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# On a Puzzling Word in the Sino-Mongolian Inscription of 1335 in Memory of Chang Ying-jui

(In memoriam F. W. Cleaves, 1911–1995)

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## Abbreviations:

bur. = Buriat

dag. = Daghur

kalm. = Kalmuck

kh. = Khalkha

khor. = Khorchin

mo. = Written(Script) Mongolian

pmo. = Preclassical Mongolian

The Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1335 in memory of Chang Ying-jui is one of the longest and most important bilingual inscriptions of the Yüan period. Most of the philological problems concerning the Mongolian text have been solved by F.W. CLEAVES in his masterly study of this inscription.<sup>1</sup> Among the still unresolved problems is a word which occurs at the end of line 16 and which has been transcribed as *jidte* (without question mark) by Cleaves, as well as by all the other scholars who have dealt with the inscription.<sup>2</sup>

The word in question occurs in the following passage (in Cleaves' transcription): *Načın noyan-u ebedčın tuyuruysan-u qoyin-a Ying šui-yin jidte köbegüd-iyen [17] soyün ügüler-ün ...*,<sup>3</sup> which CLEAVES rendered: 'After the sickness of Načın Noyan had ended,<sup>85</sup> when, in the(?) presence<sup>86</sup> of Ying šui (Ying-jui), he (i. e., Načın Noyan) spoke, ...'.<sup>4</sup> In note 86 on page 115, CLEAVES writes: "The word *jidte* is not attested in any other Mongolian document with which I am acquainted. It must mean something like "in the presence", for the Chinese text has (line 13): (*chih kung*)<sup>a</sup> "pointing to His Excellency".<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> F.W. CLEAVES, 'The Sino-Mongolian Inscription of 1335 in Memory of Chang Ying-jui,' *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 13: 1950, 1-131. See also the 'Addenda et Corrigenda to Volume 13', *ibid.* 14: 1951, 326-327.

<sup>2</sup> CLEAVES, *op. cit.*, p. 72 [16]; L. LIGETI, *Monuments préclassiques 1. XIII<sup>e</sup> et XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles, Monumenta linguae Mongolicae collecta II*, Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1972, p. 39 (16); DOBU, *Uyiyurčın Mongvol üsüg-ün durasqaltu bičig-üd*, Peking, 1983, pp. 224 [16], 250 [16].

<sup>3</sup> CLEAVES, *op. cit.*, pp. 72-73.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 97.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 24.

Commenting on this word in his edition of the inscription, Prof. DOB writes: 'Professor Cleaves explained the meaning of this word as "in the presence" (*emiüne*).'<sup>6</sup>

Now, the word *jidte* does not occur in any known Mongolian text ancient or modern, and is not found in any Mongolian language or dialect. Since Cleaves is no doubt correct in inferring from the Chinese text of the inscription, as well as from the context, that the meaning must be something like 'in the presence', it is strange that such a word should have left no trace in Mongolian and should appear only as *hapax legomenon* in our inscription. Could the word have been misread?

A close examination of the photograph of the rubbing of the inscription as reproduced in plate XXIX (the first line of the reproduction is line 16 of the inscription) has convinced me that the word read as *jidte* must actually be read as *jiqada*. In the reproduction, the two 'teeth' of the letter *heth* appear to be joined by a small vertical line. This gives the false impression that the letter is the loop (mo. *gedesiün*) of the medial form of *d* before a consonant. In fact, the small vertical line does not form a proper loop and is obviously extraneous to the word – a defect in the stone or a carving error, possibly the latter. We have thus three 'teeth' in succession forming the syllable *qa* of *jiqada*.

The form *jiqada* for *jaqada*<sup>7</sup> (see below), 'in the proximity (of), in the presence (of)', appears twice in the *Altan tobči* of Lubsangdanjin (Blo-bzañ bstan-'jin), also known as the *Altan tobči nova*.<sup>8</sup> In the first instance, *jiqada* is substituted for the word *ča'ada* (written form: *čayada*) occurring in the *Secret History of the Mongols* (§ 231) which reads: *Yeren tabun minqad-ača*

<sup>6</sup> Dobu, *op. cit.*, p. 263, n. 48.

