A CHANCELLERY PRACTICE OF THE MONGOLS IN THE THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH CENTURIES

FRANCIS WOODMAN CLEAVES
HARVARD UNIVERSITY

At the end of an edict of Ögedei of 1235, N° XXI on page 307 of Ed. CHAVANNES' "Inscriptions et pièces de chancellerie chinoises de l'époque mongole (Seconde série)," [1] we find the words 後有囘囘字一行. These words are not rendered in CHAVANNES' translation on pages 308-309, but in note 1 on page 309 he remarked:

> Après la date, l'inscription indique qu'il y avait encore une ligne en caractères *houei-houei* 囘囘字; ce devait être une ligne en écriture de Phags pa lama.

This, to the best of my knowledge, constitutes the first attempt to explain these intriguing words. That the explanation was not convincing, however, is apparent from the remarks of Paul PELLIOT on pages 188-190 of his article "Les plus anciens monuments de l'écriture arabe en Chine." [2] After citing the two lines of a Persian text in Arabic script which is found at the end of a Chinese inscription of 1307 in the temple of Yen-tzŭ 顏子 in Ch'ü-fu 曲阜, the native place of Confucius in the Shan-tung Province, he stated:

> C'est encore au Chan-tong, mais dans un temple taoïque dépendant de Wei-hien, que M. Chavannes a recueilli une autre inscription où il semble bien s'agir de quelque chose d'analogue. Cette inscription (n° XXI) reproduit un court édit daté de 1235; Ögödäi y prescrit de désigner des religieux taoïstes pour résider dans le temple taoïque qu'il vient de fonder à Karakorum. Sur la stèle, le texte de l'édit est suivi de ces mots: 後有囘囘字一行 «A la suite il y a une ligne en caractères *houei-houei*». M. Chavannes a supposé, là encore, qu'il s'agissait d'une ligne en écriture *'phags-pa*; je ne le crois pas. Que supposerait en effet cette hypothèse? On sait que l'écriture *'phags-pa* n'a été inventée qu'en 1269. Il faudrait donc admettre, de trois choses l'une: α.

[1] *TP* 9 (1908) .297-428 + 30 "planches."

[2] *JA* 2 (1913) .177-191.

L'édit original de 1235, conservé par les destinataires, était uniquement rédigé en chinois; mais, postérieurement à 1269 et avant la date indéterminée où la stèle fut gravée, on ajouta sur ce manuscrit original de l'édit une ligne en *'phags-pa*; les moines qui ont fait graver le manuscrit original ainsi complété n'ont pas vu qu'il s'agissait de caractères *'phags-pa* et les ont qualifiés de *houei-houei*, «musulmans» [1]. β. Ou bien l'original fut gravé immédiatement

[1] Les désignations usuelles des caractères *'phags-pa* à l'époque mongole sont soit *pa-sseu-pa*, soit 國書 *kouo-chou*, «écriture nationale». Une dernière hypothèse serait qu'ici, par *houei-houei*, il fallût entendre l'écriture ouigoure, mais c'est très peu vraisemblable; l'écriture ouigoure, au XIII^e^ et au XIV^e^ siècle, est régulièrement appelée écriture 畏吾 *wei-wou* ou parfois 畏吾兒 *wei-wou-eul*.

sur une stèle, à laquelle, après 1269, on aurait ajouté une ligne en *'phags-pa*; la stèle actuelle ne serait qu'une reproduction faite, à une date indéterminée, de la stèle primitive ainsi accrue; mais ici encore les reproducteurs [189] auraient confondu les écritures *'phags-pa* et arabe. γ. Le manuscrit original de l'édit, tout en chinois, n'aurait été gravé qu'après 1269, et c'est lors de cette gravure qu'on aurait ajouté, uniquement sur la stèle, une ligne en *'phags-pa* qu'une gravure plus récente (celle qui nous est parvenue) n'a ni reconnue, ni reproduite.

