

GEDANKE UND WIRKUNG
FESTSCHRIFT ZUM 90. GEBURTSTAG
VON NIKOLAUS POPPE

Herausgegeben von
Walther Heissig und Klaus Sagaster



OTTO HARRASSOWITZ · WIESBADEN

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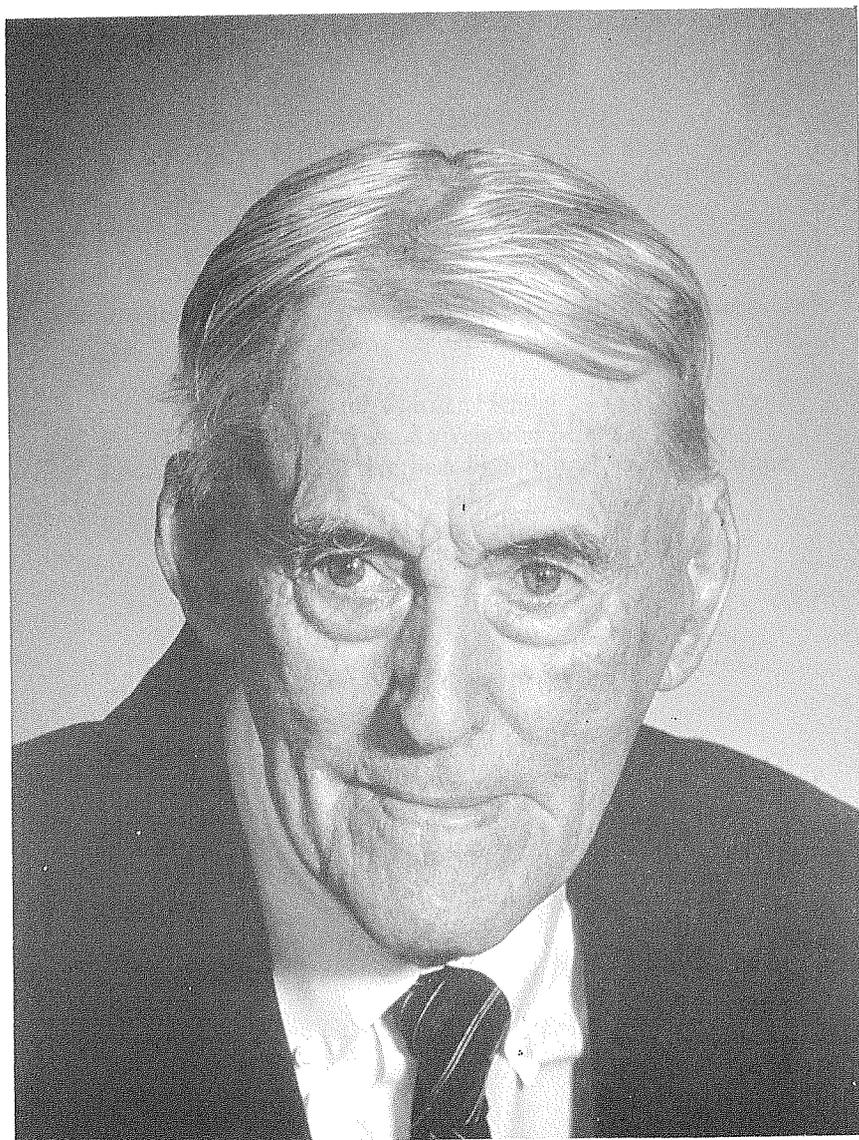
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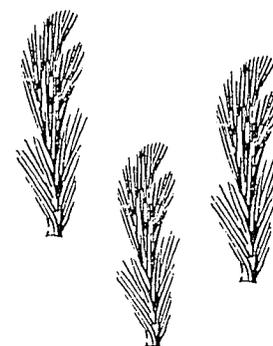
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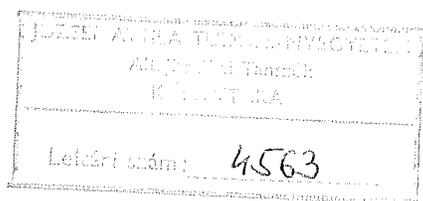
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LAJOS BESE (BUDAPEST) †

SOME ETHNIC DESIGNATIONS IN THE "SECRET HISTORY OF THE MONGOLS"

In this contribution, I attempt to interpret some ethnic designations in the *SH*. It may be that compared to certain people-names, as well as the *Mong-yol*, *Kereyid*, and *Tatar*, etc., the ethnic designations under study are of secondary importance, although they are important for the ethnical history of the 13th Century Inner-Asia, because they can show – among others – the ethnic components, and the ethnical environments of the peoples mentioned above.