<sup>7</sup> For *jaqa* ~ *jiqa*, see J. É. KOWALEWSKI, *Dictionnaire mongol-russe-français*, Kazan, 1844–49, III, p. 2331b; A. D. RUDNEV, *Materialy po govoram vostočnoj Mongolii*, St. Petersburg, 1911, p. 88b; B. YA. VLADIMIROV, *Sravnitel'naya grammatika mongol'skogo pis'mennogo yazyka i khalkhaskogo narečija. Vvedenie i fonetika*, Leningrad, 1929, p. 185. For *a* ~ *i* in preclassical texts, cf. A. MOSTAERT et F. W. CLEAVES, *Les Lettres de 1289 et 1305 des ilkhan Aryun et Öljeitü à Philippe le Bel*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1962, pp. 13, 60. A perfect example is *ja'a- ~ ji'a-* (pmo. *ja-ya- ~ ji-ya-*) 'to indicate, point out, warn' in the *Secret History of the Mongols*. See E. HAENSCH, *Wörterbuch zu Manghol un niuca tobca'an (Yüan-ch'ao pi-shi). Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen*, Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1939 (repr. Wiesbaden, 1962), pp. 84, 89.

<sup>8</sup> See *Értüüi xaadyn ündsléslen tör yosny zoxiolyg tovčlon xuraasan altan tovč xémèex oršvoï* 'The Golden Summary Which Relates Briefly The Deeds Of Civil Governing Established By Ancient Emperors' (*The Mongol chronicle of the 17th century*), ed. by Š. BIRA, Ulan Bator, 1990 (hereafter: *Altan tobči*), f. 75b, lines 5 and 26. Cf. H.-P. VIETZE, G. LUBSANG, *Altan Tobči. Eine mongolische Chronik des XVII. Jahrhunderts von Blo bzañ bstan 'jin. Text und Index*, Tokyo: Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, 1992, p. 54, lines 2358 and 2369; L. LIGETI, *Histoire secrète des Mongols. Texte en écriture ouigoure incorporé dans la chronique Altan tobči de Blo-bzañ bstan-'jin, Monumenta linguae Mongolicae collecta VI*, Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1974, p. 164, §§ 231 and 232.

*minu beye ča'ada emčülen ilqažu irekset tümen emčü kešigten-i minu ...* 'As for my ten thousand personal guards who have come (to serve) in my presence (lit., "in the presence of my person"), chosen for personal service from the ninety-five thousand ...'.<sup>9</sup> The passage in the *Altan tobči* reads: *Yeren tabun mingyad-ača minu bey-e jiyada (= jiqada) amalan (= emčülen) ilyažu iregsed tümen kešig-ten-i minu*. The word *jiyada* is accompanied by the interlinear gloss *sidar* 'near, close'.<sup>10</sup> In the second instance, the passage in the *Altan tobči* corresponds to that of the *Secret History* (§ 232) which reads: *e'üten-tiür kebte'ül-ün e'üdečin ger ča'ada bayituqai* 'At the door, the door-keepers from the night-guards shall stand right next to the tent.'<sup>11</sup> The same passage in the *Altan tobči* reads: *egüden-diür kebtegüliün egüden-eče ger čayada bayituyai*. There is a gloss alongside the word *čayada* which reads *jiqada*.<sup>12</sup> From these two instances we may conclude that the word *jiqada* (written *jiyada* in the first instance)<sup>13</sup> was known to the author of the glosses, and that this word is

<sup>9</sup> See I. DE RACHEWILTZ, *Index to the Secret History of the Mongols, Uralic & Altaic Series 121*, Bloomington, Ind., 1972, p. 133, lines 9117–9118; IDEM, 'The Secret History of the Mongols. Chapter Ten', *Papers on Far Eastern History* 26: Sept. 1982, p. 40, § 231. Cf. F. W. CLEAVES (tr.), *The Secret History of the Mongols For the First Time Done into English out of the Original Tongue and Provided with an Exegetical Commentary*, I (Translation), Cambridge, Mass., London: Harvard University Press, 1982, p. 169, § 231.

<sup>10</sup> *Altan tobči*, f. 75b, lines 4–6. LIGETI, *loc. cit.*, has arbitrarily changed *jiyada* into *čayada*. Cf. Lubsan Danzan, *Altan tobči ("Zolotoe skazanie")*, tr. and ann. by N. P. ŠASTINA, Moscow: Nauka, 1973, p. 163, where *minu bey-e jiyada* is rendered 'to me' (*ko mne*). In his revised modern version of the *Altan tobči*, ŠAGDAR renders *jiyada* with an impossible *žaxad* (pro *zaxad*?), replacing the *šadar* (mo. *sidar*) 'near, close' of the earlier (first) edition which had incorporated the gloss into the text. See C. ŠAGDAR, *Értüüi xaadyn ündsléslen tör yosny zoxiolyg tovčlon xuraasan altan tovč xémèex oršivaï*, Ulan Bator, 1990, p. 83; IDEM, *Altan tovč*, Ulan Bator, 1957, p. 92.