Il me semble que ces trois hypothèses prêtent à des objections plus ou moins graves, dont la principale, qui vaut dans les trois cas, est l'invraisemblance d'une confusion entre les caractères arabes et les caractères *'phags-pa*. Je crois même que, si M. Chavannes eût reconnu, sur les deux stèles dont il a été question précédemment, la présence de lignes persanes, l'hypothèse d'une confusion semblable à propos de l'édit de 1235 ne lui fût pas venue à l'esprit. Nous admettrons donc que l'édit de 1235 a été suivi, à un moment donné, d'une ligne en écriture arabe, mais là encore deux solutions peuvent être envisagées, et je ne vois pas encore de raison décisive pour choisir entre elles.

La première solution serait que l'édit original, tel qu'il fut expédié par la chancellerie d'Ögödäi, eût porté dès l'origine cette ligne, que les graveurs, peu au fait de cette écriture étrangère, ont mentionnée sans la reproduire. Dans la seconde hypothèse, l'édit était tout en chinois, mais la ligne en écriture arabe fut ajoutée lors de la gravure de l'édit sur une stèle dont la stèle actuelle ne serait qu'une réplique. Les documents dont nous disposons ne nous permettent pas de savoir quelles furent exactement les habitudes de la chancellerie mongole avant Khubilai. Une seule inscription est connue jusqu'ici qui remonte au temps même de Gengis-khan; c'est la «pierre de Gengis-khan» conservée au Musée asiatique de Saint-Pétersbourg[1]. Elle est en écriture

[1] Cette pierre a été surtout étudiée par Schmidt et Banzarov, mais est encore assez mal expliquée; on trouvera un résumé des discussions dont elle [190] a fait l'objet dans А. Позднѣевъ, Лекціи по исторіи монгольской литературы, 1^re^ livraison, Saint-Pétersbourg, 1896, p. 47-79.

ouigoure et en langue mongole, [190] mais c'est une inscription de hasard, sans

caractère officiel et qui ne présuppose aucune habitude spéciale dans la rédaction des actes émanant vraiment du souverain. Nous savons par ailleurs que des Persans ont été employés dans les chancelleries de Gengis-khan et d'Ögödäi; l'adjonction d'une ligne en persan à la fin de l'édit n'est donc pas inadmissible. Mais une réplique, comme l'explique la seconde hypothèse, est possible également. Le déchiffrement des lignes persanes sur les deux inscriptions de K'iu-feou est trop fragmentaire pour qu'on puisse se prononcer sur leur nature et leur origine véritables. Nous devons donc nous borner à constater l'existence d'une sorte d'épigraphie sino-persane au temps des Mongols, et à signaler l'intérêt qu'elle offre pour attester éventuellement, sous Ögödäi et ses successeurs, des habitudes de chancellerie que rien ne nous faisait soupçonner jusqu'ici.

We must admit that it was not with great conviction that PELLIOT proposed his own solution of the problem. A year later, however, he made an extremely interesting but undocumented statement on page 628 of his "Chrétiens d'Asie Centrale et d'Extrême-Orient."[3] It reads as follows:

Nul édit ne put être promulgué dans la Chine du Nord sans que Čïnqaï l'eût accompagné d'une ligne en écriture ouigoure; c'est là l'explication d'une mention jusqu'ici embarrassante qui concerne un édit d'Ögödäi rendu en 1235.[4]

---

[3] *TP* 15 (1914) .623-644 + 644*.

[4] The complete text of PELLIOT's remarks on this great *protonotarius* is as follows (*ibid.*, pp. 628-629):