Adarkin

The clan-name *Adargin* ~ *Adarkin* is mentioned in §§ 46, 207 of the *SH*. Moreover it is mentioned in *SH* § 260 *Adarkidai Qongqai* 'Qongqai of the Adarkin [clan]' n. pr. m., and § 46 *Adarkidai* n. pr. m. According to § 46 of the *SH* *Qačiyun-nu köbegün Adarkidai neretü bülege. adaruyči tula Adarkin oboytan bolba*. 'The son of Qačiyun was named Adarkidai. Because he was a backbiter among the brothers, he came to form the Adarkin clan.' This information of the *SH* was considered as folk-etymology by PELLIOT 1951, p. 58, LIGETI 1962, p. 143, and CLEAVES 1982, p. 10. The more exact definition of the word *adaruyči* 'backbiter among the brothers' mentioned in this passage was given by MOSTAERT 1953, pp. 299–302, and PELLIOT 1951, p. 58 first pointed out the Turkish background of this word.

SH *Adarkidai* is mentioned as Adar mergen /name and title/ in Rashid-ad-Din I/2, pp. 30–31. We again find another Adar in the Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1338 as follows: *qairan-tai gergei inu adar neretei ...* 'His kind wife was called Adar ...' /Cf. CLEAVES 1951, pp. 55/70./ In connection with this name, CLEAVES 1951, p. 93 remarked: "From the Chinese text, which uses the word [...] /shih/ 'clan' after the transcription of the name, it would appear that the name *Adar* is a clan name, not a personal name. If so, it may be related to the clan-name *Adargin* ~ *Adarkin*, which is well attested in the *Secret History*. Cf. §§ 46, 207, 260. In which case, it is possible that *-gin* ~ *-kin* is a suffix attached to the name *Adar*. Cf. also *Adarkidai* in the *Secret History* § 46." Actually, this MMo. *-gin -kin* 'belonging to, be-

ing in' suffix, occurring in ethnic designations, goes back to the OT den. n. *-gī, -gi, -qī, -ki* 'belonging to, being in' with MMo. final *-n*. /This *-gin* ~ *-kin* suffix is formed in the same way as MMo. den. n. *-či* ~ *čin* from OT *-čī* 'forming professional names' suffix.

Adar in the clan-name *Adarkin* was identified with Khal. *adar* 'stubborn' in *adar dzang* 'stubbornness; oddity, vagary,' Bur. *adar* 'clumsy, cumbersome; awkward, inconvenient' by POPPE 1975, p. 165. Thus *Ada* 'Stubborn,' 'Clumsy' might be the real name of Adar mergen in Rashid-ad-Din. Such names are Bur. Bald. p. 173 *Emneg* n. pr. m. from *emnig* 'wild, unbridled,' Bur. West. *Genen* n. pr. m. from *genen* 'silly,' Khal. *Galdzuu* n. pr. m. from *galdzuu* 'violent,' Bur. *Jompoon* n. pr. m. meaning 'cheerless' from *jombogor* 'salient,' Khal. *Xagarxai* n. pr. m. meaning 'highly wise' from *xagarxai* 'cracked,' Bur. *Bašli* n. pr. m. meaning 'cunning' from *bašal-* 'to be cunning,' etc. These names belong to the group of the fortuitous names or nicknames. Consequently, *Adar* 'Stubborn,' 'Clumsy' may be verified as a personal name. After this personal name the MMo. *-gin* ~ *-kin* 'belonging to' suffix occurred in the clan-name *Adarkin*. Cf. also the clan-names *SH* *Borjigin* from Mo. *borjin* 'female grey wild duck,' *SH* *Noyakin* from Mo. *noyan* 'lord,' etc. Finally, after the clan-name *Adarkin* the MMo. *-dai, -dei* 'member male' suffix occurred in the male name *Adarkidai*. Let me demonstrate this process again with another example: HAMBIS 1945, t. 12 *Ularkidai* name of a desc. of Temüke-otčigin from *Ularkin* an unrecorded clan-name from OT *ular* 'cock partridge' and *SH* § 202 *Ular* /recorded as *Olar*/ name of 'a captain of a thousand.' All these give us a fair assumption to deduce the clan-name *Adarkin* from an *Adar* 'Stubborn' personal name.

