and Latin) requiring close scrutiny and much interpretation. In the present paper I shall only deal with the conception of Heaven (*Tengri*) and Earth (*Γajar*, *Etügen* ~ *Ötögen*) as held by Činggis Qan (? 1162-1227) and his three immediate successors, viz. Ögödei (r. 1229-41), Güyüg (1246-48) and Möngke (1251-59).<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Cf., e.g., W. Heissig, *The Religions of Mongolia*, translated by G. Samuel (London and Henley: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980), pp. 6-23, devoted to a brief and rather unsatisfactory survey of Mongol shamanism from the 12th and 13th centuries to modern times; and P. Ratchnevsky, *Činggis-khan. Sein Leben und Wirken* (Wiesbaden: F. Steiner Verlag, 1983), pp. 137-142. See the English translation by Th. N. Haining: *Genghis Khan. His Life and Legacy* (Oxford and Cambridge: Blackwell, 1991) [ČK], pp. 154-159. Ratchnevsky presents a perceptive sketch of Činggis' religious beliefs as an important facet and integral part of his personality and behaviour without, however, elaborating the subject. See also below, n. 75, for further studies.

<sup>2</sup> For the concept of Heaven among the early Mongols see the references contained in J.-P. Roux, "Tängri. Essai sur le ciel-dieu des peuples altaïques", *Revue*

In the case of Činggis Qan we have two important contemporary sources. The so-called *Secret History of the Mongols* (*Mongqol-un ni'uča tobčiyān*) [*MNT*], a native epic chronicle mostly devoted to the life and gesta of the conqueror, compiled soon after his death, is of course a document of prime importance.<sup>3</sup> There is also a short Chinese account of the Mongols and their customs written in 1221 by the Southern Sung envoy Chao Hung 趙珙, who was charged with an official mission to Muqali (1170-1223),<sup>4</sup> the Mongol commander-in-chief and governor general in North China. His report, entitled *Meng-Ta pei-lu* 蒙鞑備錄 [*A Full Account of the Mongol-Tatars*] [*MTPL*], is a collection of brief notices on various aspects of Mongol life, culture and personalities based on information gathered during Chao Hung's stay in Peking from Chinese-speaking members of Muqali's entourage. Although much of the information is thus second-hand, the account as a whole is still a valuable source.<sup>5</sup>

*de l'histoire des religions* 150 (1956), pp. 49-82, 197-230; 150: 1956, 27-54, 173-212 – mostly devoted to the beliefs of the ancient Turks, and at times quite unreliable. Of more immediate relevance is M.-L. Beffa, "Le concept de *tänggäri*, 'ciel', dans l'*Histoire secrète des Mongols*", *Etudes mongoles et sibériennes* 24 (1993), pp. 215-236, and M.-L. Beffa & R. Hamayon, "The Concept of *Tänggäri* in the Secret History of the Mongols", in Š. Bira (ed.), *Mongolyn Nuuc Tovčoo'-ny 750 žiliin Oid Zoriulsan Olon Ulsyn Baga Xural*, I (Ulan Bator: Institute of History, Mongolian Academy of Sciences, 1995), pp. 185-194; and J. Fletcher, "The Mongols: Ecological and Social Perspectives", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 46 (1986), pp. 30-32. For the general literature on the subject see *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 (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2004, 2006) [*SHM(R)*], pp. 225-226; Fletcher, "The Mongols", p. 31, n. 13. On Etügen ~ Ötügen see the literature cited in *SHM(R)*, pp. 430-431, n. 113; and below, II.

<sup>3</sup> See *The Secret History of the Mongols For the First Time Done into English out of the Original Tongue and Provided with an Exegetical Commentary* by Francis Woodman Cleaves, I (Cambridge, Mass., London: Harvard University Press, 1982) [*SHM(C)*], and *SHM(R)*.