"Dès l'époque de Gengis-khan, bon nombre de chrétiens, particulièrement des Keräit, s'étaient fait un nom dans l'entourage de l'empereur mongol. Le plus connu d'entre eux est Čïnqaï, dont les textes d'origine musulmane, par une confusion fréquente, font un Ouigour, mais qui était en réalité un Keräit. Fondateur en Mongolie d'une colonie militaire dont l'histoire se poursuit pendant un siècle et demi, Čïnqaï fut chargé d'accompagner en 1221-1224 le taoiste K'ieou Tch'ou-ki qui, appelé par Gengis-khan, se rendit de la Chine orientale dans le bassin de l'Oxus; ce chrétien Čïnqaï était auprès de Gengis-khan lorsque l'empereur mongol interrogea le taoïste sur les drogues d'immortalité. Aux cotés du Chinois (d'origine khitan) Ye-liu Tch'outs'ai, Čïnqaï s'assura un rôle capital dans l'administration du jeune empire. Nul édit ne put être promulgué dans la Chine du Nord sans que Čïnqaï l'eût accompagné d'une ligne en écriture ouigoure; c'est là l'explication d'une mention jusqu'ici embarrassante qui concerne un édit d'Ögödäi rendu en 1235. Ministre pendant le règne d'Ögödäi et de Küyük, Čïnqaï fut connu de Plan Carpin qui le qualifie de "protonotaire", entendons "chancelier". Il fut mis à mort, ainsi que son collègue le chrétien Qadaq (également nommé par Plan Carpin), lors des compétitions qui aboutirent à la proclamation de Mängü. Des descendants de Čïnqaï ont été en charge pendant toute la dynastie mongole. Les [629] noms mêmes de ses trois fils confirment le christianisme attesté pour ce Keräit par les sources musulmanes; ces trois fils s'appelaient en effet Yao-sou-mou (Joseph), Po-kou-sseu (Bacchus) et K'ouo-li-ki-sseu (Georges)."

For additional remarks on "Čïnqaï" see note 23 below.

Thus matters stood, without further discussion, until Arthur WALEY published *The Travels of an Alchemist* [5] in 1931. On page 34 of this work, WALEY stated with reference to the chancellor of Ögedei:

> Ögödäi, the successor of Chingiz, made him chief Secretary of State and gave him control over all business conducted (as were the affairs of Turkestan and the western countries) in higher writing, and no official documents of any kind were considered legal unless, next to the date, they bore a confirmation written in Uighur letters by Chinkai.

Although WALEY did not specifically so state, it is obvious that the source of his statement published in 1931, like that of PELLIOT published in 1914, is a text in the *Hei-Ta shih-lüeh* 黑韃事略 [6] [*Sketch of the Affairs of the Black Ta* (*i. e., Mongols*)], because the *Hei-Ta shih-lüeh* is included in his list of "Sources" on pages 41-42 and is cited by title on page 36.

A year later, on pages 417-418 of his review [7] of WALEY's book, PELLIOT reformulated the problem in the following terms:

> P. 34: Un passage du *Hei-Ta che-lio* de 1237 (éd. de Wang Kouo-wei, 7*a*) spécifie qu'un édit en chinois n'était valable que [418] lorsque Činqai y avait

---

[5] The full title of this excellent work in *The Broadway Travellers* series is *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* (George Routledge and Sons, Ltd., Broadway House, Carter Lane, London, 1931).

[6] In note 3 on page 234 of his *Sino-Iranica* (Chicago, 1919) [= *Field Museum of Natural History: Publication 201: Anthropological Series: Vol. XV, No. 3*] Berthold LAUFER wrote: "This important work has not yet attracted the attention of our science. I hope to be able to publish a complete translation of it in the future." It is regrettable that LAUFER did not give us a translation. The manuscript of my own translation was lost in Japan during the last world war, but I have almost completed a new translation which includes not only the text proper but the commentary of the great master WANG Kuo-wei. (See note 10 below.)

From the colophon dated 27 April 1237 we learn that this precious account of the Mongols is the result of a collaboration of two people who had both participated in diplomatic missions from the Southern Sung to the Court of Ögedei. (See notes 8 and 9 below.) It is without question one of our most important primary sources for the early history of the Mongols.

For bibliographic data on the text cf. provisionally Paul PELLIOT, *TP* 26 (1928).167-169; 28 (1931).417-418; and 32 (1936).231-232, n. 4; Henri SERRUYS, *MS* 10 (1945).56, n. 56. Cf. also the entry on this work (*Kokutatsu-jiryaku*) in the *Tōyō rekishi daijiten* 東洋歷史大辭典 3 (Tōkyō, 1939).215b.