It appears to me that the passage of the *SH* mentioned above may contain a certain contradiction. The question is that *Adarkidai*, whose name means 'male member of the Adarkin clan,' was the ancestor of the same Adarkin clan. In other words, the personal name *Adarkidai* appeared in our source before the foundation of the Adarkin clan. I believe that this passage represents a kind of anticipation in itself. For this reason, to suppose that the ancestor of the Adarkin clan was named originally not as *Adarkidai*, but as *Adar* of Rashid-ad-Din, may be real.

Občiy

In the *SH* § 160 *Občiytai Kürin bayatur* 'Kürin Bayatur of the *Občiy* [clan]' is mentioned, a high-ranking nobleman of Ong Khan of the Kereit. The reading of this name, recorded by the Ming transcribers, is *Ubčiqtai Gürin ba'atur* in the *SH*. Rashid-ad-Din I/1, p. 133 mentioned him as *Ub-*

čir[i]tai Kūrin bahadur, and explained that the meaning of *ubčirtai* is 'red fruit.' A red face resembles this fruit in Mongolia, and the face of this emir was similar to that certain red fruit. Further on, Rashid-ad-Din I/2, p. 113 again explained that *ubčirtai* is a red fruit, which grows on that territory, and with which the women rub their faces instead of rouge. Because the face of Kūrin Bayatur was red in a natural manner, he was compared to this fruit, and given this name. The scholars, who examined the name of Občiytai Kūrin Bayatur, became highly embarrassed because of the interpretations of Rashid-ad-Din.

BEREZIN had thought to identify *ubčirtai* of Rashid-ad-Din with Mo. *ulabir* 'reddish,' but his proposition was rejected by both PELLIOU and DOERFER with good reason. PELLIOU 1951, pp. 328–29 read the alternative *Ūbčirtāi* and *Ūbčirtāi* in Rashid-ad-Din, and referred to *Uručičitai* in the *Altan tobči*, saying that this corrupt form can be interpreted much better from *Ubčiritai* as well as from *Ubčiqtai*. Then he wrote the following: "Ubčiqtai aurait été forcément de la classe non palatalisée; mais *ubčiri* peut aussi bien être *übčiri*, et l'altération *Uručičitai* s'explique aussi plus facilement avec *übčiritāi*. Le mot ne paraît pas avoir survécu en mongol. Peut-être faut-il le rattacher à *übči-*, mot-à-mot 'écorcher,' 'dépouiller [un animal],' mais qu'on trouve aussi au passif *übčikdā-* au sens d' 'avoir honte,' 'perdre la face,' mot-à-mot 'être écorché,' / 'son rouge visage sera écorché,' *Hist. secrète*, § 201/." PELLIOU's arbitrary and unprovable interpretation survives in the note of DE RACHEWILTZ 1976, p. 69 as follows "Ubchiqtai' is, perhaps, a mistake for *übchiritei*, which is the form given by Rashid al-Dīn, meaning something like 'having a red face.' See PELLIOU-HAMBIS, pp. 328–29." This may be also wrong. Firstly, because there is not a shred of evidence of **übčiri* meaning 'red face.' And secondly, as it can be observed, **übčiritei* occurs in a male name. Therefore, it is also a mistake to interpret the ending .TAY in **übčiritei* as MMo. *-tai, -tei* 'designating possession' suffix, because, as we know /see PELLIOU 1951, p. 228/, this suffix could appear only in the female names in the MMo. For this reason it could be possible only *SH* § 17 *Buqatu* in *Buqatu Salči* n. pr. m. and not **Buqatai* in place of *Buqatu*. DOERFER TMEN, No. 37 has criticized PELLIOU, too. He held the opinion that Rashid-ad-Din was mistaken in writing *ubčirtai* in place of *ubčiqtai*, though it is not possible to find the etymology for the latter form, too.