<sup>11</sup> See DE RACHEWILTZ, *Index*, p. 134, lines 9204–9205; DE RACHEWILTZ, 'The Secret History of the Mongols. Chapter Ten', p. 41. Cf. CLEAVES, *The Secret History of the Mongols*, p. 170.

<sup>12</sup> *Altan tobči*, f. 75b, lines 25–26. ŠASTINA, *op. cit.*, p. 163, renders *čayada* 'sentry' (*časovoï*), adding in note bn: '*čayada* "sentry, guard" has the gloss *jiyada* "who point out", thus completely misunderstanding the passage. Cf. ŠAGDAR's unwarranted rendering of *čayada* in this passage as *cagdan* 'militia' (ŠAGDAR, *loc. cit.*). In a note to this passage in his edition of the *Altan tobči*, Prof. COYŪJI refers to the corresponding passage of the *Secret History* (§ 232) implying, I think, that the word *jiqada* corresponds to '*jaqa-du*' (read *ča'ada*) of the *Secret History*. See COYŪJI (ed. & ann.), *Altan tobči*, Höhhot, 1983, p. 326, n. 9.

<sup>13</sup> In the *Altan tobči* the dots distinguishing the letter *γ* from the *q* are used very erratically and often incorrectly, as is often the case. Jamyang Güng, in his copy of the *Altan tobči* especially made for Pelliot (and now kept at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris), has in fact tacitly corrected *jiyada* to *jiqada* (f. 105a, line 5). It should be noted, however, that in some modern dialects *jaqa* > *jaqa* (*d'žäga*, *džäga*). See N. POPPE, *Introduction to Mongolian Comparative Studies*, Helsinki: Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura, 1955, pp. 136–137. Cf. dag. *džaga*. See B. KH. TODAEVA, *Dagurskiï yazyk*, Moscow: Nauka, 1986, p. 141 (*s.v. džaga*). Cf. also M. HALTOD, D. WANGCHINDORJI, GESHIGTOGAHO FU, V. MCGILLIVRAY, S. GUNZEL, *Mongol-English Practical Dictionary*, [Hong-Kong]: The Evangelical Alliance Mission, 1949–1953, pp. 553a, 554a, where the word is entered under both *jaqa* and *jaqa*. It cannot be excluded, therefore, than in some cases the written form with *-γ-* instead of *-q-* may reflect a dialect pronunciation.

synonymous with the *ča'ada* (= *čayada*) of the *Secret History*, the meaning of the latter being 'in the presence (of); close by; next (to),' as evidenced by the interlinear Chinese glosses.<sup>14</sup>

The word *ča'ada* occurs six times in the *Secret History* (§§ 226, 231, 232, 269 and 278 [twice]), and, in the written form *čayada*, twice in the Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1335 (lines 35 and 55),<sup>15</sup> and once in the Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1362 in memory of Prince Hindu (line 21).<sup>16</sup> With regard to this word CLEAVES remarked: "The word *čayada* is not found in the later language, but it is encountered in the Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1335 (lines 35 and 55). In the *Secret History* it is written *ča'ada*. Cf. HAENISCH, *Wörterbuch*, p. 24. KOZIN in his glossary (p. 610) renders it "vblizi" [in the vicinity].<sup>17</sup> We may add that KOZIN (*loc. cit.*) also compares *ča'ada* with kalm. *čayiši* 'further on (away), beyond.'<sup>18</sup> Other investigators have related *ča'ada*, *čayada* to khor. *ča'ada* ~ *čahad* 'on one's person, in front of, close to', and to kh. *zaxad* id.<sup>19</sup> However, the latter correlation is incorrect, as kh. *zaxad* does not correspond to pmo. *čayada*, but to mo. *jaqada*, *jaqadu*.<sup>20</sup> *Čayada* is an adverb in *-ta/-te/-da/-de* from *čaya* 'the other (= opposite) side', hence its primary meaning is 'on the other (= opposite) side.' Cf. mo. *čayadu*, *čadu* (= *čādu*) 'situated on the other side, beyond.'<sup>21</sup>

<sup>14</sup> See DE RACHEWILTZ, *Index*, p. 206b; E. HAENISCH, *Wörterbuch*, p. 24; OZAWA SHIGEO, *Genchō hishi Mōkogo bumpō kōgi*,<sup>b</sup> Tokyo: Kazama Shobo, 1993, p. 394.