[7] *TP* 28 (1932).413-428.

ajouté, après la date, une ligne en caractères 回回 *houei-houei*. *Houei-houei*, au XIII[e] siècle, peut signifier soit " ouigour ", soit " musulman " (cf. aussi M. W., p. 36); vu les origines de Činqai et l'ensemble du *Hei-Ta che-lio*, on est normalement amené à le traduire ici par " ouigour ", et c'est ce que j'ai fait dans *T'oung Pao*, 1914, 628, comme M. W. le fait ici. Mais en 1913 (*JA*, II, 188-189), quand je ne connaissais pas encore le texte du *Hei-Ta che-lio*, j'avais été amené à formuler une autre hypothèse. Un édit en chinois, de 1235, a été publié par Chavannes (*T'oung Pao*, 1908, 308-309); sur la dalle qui le reproduit, le texte chinois est suivi de la mention qu'il y avait dans l'original, après la date, une ligne en caractères *houei-houei*. Chavannes avait songé au *'phags-pa*, qui est exclu. Comme, dans les textes chinois d'époque mongole après le milieu du XIII[e] siècle, l'écriture ouigoure est appelée *wei-wou* ou *wei-wou-eul* (= *uïγur*) et que *houei-houei* est alors réservé aux Musulmans, j'avais songé à l'écriture arabe, et ceci semblait d'autant plus justifié que deux édits en chinois gravés au Chantong, dont l'un est de 1307 et l'autre sensiblement de même date, sont chacun suivis d'une ligne en écriture arabe et en langue persane, au lieu que nous ne connaissons encore aucun édit effectivement suivi d'une ligne en écriture ouigoure. Devant le texte du *Hei-Ta che-lio*, contemporain de celui de l'édit de 1235, j'admets que l'écriture *houei-houei* dont il est question à propos de celui-ci est l'écriture ouigoure, mais il reste à déterminer quand et sous quelles influences on a substitué au ouigour, dans la chancellerie mongole, une attestation en écriture arabe et en persan. Il paraît *a priori* vraisemblable que c'est lorsque des Musulmans, tel Aḥmed sous Khubilai, ont été des ministres presque tout puissants; on aimerait cependant à pouvoir l'affirmer.

The text in the *Hei-Ta shih-lüeh* to which PELLIOT made reference is a passage in an entry by HSÜ T'ing 徐霆,[8] which is appended to one by P'ÊNG Ta-ya 彭大雅.[9] Inasmuch as there exists no published translation of either of these entries, I shall present herewith an integral translation of each, together with a translation of the valuable comments by the late WANG Kuo-wei 王國維.[10] For this purpose I have used the edition of the *Hei-Ta shih-lüeh* published in the *Hai-ning Wang Ching-an hsien-shêng*

[8] For data on the co-author Hsü T'ing cf. provisionally Paul PELLIOT, *TP* 26 (1929). 167; 31 (1934-1935).163-164; 32 (1936).232, n. 4; and 35 (1939-1940).12.

[9] For data on P'ÊNG Ta-ya cf. provisionally Paul PELLIOT, *TP* 26 (1929).167; 31 (1934-1935).163-164; and 32 (1936).231, n. 4; Rolf STEIN, *TP* 35 (1939-1940).12.

[10] For this great scholar who was born in Hai-ning 海寧 in Chê-chiang 浙江 on 3 December 1877 and died a tragic death in Peking on 2 June 1927 cf. the " Nécrologie " by Paul PELLIOT in *TP* 26 (1929).70-72. Cf. also Paul PELLIOT, " L'édition collective des oeuvres de Wang Kouo-wei," *TP* 26 (1929).113-182. Cf. further Ed. CHAVANNES, *TP* 12 (1911).743; 746; P. PELLIOT, *TP* 20 (1921).138; 21 (1922).91, 329; 22 (1923).193, 384; and 23 (1924).2, 10, 256; L. GILES, *TP* 24 (1925-1926).308; H. MASPERO, *TP* 29 (1932).307; J. R. WARE, *TP* 30 (1933).107; W. HARTNER, *TP* 31 (1934-1935).192.

i-shu 海寧王靜安先生遺書 .[11] The texts in question read as follows (8a10-9a4):

As for their affairs 其事,[12] they write them with a wooden stick.[13] [The writing] is like startled serpents and crooked earthworms;[14] it is like the *fu-chuan* 符篆 [15] (" charm *chuan*-characters ") of the " celestial books " 天書; [16]

---

[11] I have used this later edition of WANG's collected works in preference to the *Hai-ning Wang Chung-k'o kung i-shu* | | | 忠慤公遺書 published under the editorship of Lo Chên-yü 羅振玉 and reviewed by PELLIOT in *TP* 26 (1929) .113-182 (see note 10 above)—the character 書 is misprinted 晝 on page 114 of PELLIOT's review—because I regard it as a product of much more careful editing.