However, in denying the possibility of finding a definite etymology for *ubčiqtai*, GERHARD DOERFER forgot all about the fact that the vowels *o* and *u* are represented with only one letter in the Mongol script. For this good reason, *ubčiq* of the Ming transcribers can also be read *Občiq* or rather

Občiy. *Občiy* is the same word as the Tuva *občiq* 'crazy, mad, sly, arch' that is OT **opčiq* id., and the like. *Občiy* is composed of OT **op* 'trickery' and the suffix *-čiq, -čik* 'diminutive.' For proving the supposed OT **op* 'trickery' see Alt. *op* 'simulation, pretence, hypocrisy, dissimulation, slyness, archness,' Kirg. *op* in *obu joq kiši* 'queer man, odd man; eccentric,' Tuva *optug* 'cunning, crafty' from an earlier **oplug*, Kum.-kiži *optu* 'hypocrite, dissembler' from an earlier **oplu*, Kirg. *opton-* 'to take liberties with s. o.,' Kum.-kiži *opton-* 'to be cunning, dissemble' from an earlier **oplan-*, etc. This OT **op* 'trickery,' as a borrowing, is well attested in the Mongolian languages, too. Cf. Mo. *ob* 'trickery, deceit, fraud, intrigue, ruse; strange,' Khal. *ow*, Ord. *ob*, Kalm. *ow*, Bur. *ob* id., and Mo. *obla-* 'to play a trick,' Mo. *obtai, obtu* 'sly, cunning,' etc., respectively. The OT origin of this word is proved equally well by *Občiy* 'Crazy,' 'Cunning' in the *SH*, which is – as we have seen – an OT diminutive in *-čiq* of *op* 'trickery.' For other ethnic designations in diminutives see Tuva *Oorjaq* from *oor* 'thief,' Tuva *Salčaq* from *sal* 'beard, moustache' /cf. also *Salčaq-ool* n. pr. m., *Qara-Sal* clan-name/, Alt. *Qomdoš ~ Qomdogoš* from Kum.-kiži *qomdu* 'wary, undulating,' Osm. *Seljuq* from *sel* 'a torrent' /cf. also OT /MK/ *Seljuq sü baši* n. pr. m. and title/, etc. *Oorjaq* 'Little Thief' may also be analogous for *Občiy* lit. 'Little Trickery' concerning the meaning and motivation. Taking all things into consideration, the Kereit clan-name *Občiy* 'Crazy,' 'Cunning' itself is Turkish, not Mongolian, in origin. After this Turkish name the MMo. *-dai, -dei, -tai, -tei* 'member male' suffix occurred in *Občiytai* 'male member of the Občiy [clan],' an epithet of Kūrin Bayatur.

It follows from this that *ubčirtai* or *ubčiritai* of Rashid-ad-Din and *Uručičitai* of the *Altan tobči* are copyist's errors, and the given etymology of *Občiytai* may also neutralize the interpretation of Rashid-ad-Din.

For good measure, some thoughts on the personal name *Kūrin*. This is the same word as the Mo. *kūrin* 'dark brown, maroon /esp. of fur/; deep violet,' which is attested as a personal name, too. Cf. Khal. *Xüren*, Bur. *Xüren* male name. This name refers to the colour of the face of the newborn child, therefore, it belongs to the fortuitous names in the Mongolian name-giving. /The interpretation of the Alt., Nog. *Küreñ* n. pr. m., Kaz. *Küreñ* n. pr. m. and f., Tuva *Xüreñ-ool* n. pr. m., may be similar to the Mo. name./ No doubt the message of Rashid-ad-Din about the 'red fruit' may need a further study, however, there is no denying that Rashid-ad-Din's message may concern the personal name *Kūrin* meaning 'Dark brown,' 'Deep violet' much rather, than anything else. For this reason, undoubtedly part of the truth is included in this message in every case.