<sup>4</sup> For this important personage see I. de Rachewiltz, Hok-lam Chan, Hsiao Ch'ich'ing and P.W. Geier, eds, *In the Service of the Khan. Eminent Personalities of the Early Mongol-Yüan Period (1200-1300)*, *Asiatische Forschungen* 121 (Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1993) [*ISK*], pp.3-8.

<sup>5</sup> On the *MTPL* see P. Pelliot, "L'édition collective des oeuvres de Wang Kouo-wei", *T'oung Pao* 26 (1929), pp. 165-167. There are three modern translations of Chao's work into Western languages: 1) *Mên-da bêi-lu* ("Polnoe opisanie Mongolo-Tatar"). *Faksimile ksilografa, perevod s kitaïškogo, vvedenie, kommentarii i prilozheniya*, by N.C. Munkuev (Moscow: "Nauka", 1975); 2) *Meng-Ta pei-lu und Hei-Ta shih-lüeh. Chinesische Gesandtenberichte über die frühen Mongolen 1221 und 1237*, by E. Haenisch, Yao Ts'ung-wu, P. Olbricht and E. Pinks, edited by W. Banck, *Asiatische Forschungen* 56 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1980), pp. 1-84; 3)

Of the two leading Persian sources, Ĵuvainī's *Ta'riḫ-i Ĵahān-Guṣāi* [*History of the World-Conqueror*] and Rašīd al-Dīn's *Ĵāmi' al-tavārīḫ* [*Collection of Chronicles*], the former was written some thirty years after Činggis' death, and the latter (i.e. the section concerned with the conqueror's life) about seventy years after his death. Rašīd al-Dīn (ca. 1247-1317) had access to early Mongol sources that were not available to Ĵuvainī (? 1226-83), but Ĵuvainī had the advantage of having lived much closer to the events he describes and, in many instances, having been an eye-witness. Discounting certain obvious biases and omissions in his work both sources are of immense value to the historian.<sup>6</sup>

For Ögödei Qayan, beside the relevant sections in the *MNT*, *HWC* and *CC*, there is a Chinese source of prime importance, viz. the *Hei-Ta shih-lüeh* 黑鞑事略 [*A Summary of Matters (Relating to) the Black Tatars*] [*HTSL*] by the Sung envoy P'eng Ta-ya 彭大雅, who carried out a diplomatic mission to the Mongol court in 1232, with additional notes by another Sung envoy, Hsü T'ing 徐霆, who went to the Mongols on an analogous mission in 1235-36. The latter is responsible for the final editing of the text (in 1237) as we have it today. His valuable comments enrich P'eng's informative notices on numerous aspects of the government, customs, and the material and spiritual life of the Mongols. The topical arrangement is similar to that of the *MTPL*. It is a precious source.<sup>7</sup>

Wang Kuo-wei 王國維 of Hai-ning 海甯, *Meng-Ta Pei-lu Chien-cheng* 蒙鞑備錄箋證 (*The Meng-Tai Pei-lu With Notes*), by F.W. Cleaves, 1954 (unpublished). This is Cleaves' translation of the critical and annotated edition of the *MTPL* by the great Chinese scholar Wang Kuo-wei (1877-1927; see Pelliot, *loc. cit.*) done, however, on the text published in *Hai-ning Wang Čing-an hsien-sheng i-shu* 海寧王靜安先生遺書, edited by Lo Chen-yü 羅振玉 (Shanghai, 1940), *ts'e* 37. Cf. D. Curtis Wright, "The Papers of Professor Francis Woodman Cleaves (1911-1995)", *Journal of Sung-Yuan Studies* 28 (1998), p. 290. In the present article references to the *MTPL* are to this edition and to the German translation [*CG*].