<sup>15</sup> See F. W. CLEAVES, "The Sino-Mongolian Inscription of 1335", p. 75 [35] in the combination *derge čayada* which CLEAVES, *op. cit.*, p. 100, renders 'in the service'<sup>205a</sup> (in n. 205 on p. 124, CLEAVES writes "... The expression *derge čayada yabu-* is literally 'to circulate in the presence and near'), and p. 78 [55] in the combination *oyir-a čayada* which CLEAVES, *op. cit.*, p. 104, renders 'in the presence.' Cf. Ligeti, *Monuments préclassiques 1*, pp. 43 (35), 49 (55); DOBU, *op. cit.*, pp. 234 [35], 245 [55], 254 [35], 259 [55]. In n. 83 on p. 266, Prof. DOBU writes that the word *čayada* should be read as *jaqa-du* 'near, close, in the presence.' For a possible third occurrence see CLEAVES, *op. cit.*, pp. 76 [46], 102 [45], and 128, n. 281.

<sup>16</sup> See F. W. CLEAVES, "The Sino-Mongolian Inscription of 1362 in Memory of Prince Hindu", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 12: 1949, 64 [21]. Cf. LIGETI, *op. cit.*, p. 67 (21); DOBU, *op. cit.*, pp. 370 [21], 394 [21] (where the word *čayada* is followed by *jaqa-du* in parenthesis).

<sup>17</sup> CLEAVES, *op. cit.*, p. 112, n. 99.

<sup>18</sup> S. A. KOZIN, *Sokrovennoe skazanie. Mongol'skaya khronika 1240 g. pod nazvaniiem Mongjol-un niyuča tobčiyān. Yuan' čao bi ši. Mongol'skii obydenii izbornik. I. Vvedenie i izučenie pamjatnika, perevod, teksty, glossarii*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1941, pp. 610, 564 (§§ 232: čaada).

<sup>19</sup> See E-ERH-TENG-T'AI, WU-YÜN-TA-LAI, A-SA-LA-T'U, 'Meng-ku pi-shih' tz'u-hui hsüan-shih,'<sup>c</sup> Hōhhot, 1980, p. 311. Cf. ELDENGTEI, OYUNDALAI, ASARALTU, 'Mongjol-un niyuča tobčiyān'-u jarim üges-ün tayilburi, Peking, 1991, pp. 539-540 (this is a Mongolian translation of the above-mentioned work).

<sup>20</sup> See A. LUVSANDENDĒV, *Mongol oros tol'*, Moscow, 1957, p. 195a; F. D. LESSING (gen. ed.), *Mongolian-English Dictionary*, comp. by M. HALTOD, J. GOMBOJAB HANGIN, S. KASSATKIN, F. LESSING, corr. repr., Bloomington, Ind.: The Mongolia Society, Inc., 1982, p. 1041a.

<sup>21</sup> See KOWALEWSKI, *op. cit.*, III, p. 2084a; LESSING, *op. cit.*, pp. 156a, 157b. For *čaya* and its development in the Mongolian languages, see W. KOTWICZ, *Les pronoms dans les langues altaïques*, Krakow, 1936, pp. 39-43, 65, 68.

As for *jaqada* ~ *jiqada*, this is also an adverbial dative of *jaqa* ~ *jiqa* 'rim, border, side', hence its meaning of 'on the side or border, near, by, in the presence (of)'.<sup>22</sup> Cf. mo. *jaqa-du*, id.; bur. *zaxada*, kh. *zaxad* id.<sup>23</sup>

In view of the above, I think that the word 'jidte' need not be considered in any future dictionary of Ancient Mongolian.

### Chinese Index

- a 指公
- b 小澤重男，元朝祕史蒙古語文法講義，風間書房
- c 額爾登泰，烏云達賚，阿薩拉圖，'蒙古秘史'詞匯選釋

<sup>22</sup> The word *jaqada* occurs twice in Sayang Sečen's *Erdeni-yin tobči* with the meanings of 'at the edge' and 'on the side'. See Sayang Secen, *Erdeni-yin Tobci* ('Precious Summary'). *A Mongolian Chronicle of 1662*, The Urga text transcribed and edited by M. GÖ, I. DE RACHEWILTZ, J. R. KRUEGER and B. ULAAN, Canberra: The Australian National University, 1990, pp. 63 (32v03), and 160 (81r29). Cf. I. J. SCHMIDT, *Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen und ihres Fürstenhauses* ..., St. Petersburg-Leipzig, 1829 (several reprints), pp. 81 ('an den Rand'), 249 ('am Ufer').

<sup>23</sup> See above, n. 20; K. M. ČEREMISOV, *Buryatsko-russkii slovar'*, Moscow: Sovetskaya Enciklopediya, 1973, p. 252b.