[12] This is the twenty-fourth entry in the *Hei-Ta shih-lüeh*, each of which, with the exception of the first, is introduced by the word 其 (*ch'i*) " their."

[13] See note 38 below.

[14] A very interesting parallel is found in the entry on Chan-ch'êng 占城 (Champa) in the *Hsing-ch'a shêng-lan* 星槎勝覽 by FEI Hsin 費信 whose preface is dated 1436. A translation of the entry may be found on pages 92-95 of the second part of W. W. ROCKHILL's " Notes on the Relations and Trade of China with the Eastern Archipelago and the Coast of the Indian Ocean During the Fourteenth Century " in *TP* 16 (1915) .61-159. On page 95 of the translation we read:

" They do not use writing brushes or paper, but they cover a thin piece of sheepskin wit [*sic*] soot and sharpen a small piece of bamboo for a style which they dip in lime (-water) to write their characters with; these are like wriggling earth-worms. The language is like the chirping of birds,[2)] interpreters have to translate it."

[2)] The text reads 言詔 [*sic*] 燕鵙全憑 " The language is nothing but swallows' and tailor-birds' (chirping) ".

Inasmuch as ROCKHILL's translation contains a number of inaccuracies, I shall present herewith a new translation of the passage. In the *Chi-lu hui-pien* 紀錄彙編 edition of the *Hsing-ch'a shêng-lan* 61 (*ts'ê* 12) .6b7-8, the original text reads: 其國無紙筆。以羊皮槌薄熏黑。削細竹爲筆。蘸白灰書。字若蚯蚓委曲之狀。言語燕鵙。全憑通事傳譯. " Their country does not have paper or brushes. Taking a sheepskin they pound it thin and smoke it black. They whittle a small [slip of] bamboo for a brush. They write by dipping it in white lime. The characters (i. e., script) [have] a wriggling (lit., ' crooked and bent ') appearance like [that of] earthworms. As the language [resembles the twittering of] swallows and tailorbirds, one entirely relies upon an interpreter to translate it."

[15] For examples of the " charm *chuan*-characters " cf. the *Tao-tsang* 道藏 3 (*ts'ê* 1) .13b, 14a-b, 15a-b; 4 (*ts'ê* 1) .12b, 13a-b, 14a; 5 (*ts'ê* 1) .18b, 19a-b-21a-b.

[16] For this term cf. *Tz'ŭ-hai*, 丑集, p. 266d.

it is like the *wu* 五, *fan* 凡, *kung* 工, and *ch'ê* 尺 of the music scores.[17] The Hui-hui (Uiγur) characters 回回字[18] are probably brothers (i. e., akin).[19]

---

[17] These are four of the notes in the musical scale of the Sung period presented in a descending sequence of pitch. Although it would appear that P'ÊNG intentionally or unintentionally omitted from this group the note 六 which falls between 五 and 凡, it should be observed that precisely the same notes, in precisely the same sequence, are found in *Liao shih* 54 (*ts'ê* 10).10b5. It might, therefore, be assumed that the manner in which P'ÊNG has referred to the notes of the Sung scale is, in effect, a conventional manner of reference.

Regrettably the article by J. A. VAN AALST entitled "Chinese Music," which was published in Shanghai in 1884 by order of the Inspector General of Customs [= *China. Imperial Maritime Customs. II.—Special Series: No. 6*], does not help us with the Sung scale. I am, therefore, greatly indebted to Mrs. Theodore PIAN (*née* CHAO Rulan) for bringing to my attention on 15 June 1951 the very important passage in the *Mêng-hsi pi-t'an* 夢溪筆談 of SHÊN Kua 沈括 and the fact that it was published in punctuated form on pages 7 to 8 of the section of the fifth chapter entitled "Kung-ch'ê p'u" 工尺譜 (pp. 7-11) of the second *ts'ê* (下册) of the *Chung-kuo yin-yüeh shih* 中國音樂史 [*History of Chinese Music*] by WANG Kuang-ch'i 王光祈 (Shanghai, 1934). I am also greatly indebted to Professor William HUNG for working out with me a provisional translation of this text on a subject in which I possess not the slightest competence and to Mrs. PIAN and Professor YANG Lien-shêng for several helpful suggestions.