<sup>6</sup> Ĵuvainī's work has been translated into English by J.A. Boyle: *The History of the World-Conqueror* by 'Ala-ad-Din 'Ata-Malik Ĵuvaini, I-II (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1958) [*HWC*]. Rašīd al-Dīn's history of Činggis Qan and his ancestors, which is Part 2 of Volume I of the *Collection of Chronicles*, is available in two Russian versions published in 1888 and 1952 respectively (see *HWC*, p. xlv), and in the recent English translation of W.M. Thackston: *Rashiduddin Fazlullah, Jami'u't-tawarikh: Compendium of Chronicles*, I-III (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, 1998-99), II [*CC*].

<sup>7</sup> On the *HTSL* see Pelliot 1929, pp. 167-169. It is known that N.C. Munkuev completed his annotated translation of the *HTSL* before his death in 1985; however, its present whereabouts are unknown. The German translation by E. Haenisch *et al.*, richly annotated, is found in *CG*, pp. 85-226. Cleaves' English translation of the *HTSL* is also unpublished. See Wright 1998, p. 289. As for the *HTSL*, references to the original Chinese text are to the critical edition by Wang Kuo-wei, *op.cit.*, *ts'e* 37, and to *CG*.

For Güyüg Qayan we are served even better. Beside the relevant sections of *HWC* and *CC*, we have the report on the Mongols (*Historia Mongalorum*) by the Franciscan friar John of Pian di Carpine (d. 1252) who went on a mission to Güyüg's court in 1245-47.<sup>8</sup> His mission elicited a reply from Güyüg to Pope Innocent IV, written in Persian in November 1246 and sealed (twice) with the imperial seal; there is a Latin version of the text. All these documents contain important information relevant to our enquiry.<sup>9</sup>

As for Güyüg's successor Möngke Qayan, we are truly fortunate: not only do we have the accounts in *HWC* and *CC* as with the previous qans, but we also possess the exhaustive relation of Friar John's Flemish confrère William of Rubruck, whose eventful journey to the Mongol court and back (1253-55) is recorded in his *Itinerarium*. This, a detailed report for King Louis IX of France (St. Louis), is a true mine of information on the Mongols; for wealth of data and ac-

<sup>8</sup> For Rašīd al-Dīn see also *The Successors of Genghis Khan*, translated from the Persian of Rashīd al-Dīn by J.A. Boyle (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971) [*SGK*], which covers the reigns of Ögödei to Qubilai (inclusive). On Friar John and his report see now Giovanni di Pian di Carpine, *Storia dei Mongoli*, a cura di P. Daffinà, C. Leonardi, M.C. Lungarotti, E. Menestò, L. Petech (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1989) [*SM*]. Regarding the parallel account of Friar John's companion Benedict the Pole edited by C. de Bridia, i.e. the *Historia Tartarorum* or *Tartar Relation*, I have not referred to it since it does not offer anything new to our investigation. See R.A. Skelton, Th. E. Marston, G.D. Painter, *The Vinland Map and the Tartar Relation* (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 1965), pp. 54-101 (Latin text and English translation by G.D. Painter). Constant references to it are found in P. Daffinà's commentary to *SM*.

<sup>9</sup> For a photo-reproduction of the famous letter of Güyüg to Innocent IV see Pl. I-V. For an English translation by my late friend John Andrew Boyle see I. de Rachewiltz, *Papal Envoys to the Great Khans* (London: Faber & Faber, 1971) [*PE*], pp. 213-214. Cf. P. Pelliot, *Les Mongols et la Papauté* (reprint in one volume of articles which appeared in the *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 23 (1922), 24 (1924) and 28 (1931), Paris, 1923 [1931]) [*MP*], pp. 14-21. On the Latin version of the letter see *ibid.*, pp. 11-12; and E. Voegelin's ground-breaking study "The Mongol Orders of Submission to European Powers, 1245-1255", *Byzantion. International Journal of Byzantine Studies* 15 (1940-41), pp. 386-388. For the legend of Güyüg's seal see *MP*, pp. 22-25; A. Mostaert et F.W. Cleaves, "Trois documents mongols des Archives Secrètes Vaticanes", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 15 (1952), pp. 485-495; I. de Rachewiltz, "Qan, Qa'an and the Seal of Güyüg", in K. Sagaster, M. Weiers (eds), *Documenta Barbarorum. Festschrift für Walther Heissig zum 70. Geburtstag* (Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1983), pp. 272-281. Furthermore, we have the texts (in Latin) of a letter from the Mongol commander Baiju Noyan to Pope Innocent IV brought back by the Dominican Friar Ascelin (1247) together with a letter from Güyüg to Baiju of the same year, as well as of an earlier letter of the Mongol commander Eljigidei to King Louis IX of France (1245). See *MP*, pp. 118ff., 127-129; Voegelin 1940-41, pp. 388-390.