Ötegen

Čormayan, the famous commander of Chingis Khan, is mentioned as Ötegedei Čormayan 'Čormayan of the Ötegen [clan]' in the *SH* § 260. According to Rashid-ad-Din I/1, pp. 98–99 he belonged to the Sünit tribe /or people/. It follows from this that the name *Ötegen* may refer to the sub-tribe or clan of the Sünit people or tribe.

PELLIOT 1951, pp. 85–86 suggested that *Ötegedei* is an error for *Öte-güdei*, the ethnicon derived from the Mo. *ötegü* 'old man; senior' in the MMo. term *ötegü boyol* 'ancestral slave,' which according to Rashid-ad-Din I/2, p. 15, had eventually become a tribal name. /Cf. DE RACHEWILTZ 1984, p. 152./ The reading of this name is also certified in the *Altan tobči* as *Ötegedei* /cf. KOZIN 1941, p. 396 *Ötögedei*, SHASTINA 1973, p. 228 *Ötegedei*, LIGETI 1974, p. 193 *Ötegedei*/, therefore, PELLIOT's suggestion does not carry conviction. In my opinion, the clan-name *Ötegen* is a derivative in OT *-ğan, -gen* 'present participle' of OT *öte-* 'to carry out an obligation' /for further informations on this word see CLAUSON 1972, p. 43/, Kig. *ötö-* 'to carry out; to pay back; to return smb.'s kindness,' Kaz. *öte-* 'to compensate, pay a debt, recompense,' Osm. *öde-* 'to pay back /a debt/,' etc. *Ötegen* meaning 'One who pays back /the debt/,' 'One who compensates' is a well attested Turkish personal name. Cf. Kaz. *Ötegen*, Jark. tt. 5, 20, 68 *Ötegen*, Kklp. *Ötegen*, Özb. *Ütagan*, Bashk. *Ütegen*, etc. male name. The verb *öte-* 'to compensate' as an imperative name, and its derivatives in *-gen, -miş ~ -mis*, its diminutives in *-ş, -tay, -y*, etc., and its stereotype compounds in *bay, bek, biyke, jan, qul*, etc. are numerous in the name-giving of various Turkish peoples. Cf. Kaz. *Öte, Ötebay, Ötebek, Ötejan, Ötequl, Ötemis, Öteş, Ötetay, Ötey*, etc., Kklp. *Ötejan*, Nog. *Ötemis, Öteş, Özb. Ütayor, Ütay*, Bashk. *Ütebay, Üteş*, etc., male names, Kklp. *Ötexan, Ötebiyke*, Nog. *Ötebiyke*, etc., female names. These names, name-variants especially express the parent's wish or faith that their new-born child during his life will pay back all the goods which have fallen to his share thanks to the parents, and God, etc. Thus *Ötegen* 'One who compensates' clan-name belongs to the ethnic designations that came from a Turkish personal name.

Salčiyud

This clan-name appears in the §§ 42, 141 and 196 of the *SH*. In following the Ming transcribers, the sino-mongolists read *Salji'ut* in the *SH*. PELLIOT 1951, pp. 397–400 discussed this ethnic designation, although he could not

give an adequate etymology of *Salčiyud*. I also mention TZVETANKA TAFAR-DZIJSKA, "The Mongolian ethnonym Salji'ut and its counterparts in other Altaic languages." *The Third International Congress of Mongolists*. III /1976/, Ulan-Bator, pp. 367–376.