WANG introduces the text by stating (page 7): 吾國古籍中談及工尺譜者,似以北宋沈括爲最早. "Among the old books of our country, as for those which speak of the *kung-ch'ê p'u* ('music scores'), [the book by] SHÊN Kua of the Northern Sung seems to be the earliest."

In the *Chin-tai pi-shu* 津逮秘書 edition of the *Mêng-hsi pi-t'an* (*ts'ê* 179-182) the text proper reads (6[*ts'ê* 179].2b5-3a6):

"The twelve *lü* 律 ('tubes') together with the [four] *ch'ing-kung* 清宮 should have sixteen *shêng* 聲 ('notes'). As for the banquet (i. e., entertainment) music of the present day, there are only fifteen *shêng* ('notes'). It would appear that [the highest pitch of] the music of the present day is higher than [that of] the music of antiquity by slightly less than two *lü* ('tubes'). That is why there is no exact *huang-chung* 黃鍾 *shêng* ('note'). They only use the *ho* 合 character [= all holes closed up] to correspond to the *ta-lü* 大呂 [*shêng* ('note') of antiquity]. Still it is a bit too high. It should be between the *ta-lü* and the *t'ai-ts'ou* 太蔟. The low *ssŭ* 下四 character approximates the *t'ai-ts'ou*. [The 之 after 太蔟 and before 高 must be deleted.—F.W.C.] The high 高 *ssŭ* character approximates the *chia-chung* 夾鍾. [For an explanation of the latter term cf. *ibid.* 5 (*ts'ê* 179).5a5.] The low *i* 一 character approximates the *ku-hsien* 姑洗. The high *i* character approximates the *chung-lü* 中呂. The *shang* 上 character approximates the *sui-pin* 蕤賓. The *kou* 勾 character approximates the *lin-chung* 林鍾. The *ch'ê* 尺 [13a] character approximates the *i-tsê* 夷則. The [low 下] *kung* 工 character approximates the *nan-lü* 南呂. The high *kung* character approximates the *wu-i* 無射. The *liu* 六 character approximates the *ying-chung* 應鍾. The low *fan* 凡 character is the *ch'ing* 清 (= ?octave higher) of the *huang-chung*. The high *fan* character is the *ch'ing* of the *ta-lü*. The low

T'ing 霆 once investigated it (i. e., the writing). The Ta (Tatar) people 韃人 (i. e., Mongols) originally had no writing 字書. However, there are three kinds which they now use.

---

wu 五 character is the *ch'ing* of the *t'ai-ts'ou*. The high *wu* character is the *ch'ing* of the *chia-chung*. Although the method be like this, yet to conclude a *shêng* ('note') in [any of] the various melodies, one cannot completely match (lit., 'return to') the original *lü* ('scale') [to which one is trying to accomodate his instrument]. That is why there are categories such as *p'ien-sha* 偏殺 ('to conclude sideways'), *ts'ê-sha* 側 | ('to conclude laterally'), *chi-sha* 寄 | ('to conclude exactly'). Although it is not the same as the ancient method, [yet] if we calculate it, [we find that] it, too, is all reasonable. Those who know the sounds (i. e., music) can all explain it. Here, I shall not completely record [the explanation]."

From this we may tentatively work out the scale of the Sung *yen-yüeh* "banquet (i. e., entertainment) music" as follows: 合,下四,高四,下一,高一,上,勾,尺,[下]工,高工,六,下凡,高凡,下五,高五.

Although we must observe that this scale does not entirely coincide in the order of notes with that of most of the later scales, it does, nevertheless, afford us an idea of the musical scale of the Sung. All of this is meaningless, however, unless we understand that our author, P'ÊNG, had in mind the so-called *su-tzŭ p'u* 俗字譜 "vulgar characters score," i. e., the score with the musical notes written in special cursive forms, which forms do, indeed, resemble and, in some cases, are identical with certain letters of the Uighur script. We may then understand why such a comparison is extremely reasonable.