curacy it far surpasses the *Historia Mongalorum* as well as Marco Polo's account.<sup>10</sup>

To the above sources we must add for the period in question:

1. The relevant chapters of the standard history of the Mongol dynasty, the *Yüan-shih* 元史 [*History of the Yüan (Dynasty)*], the *Hsi-yu chi* 西遊記 [*Account of a Journey to the West*] by Li Chih-ch'ang 李志常 (1193-1256), which narrates the famous journey of the Taoist patriarch Ch'iu Ch'u-chi 丘處機 (1148-1227), alias Ch'ang-ch'un 長春, from China to Afghanistan and back (1221-4); and other Chinese works like the *Sheng-wu ch'in-cheng lu* 聖武親征錄 [*Record of the Personal Campaigns of the Holy and Martial (Emperor, i.e. Činggis Qan)*], which derive from contemporary or almost contemporary sources.<sup>11</sup>
2. Epigraphical material such as imperial edicts and various rescripts issued by the Mongol court, and the already mentioned legend on the imperial seal.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>10</sup> See *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck. His Journey to the Court of the Great Khan Möngke 1253-1255*, translated by Peter Jackson. Introduction, notes and appendices by Peter Jackson with David Morgan (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1990) [*MFW*]; C. Dawson (ed.), *The Mongol Mission. Narratives and Letters of the Franciscan Missionaries in Mongolia and China in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*, translated by a nun of Stanbrook Abbey (London and New York: Sheed and Werd, 1955) [*TMM*], pp. 89-220. For the Latin text of the *Itinerarium* see A. Van den Wyngaert O.F.M. (ed.), *Sinica Franciscana I. Itinera et relationes Fratrum Minorum saeculi XIII et XIV* (Quaracchi-Firenze: Collegio S. Bonaventura, 1929) [*SF*], pp. 164-332. We possess also the text of a letter by the Regent Oyul Qaimiš entrusted to King Louis' envoy Andrew of Longjumeau (1251), and that of the letter of Möngke to King Louis (1254). See *MP*, p. 213ff.; Voegelin 1940-41, pp. 390-391. The text of Möngke's letter is found in William of Rubruck's *Itinerarium* (*SF*, pp. 307-309). Cf. Voegelin 1940-41, pp. 391-392; *MFW*, pp. 248-250.

<sup>11</sup> For the *Yüan-shih*, references are to the Chung-hua shu-chü 中華書局 edition (Peking, 1976) [*YS*]; for the *Hsi-yu chi*, to the critical edition by Wang Kuo-wei, *op.cit.*, ts'e 39 [*HYC*], and the English translation by A. Waley, *The Travels of an Alchemist. The Journey of the Taoist Ch'ang-ch'un from China to the Hindukush at the Summons of Chingiz Khan Recorded by His Disciple Li Chih-ch'ang* (London: G. Routledge & Sons, 1931) [*TA*]; for the *Sheng-wu ch'in-cheng lu*, to the critical edition by Wang Kuo-wei, *op.cit.*, ts'e 38 [*SWCCL*]. For an annotated translation of sections I-XXI (= *SWCCL*, 1a-27b) see P. Pelliot et L. Hambis, tr. & ann., *Histoire des campagnes de Gengis Khan. Cheng-wou ts'in-tcheng lou*, I (Leiden: Brill, 1951) [*HCG*].