From the *SH* § 42 we can learn that the ancestor of the Salčiyud clan was Buqatu Salči. In the name *Buqatu Salči Buqatu* 'Having Bull' is a Mongol sobriquet. We cannot explain the readings of both *Salji* and *Salji'ut* of the Ming transcribers. However, after *l č* and *ǰ* are undistinguished by the script, therefore, instead of reading *ǰ* it is permitted to read *Salči* and *Salčiyud*, too, with full right. The name *Salči* is the same word as the Mo. *salči* 'raftsman' and/or Turkish *salči* 'conductor or builder of rafts.' /A similar proposition of Berezin was rejected by Pelliot, *Notes sur l'histoire de la Horde d'Or*, p. 75 n./ *SH* *Salči* could not be a Mongol name, because of lacking of the final *-n* which occurs regularly in the Middle-Mongolian words. In addition to this, by reason of contemporary customs in name-giving, this name can be far better Turkish, as a Mongol personal name. According to my information, it may be a case in point, Kaz. *Salši* n. pr. m. meaning 'Supporter' belongs to the "beautiful" names in the mind of the native Khazaks. /To this see OT *sal* 'raft,' figur. 'a support' in CLAUSON 1972, p. 842, and Nog. *Sallibay* n. pr. m./ On that account the *Salčiyud* clan-name is a derivative in MMo. *-γud, -güüd* 'plural' of *Salči* 'Supporter' personal name. Clan or tribal names of this sort of derivation are *Tayičiyud* from OT *tayši* and/or MMo. *tayisi* 'a title' from Chin., *Čangsiyud* from OT *čäyši* 'governor' from Chin., *ǰarčiyud* in *ǰarčiyud Adangqan Uriyangqai* from Mo. *ǰarči* 'footman, servant' in the *SH*. Thus, the clan-name *Salčiyud* derived from the personal name of the ancestor of the same clan as well.

The subgroups of the Tatar people

With reference to the Tatar people, some subgroups of that people are also mentioned in the *SH*. In the § 53 the *Ayiriyud Buyiruyud Tatar irgen* are mentioned, and in the § 153 the *Alči Tatar, Aruqai Tatar, Čayan Tatar* and *Dutayud Tatar* are distinguished. At the same time, Rashid-ad-Din I/1, p. 103 made a difference between six groups /Tutuqli'ut, Alči, Čayan, Küyin, Nereit, Barqui/ of the Tatar people.

Alči

According to Rashid-ad-Din I/1, p.103, the Alči Tatar people – a subgroup of the Tatar – had a separate armed force and ruler. Earlier PELLIOT 1951, pp.4–6 made remarks on the name *Alči*. I believe that *Alči* in *Alči Tatar* can be connected with OT *alči* ‘crafty.’ This name may belong to the ethnic designations, which refer to uncomplimentary or unpleasant mental or moral characteristics. Such ethnic designations are *SH Občiy* ‘Crazy,’ Tuva *Oorjaq* from *oor* ‘thief.’ Thus, the name *Alči* is Turkish in origin. As a matter of course, another explanation is also possible. It all depends on the manner of verification.

Aruqai

SH Aluqai of the Ming transcribers is certified as *Aruqai* in the *Altan tobči*. This is the correct form of this name /cf. Ligeti 1962, p.158/. *Aruqai* in *Aruqai Tatar* is an OT diminutive in *-y* of OT *aruq* ‘tired out; exhausted; emaciated, weak for the lack of food.’ It is attested OT *Aruq* n. pr. m., Jark. t.102 *Arik* n. pr. m., Jark. t.28 *Arikpay* n. pr. m. from OT *aruq*, Kaz. *ariq* ‘exhausted’ /cf. also OT *aruq er* ‘an exhausted man’/. Concerning the meaning and motivation Jark. t.32 *Ölermen* n. pr. m. from Kaz. *ölermen* ‘mortally exhausted’ and Jark. t.44 *Ölmesek* n. pr. m. from Kaz. *ölimsek* ‘weak, feeble /child/, inert’ may also be analogous with *Aruq* ‘Exhausted.’ Most recently MÁNDOKY KONGUR 1986, pp.12–13 emphasized that the Turkish *-y* ‘diminutive’ occurring in the personal and tribal names is very productive especially in the Kipchak languages. Cf. Jark. t.128 *Arkay* n. pr. m., *SH Arqai* in *Arqai Qasar* n. pr. m. from Kaz. *arqa* ‘the back, spine; figur. support,’ Kaz. *Arqa* n. pr. m. meaning ‘Support,’ Jark. t.112 *Bözey* n. pr. m. from Kaz. *böz* ‘belt,’ Jark. t.140 *Itey* n. pr. m. from Kaz. *it* ‘dog,’ Jark. t.108 *Koškaray* n. pr. m. from Kaz. *qošqar* ‘ram; n. pr. m.,’ Kk1p. *Ĵolay* n. pr. m. from *Ĵol* ‘road,’ Nog. *Yolaqay* n. pr. m. from *yolaq* ‘strip,’ etc. It is clear from this that the ethnic designation *Aruqai* ‘Little Exhausted’ represents itself as a Turkish personal name in origin.