Excellent examples of these notes in the cursive form may be found in the *Ssŭ-pu ts'ung-k'an* edition of the *Po-shih tao-jên shih-chi* 白石道人詩集 of CHIANG K'uei 姜夔 of Po-yang 鄱陽. Although neither his birth date nor his death date is known, it is known that he memorialized the throne in 1197. Cf. the "Po-shih tao-jên shih" | | | | 事 in the *Po-shih tao-jên shih-chi* (*ts'ê* 1).1a3. For the examples cf. *Po-shih tao-jên shih-chi* 2(*ts'ê* 2).2b, 7a, 7b, 8a; 3(*ts'ê* 2).1b, 2a; 4(*ts'ê* 2).1a, 1b, 2a, 2b, 3a, 3b, 4a, 4b, 5a, 5b, 6a, 6b, 8a, 8b, 9a, 9b, 10a, 10b, 11a.

Tables of the *su-tzŭ* forms may be found in WANG, *op. cit.*, pp. 128-133. These notations are also referred to as *p'ang-p'u* 旁譜 ("side scores"). Cf., e. g., HSIA Ch'êng-tao 夏承燾 "Pai-shih ko-ch'ü p'ang-p'u pien" 白石歌曲旁譜辨 ("A Study of the Musical Notations of Chiang K'uei's Songs"), *YCHP* 12(1932).2559-2594. For his tables of the *p'ang-p'u* cf. pp. 2579-2584. Cf. also the sixth chapter on "Notation" on pages 89-96 of John Hazedel LEVIS' *Foundation of Chinese Musical Art* (Peiping, 1936), pp. XIII + 233 and especially page 91 for the "Sung notation."

[18] For a discussion of the term *Hui-hui tzŭ* which is encountered in HSÜ's text below see the remarks by PELLIOT cited on page 497 above. I presume that P'ÊNG used the term in the same sense, but I am not absolutely certain. See note 19 immediately below.

[19] From this statement it would appear that P'ÊNG regarded the *Hui-hui tzŭ* as a script distinct from that used by the Mongols. One is, therefore, tempted to think that by *Hui-hui tzŭ* he meant the "Arabic script." On the other hand, as PELLIOT has ably demonstrated, the term *Hui-hui tzŭ* in HSÜ's text immediately below means "Uighur script." It is difficult to believe that P'ÊNG and HSÜ were using the same

As for that which circulates in the country proper of the Ta (Tatar) people, they only use small sticks three or four *ts'un* 寸 long. They incise them [at] the four corners. Moreover, if they dispatch ten horses, then they incise [8b] ten incisions. In general, they only incise their number. Their customs are simple and their minds are concentrated [on them]. That is why [their] language does not err. [According to] their law, he who lies dies. That is why no one dares to falsify. Although they have no writing, by themselves they are able to establish a state. This small stick is [to be identified with] the wooden tally 木契[20] of antiquity [in China].

As for that which circulates among the Hui-hui 回回[21] (i. e., Mohammedans), one uses the Hui-hui (Uiγur) characters.[22] Chên-hai 鎮海[23] is in charge of it. As for the Hui-hui characters, there are only twenty-one letters 字母.[24] As for the balance, they only apply [it] to the sides to make up [the words].[25]

As for that which circulates in the countries which have perished, such

---

term in different senses in the same entry. I am, therefore, inclined to believe that they did not know that the writing of the Mongols at this time was, indeed, the Uighur script and not a kindred script.

[20] For the use of wood for tallies cf. the texts cited in the *Shuo-wên chieh-tzŭ ku-lin* (*ts'ê* 44).4567a.

[21] As stated by WALEY, *op. cit.*, p. 36, "The term Hui-hui generally means Moslem, but is also used in the sense of 'native of Turkestan.'"

[22] See notes 18 and 19 above.

[23] The biography of Chên-hai is found in *Yüan shih* 120 (*ts'ê* 38).10a7-11a9. A source of this biography was the "Yüan ku yu-ch'êng-hsiang Ch'ieh-lieh kung shên-tao pei ming" 元故右丞相怯烈公神道碑銘 ["Epitaph on the Spirit-Way Stele of His Excellency Ch'ieh-lieh (Kere[yid]), the Late *Yu-ch'êng-hsiang* of the Yüan"] (with a preface 并序) by Hsü Yu-jên 許有壬, which is found in his *Kuei-t'ang hsiao-kao* 圭塘小稿 in the *San-i-t'ang ts'ung-shu* 三怡堂叢書 10 (*ts'ê* 22).5a5-8a1.