<sup>12</sup> See Ed. Chavannes, "Inscriptions et pièces de chancellerie chinoises de l'époque mongole", *T'oung Pao* 5 (1904), pp. 357-447; 6 (1905), pp. 1-42; 9 (1908), pp. 297-428; Ts'ai Mei-p'iao 蔡美彪, *Yüan-tai pai-hua-pei chi-lu* 元代白話碑集錄 [*Collection of Inscriptions in the Vernacular of the Yüan Period*] (Peking: K'o-hsüeh ch'u-p'an-she 科學出版社, 1955) [*YTPHPCCL*]; and Iriya Yoshitaka 入矢義高 in *Tōhō Ga-*

Undoubtedly, some additional information may be found in the works of other Persian authors such as Jūzjānī, and in Chinese sources such as the surviving texts of funerary inscriptions (*shen-tao pei* 神道碑, etc.). However, for the purpose of our preliminary inquiry the above sources may be deemed sufficient.

The information on the early Mongol rulers' concept of Heaven and Earth obtained from the sources listed above has led to certain conclusions which are summarized below. Even though the picture may not be complete, insofar as Heaven is concerned I think we can feel reasonably confident that it reflects the true state of beliefs *at the time*.

We should point out at the outset that, as with other peoples and cultures, the Mongols used the word 'heaven' to designate also the physical heaven, i.e. the sky, as well as the supreme power identified with it, even though they had another term for 'sky' (pmo. *oytorju*[i]; mmo. *hoqtorqu*[i]; mo. *oytarju*[i]).<sup>13</sup> Since we are concerned here only with Heaven as a supernatural entity, we have not taken the firmament into consideration. When *specifically* referring to Heaven and Earth regarded as supernatural entities, the Mongol terms are capitalized.

## I. Heaven

### 1. The Name of Heaven

The name of Heaven as it appears in the earliest native source, the *Secret History of the Mongols*, is *Tenggeri* ~ *Tenggiri*, which represents the Middle Mongolian pronunciation of the word written *tngrī* (= *tengri*) in

*kuhō* 東方學報 (*Journal of Oriental Studies*) 26 (1956), pp. 186-228, for a critical review of Ts'ai's contribution. For the legend of Güyük's seal see above, n. 9.

<sup>13</sup> For this word see I. de Rachewiltz, "Some Remarks on Written Mongolian", in Chang Chün-I 張駿逸 (ed.), *International Symposium on Mongolian Culture* (Taipei: Meng Tsang Wei-yüan-hui 蒙藏委員會, 1993), pp. 123-136; *SHM(R)*, p. 412. According to N. Poppe, in Middle Mongolian the word *dēnri* or *tenri* did not denote the sky or firmament over the earth. Sky in the primary sense of the word is denoted by the word *kōke*, corresponding to the Turkic *kōk*, as, for example, in the Dictionary *Mukaddimat al Adab* (*The Mongolian Monuments in kP'ags-pa Script*, second edition translated and edited by John R. Krueger, *Göttinger Asiatische Forschungen* 8 [Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1957] [*MM*], p. 69). Poppe ignores mmo. *hoqtorqu*(i), and the fact that the word *kōke* 'sky' in the *Mukaddimat al-Adab* is simply an isolated borrowing from Turkic, the regular meaning of the word in Middle Mongolian being 'blue'. For tu. *kōk* 'sky', see G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, I-IV (Wiesbaden: F. Steiner Verlag, 1963-75) [*TMEN*], II, pp. 578-579.