Ayiriyud

Ignoring the origin and meaning, PELLIOT 1951, p.4 suggested that *Ayiri’ut* of the Ming transcribers is derived from sing. **Ayiriq* or **Ayiri’um*. Such a word, which may concern this name, is not recorded in the Mongol lexi-

con. I believe that *Ayiriyud* is a derivative in Mo. *-ud, -üid* ‘plural’ of OT *ayriq* ‘other; separate; independent.’ We should expect that OT **Ayriq* ‘Other /than .../’ was a personal name. It is recorded Uig. *Öñü* n. pr. m. /DTS, p.387/, Rashid-ad-Din I/1, p.142 *Öngü* in *Öngü Temür* n. pr. m. from OT *öñi* ‘other than /something Abl./, different.’ *Öñü* ‘Other,’ ‘Different’ might be synonymous with **Ayriq* ‘Other,’ because *öñü* is mentioned as alternative to *ayruq* ‘other, different.’ /On this subject see CLAUSON 1972, p.171 a./ Thus the ethnic designation *Ayiriyud* may in all probability represent a Turkish personal name.

Buyiruyud

As PELLIOT 1951, pp.3–4 pointed out, the name *Buyiruyud* is a derivative in MMo. *-ud, -üid* ‘plural’ of OT *buyruq* ‘high official, minister; a title of office.’ For this reason, PELLIOT also supposed with full right that the group of Tatars designated with this name was named after their chief, holding the office of *buyruq*. Thus *Buyiruyud* may mean ‘The *Buyruqs*,’ ‘The people of the *buyruq*,’ and the like. With regard to ethnical history it is important that *buyruq*, an OT office and title, was known and used by the Tatars, too.

PELLIOT 1951, p.3 also supposed that in the attributive construction *Ayiriyud Buyiruyud Tatar irgen Ayiriyud* was possibly the epithet of *Buyiruyud*. However, it is more probable that they are in co-ordination, in spite of the fact that their meaning is not of the same value.

Čayan

In the *Čayan Tatar* ‘White Tatar’ *Čayan* is the same word as the Mo. *čayan* ‘white; pure, good; noble.’ As we have seen, this Mongol name is mentioned in Rashid-ad-Din, too.

Dutayud

In the *Duta’ut Tatar* of the Ming transcribers *Dutayud* is a derivative in Mo. *-d* ‘plural’ of Mo. *dutayum* ‘insufficient, incomplete; defective,’ as earlier PELLIOT 1951, p.5 pointed out. Then, *Dutayud Tatar* may mean ‘Insufficient Tatar,’ ‘Incomplete Tatar’ and the like. In all probability this desig-

nation refers to a given mass or quantity of the Tatars, and on the other hand it seems to be equal with the terms *Alči Tatar*, *Aruqai Tatar*, *Čayan Tatar* in the *SH*, although it differs from these morphologically and semantically to a great extent. According to this, *Dutayud* 'The Insufficients' might also function as an ethnic designation of the Tatars.

As we know, Rashid-ad-Din I/1, p. 103 mentions, among others, a group of the Tatars, the name of which is written probably as TWTWQLYWT in the original manuscript. PELLIOU 1951, pp. 5–6 suggested that the real form of this name might be *Tutuqli'ut*, a plural of **Tutuqliq* meaning 'People of *tutuq*,' that is OT *tutuq* /or rather *totoq*. – Bese./ 'military governor,' an OT title borrowed from Chinese. At the same time, PELLIOU was of the view that *Duta'ut* /that is *Dutayud*/ of the *SH* might be the wrong reading of **Tutu'ut* /or rather **Totoqud*. – BESE./ meaning 'People of *totoq*,' just as *Buyiryuyud* means 'People of *buyruq*.' The latter proposition of PELLIOU is ingenious, but seems to me far from the truth. However, taking all things into consideration, the possibility of other explanations may not be out of question in the theory.

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