Uighur-Mongol script, i.e. in Preclassical Mongolian. It is, of course, the same word as tu. *tānri* 'the physical sky; the deified sky: Heaven as an impersonal deity'. Much has been written on this word and its possible etymology, and we need not go into it.<sup>14</sup> In Classical and Modern Literary Mongolian we find the two forms *tngrī* and *tegrī*, of which the former is, strictly speaking, the only correct one, the latter being a misreading of *tngrī* (the letter *n* read as *e*) consecrated by usage or, rather, misusage.<sup>15</sup>

### 2. The Attributes of Heaven

i. Above or On High (mmo. *de'ere*; pmo., mo. *degere*), to be understood also as Supreme, of course, by being above us and being all-encompassing. Cf. tu. *üzä tānri* 'heaven on high' (*ED*, p. 280b) – definitely a supreme power since it 'decreed' (*yarliqadi*); chin. *shang-t'ien* 上天 'supreme Heaven'.<sup>16</sup> The *MNT*, § 1, opens with a mention of *de'ere Tenggeri*, glossed in Chinese as *shang-t'ien*; the same expression occurring again in §§ 177, 199. In the first instance, it is associated with the decreeing or pre-ordaining of destiny (*ǰaya'a*, see below, 3.i); in the other two, with the bestowing of 'protection' (*ihe'el*, see below, 3.ii). In § 177, Heaven is mentioned jointly with Earth (*Qajar*); and another key expression, *medetigei* ('let [them] decide!'), is applied to both powers. Interestingly enough, for the period under investigation the designation Above or On High for Heaven, so common in Old Turkic texts, is virtually lim-

<sup>14</sup> See *TMEN*, no. 944 (and the numerous references contained therein); L. Ligeti in *AOH* 1 (1950), pp. 168; 14 (1962), pp. 68; 18 (1965), pp. 267-269; G. Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century Turkish* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972) [*ED*], pp. 523b-524a; *SHM(R)*, p. 226.

<sup>15</sup> E.g., in O. Kovalevskii's *Mongol'skaya khrestomatiya*, I-II (Kazan, 1836-37), p. 576a (Index), the form *tegrī* (*tēgri*) is the only one used. Cf. J.É. Kowalewski, *Dictionnaire mongol-russe-français*, I-III (Kazan, 1844-49) [*DM*], p. 1763b (*tegrī*, *tengri*); M. Haltot et al., *Mongol-English Practical Dictionary with English Word Reference List* ([Hong Kong]: Evangelical Alliance Mission, 1949-53), p. 409b; F. Lessing, gen. ed., *Mongolian-English Dictionary*, corrected re-printing (Bloomington, Ind.: The Mongolia Society, Inc., 1982), p. 809b (*tngrī* = *tenggeri*, *tegrī* [no mention of *tengri*! – I.R.]). For the word *tengri* in the modern Mongolian dialects see N. Poppe, *Introduction to Mongolian Comparative Studies* (Helsinki: Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura, 1955), p. 46. For *tenggeri* ~ *tenggiri* (*e* ~ *i* in the second syllable) see A. Mostaert, "Quelques problèmes phonétiques dans la transcription en caractères chinois du texte Mongol du *huen tch'ao pi cheu*", edited by I. de Rachewiltz and P.W. Geier, in K. Sagaster, ed., *Antoine Mostaert (1881-1971) C.I.C.M. Missionary and Scholar*, I-II, *Louvain Chinese Studies* 4 (Leuven: F. Verbiest Foundation, 1999), II, p. 268.

<sup>16</sup> J. Legge (tr.), *The Doctrine of the Mean in The Chinese Classics*, I-VII, second edition, revised (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1893), I, p. 433 (6).

ited to the above three instances in the *MNT* – a text which by and large reflects the spiritual culture and beliefs of the Mongols in the 12th century. In those texts which reflect their attitude to Heaven in the first half of the 13th century, the standard designation is *mōngke*, i.e. the Eternal (see below, ii). One may then wonder whether *de'ere* (= tu. *üzä*) is not the remnant of an ancient cultural borrowing from the shamanistic Turks of Mongolia. There is no doubt, however, that the concept of Heaven Above was still alive among the Mongols in the second half of the 14th century.<sup>17</sup>

ii. Eternal or Everlasting (mmo. *mōngke*; pmo. *mōngke*; mo. *mōngke*). This is the most frequent epithet of Heaven – indeed a formulaic one – in sources of the period. Eternal Heaven is mentioned thirteen times in the *MNT* as 1) granting protection: §§ 187, 203, 256, 265; 2) granting Fortune and success: § 208; 3) a source of strength: §§ 199, 224, 267, 275; 4) the One who decides: §§ 172, 265; 5) the One who decrees: § 244; 6) the One to whom one prays for success in war: § 240. As noted by previous investigators, the numerous imperial edicts and 'orders of submission' issued by Činggis Qan's successors regularly mention Eternal Heaven in a standard 'opening formula' (the so-called *invocatio*) containing a specific reference to Heaven's 'strength' (mmo. *güčü[n]*; pmo., mo. *küčü[n]*): *mōngke Tngri-yin küčün-dür* 'By the strength of Eternal Heaven', thus using the identical phraseology of the *MNT*, § 275: *mōngke Tenggeri-yin güčün-tür*. The full formula contains also the words *Qayan-u suu-dür* '(and) by the Good Fortune of the Emperor'. In this form it is first mentioned by P'eng Ta-ya in the *HTSL*, where (11a) we read: 'Their (i.e. the Mongols') constant expression is "Relying on (= by) the strength of Eternal Heaven and the Good Fortune of the Emperor" (托着長生天底氣力皇帝福蔭)'.<sup>18</sup> The first (and most important)

<sup>17</sup> The expression *de'ere Tenggeri* appears four times in another famous Middle Mongolian text, the *Hua-i i-yü* 華夷譯語 or *Sino-Foreign (= Mongol) Vocabulary* of 1389, three times in documents which are translations of Chinese originals, and once in a petition addressed to the Ming court by Mongol chiefs, the original of which was in Mongolian. See A. Mostaert, *Le matériel mongol du Houa i i-yü* 華夷譯語 de Houng-ou (1389), I, édité par I. de Rachewiltz avec l'assistance de A. Schönbaum, *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques* 18 (Bruxelles: Institut Belge des Hautes Études Chinoises, 1977) [LMMI], pp. 2 (7r4), 4 (13r4), 6 (19v4); 8 (1r4). The expression *shang-t'ien* 上天 is found in the initial formula *shang-t'ien chüan-ming* 上天眷命 'Auguste édit de l'Empereur qui règne par le mandat bienveillant du Ciel souverain' (Chavannes 1908, p. 313 *et passim*) which occurs frequently in the imperial edicts of the Yüan written in Classical Chinese. However, this formula is purely Chinese and cannot be taken into account in our discussion. The same may be said for the expression *shang-t'ien chih ming* 上天之命 'the mandate of Heaven Above' in Qubilai's proclamation on his enthronement on 15 May 1260. See *YS* 4, 64 (*in fine*).

<sup>18</sup> See *CG*, p. 141. In some of the later edicts we find some variations in the phraseology of the second element of the initial formula. See F.W. Cleaves, "The Mongolian Monuments in the Musée de Téhéran", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*

half of the formula opens the legend on Güyüg's seal (lines 1-2), the content of which is itself an order of submission: (1) *mōngke Tngri-yin* (2) *küčündür yeke Mongyol* (3) *ulus-un dalai-yin* (4) *qanu Jrly il bulya* (5) *irgen-dür kürbesü* (6) *büsiiretügüi ayutuyai* 'By the strength of Eternal Heaven, Order of the ruler of the Great Mongol Nation and of [all within] the seas (= the whole world). When it (i.e. the Order) reaches the subject and the rebel (= not yet submitted) people, let them respect and fear it!<sup>19</sup> In the text of the very letter to which the seal is affixed, the 'strength of (Eternal) Heaven' is referred to twice, 'the order of Heaven' six times, and 'Eternal Heaven' and 'Heaven' *tout court* three times.<sup>20</sup> For the period with which we are concerned, besides the above two documents, the Latin version of Güyüg's letter, and other official communications from the Mongol authorities to the Papacy (also in their Latin translations) containing the *invocatio*, the texts of at least nine documents have survived which contain the same full or partial formula in its Chinese version.<sup>21</sup> Many more are extant in both Mongolian (in 'Phags-pa script) and Chinese dating from the period of Qubilai Qayan (r. 1260-94) to the end of the Yüan dynasty, the last one being issued in 1363,<sup>22</sup> as

16 (1953), pp. 23, 44, n. 6. The Chinese expression *fu-yin* 福蔭 (蔭) is usually taken as a binome meaning simply 'Fortune' or 'Good Fortune'; however, the literal meaning of this expression is actually 'Good Fortune (and) Protection', or 'Fortunate Protection' (protection bienheureuse). Cf. A. Mostaert et F.W. Cleaves, *Les Lettres de 1289 et 1305 des ilkhan Arghun et Öljeitü à Philippe le Bel* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1962) [LAÖ], pp. 21-22; Chavannes 1908, pp. 369, 373, 376. I think that this expression was coined for the express purpose of rendering the two concepts *implicit* in the Mongol term *su(u)*, and to translate it simply as '(Good) Fortune' diminishes its force.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Mostaert et Cleaves 1952, pp. 485-495; de Rachewiltz 1983, pp. 274-276.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. *MP*, pp. 16-21; Boyle in *PE*, pp. 213-214.

<sup>21</sup> I.e., in the Chinese vernacular (*pai-hua* 白話) employed by the Mongol chancellery. See *YTPHPCL*, nos. 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 14, 15, 19; *fu-lu* 附錄 1, no. 3; Chavannes 1904, nos. 5, 6; 1908, no. 40. For the Latin version of Güyüg's letter and the other documents in Latin see above, n. 9.

<sup>22</sup> See *YTPHPCL*, pp. 21 (no. 20)-97 (no. 93); *fu-lu* 1, nos. 4, 5, 8; *fu-lu* 2, nos. 4, 5; Iriya 1956, pp. 225-226; Chavannes 1904, nos. 7, 9, 10, 13; 1905, p. 40; 1908, nos. 41-44, 46-47, 50, 52, 54-55, 57-58; G. Devéria, "Notes d'épigraphie mongole-chinoise", *Journal Asiatique* 8 (1896), pp. 396 (no. 3), 441 (no. 5); *MM*, Texts 1, 2, 3, 4, 5; E. Haenisch, *Steuergerechsamkeit der chinesischen Klöster unter der Mongolenherrschaft* (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1940), pp. 58, 59, 60 (cf. *MM*, p. 137, no. 52); P. Pelliot, "Un rescrit mongol en écriture 'phags-pa'", in G. Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, I-II (Roma: Libreria dello Stato, 1949), II, p. 623; L. Ligeti, *Monuments en écriture 'phags-pa. Pièces de chancellerie en transcription chinoise, Monumenta linguae Mongolicae collecta* 3 (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1972) [MEP], p. 21 *et passim*; Chao-na-ssu-t'u 照那斯圖 (Junast), *Pa-ssu-pa tzu ho Meng-lu yü wen-hsien* 八思巴字和蒙古語文獻 [Documents in 'Phags-pa Script and Mongol Language], I-II (Tokyo: Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, 1990-91), II: *Wen-hsien hui-chi* 文獻匯集 [Collection of Documents], p. 8 *et passim*; D. Tumurtogoo with the collaboration of G. Cecegdari, eds, *The Mongolian Monuments in 'Phags-pa Script. Transliteration, Tran-*