[24] The term *tzŭ-mu* is used here in an acception which is extremely interesting in that it denotes the letters of a foreign script. In this acception the term is attested in the *Hsi-t'an tzŭ-chi* 悉曇字記. (For *hsi-t'an*, the Sanskrit *siddha*[*m*] "accomplished, finished," and *hsi-t'an chang* | | 章, the Sanskrit "*Siddhavastu*, the first of twelve chapters of a syllabary attributed to Brahmā, originating the thirty-six letters of the alphabet, later said to be expanded to as many as fifty-two," cf. William Edward SOOTHILL and Lewis HODOUS, *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms* [London, 1937], p. 350a). This valuable work in one *chüan* was compiled in the T'ang period by a monk called Chih-kuang 智廣. It was published in facsimile in 1916 by Lo Chên-yü from a manuscript in Japan. For examples of *tzŭ-mu* designating the Sanskrit letters cf. 8a4, 10a7, 16b8. Again, in the *Ching-yu T'ien-chu tzŭ-yüan* 景祐天竺字源, a work, as indicated by the title, compiled in the years 1034-1037 and published in facsimile in 1916 by Lo Chên-yü from a manuscript copy, there are numerous examples of *tzŭ-mu* designating the Sanskrit letters. Cf., e. g., 1 (*ts'ê*). [1a]5, 7, and 10.

[25] I suppose that Hsü is referring to such elements of the writing as the point for the *n*, the two points for the γ, the two points for the *š*, etc.

as [those of] the [Northern] Chinese 漢人, the Ch'i-tan 契丹, and the Ju-chên 女眞,[26] one only uses Chinese characters 漢字. I-LA Ch'u-ts'ai 移剌楚材[27] is in charge of it. Moreover, before[28] the date at the end[29]

---

[26] These three names frequently appear together, although not always in the same sequence, in literary and historical texts of the Yüan period. Cf. also *YS* 32 (*ts'ê* 27). 19b2-3.

[27] I. e., YEH-LÜ Ch'u-ts'ai 耶律 | | whose biography is found in the *Yüan shih* 146 (*ts'ê* 44).1a4-11a10. A source of this biography was the funerary inscription "Yüan ku ling-chung-shu-shêng YEH-LÜ kung shên-tao-pei" 元故領中書省耶律公神道碑 ["Spirit-Way Stele of His Excellency YEH-LÜ, the late Director of the *Chung-shu-shêng* of the Yüan"] by SUNG Tzŭ-chên 宋子貞 and found in the *Kuo-ch'ao wên-lei* 國朝文類 57 (*ts'ê* 17).9b3-24a3. A biography by [Jean Pierre] ABEL-RÉMUSAT entitled "Yeliu-thsou-thsai, Ministre tartare" is found in *Nouveaux mélanges asiatiques, ou recueil de morceaux de critique et de mémoires relatifs aux religions, aux sciences, aux coutumes, à l'histoire et à la géographie des nations orientales* 2 (1829). 64-88.

In note 1 on page 175 of his article "L'édition collective des oeuvres de Wang Kouo-wei" in *TP* 26 (1929).113-182, Paul PELLIOT remarked:

"移剌 Yi-la est une autre forme du nom de famille Ye-liu; c'est celle qui est employée par Ye-liu Tch'ou-ts'ai lui-même dans l'édition originale de son *Si yeou lou*. Quant à son *ming*, on l'écrit souvent avec 材 *ts'ai*; mais lui-même écrit bien 才 *ts'ai* dans son *Si yeou lou*, comme on l'a dans la présente suscription."

Again, in the words of Paul PELLIOT on page 48 of his "Notes sur le "Turkestan" de M. W. Barthold" in *TP* 27 (1930).12-56, *I-la* is a "doublet bien connu de Ye-liu (Ye-liu Tch'ou-ts'ai écrivait lui-même son nom Yi-la Tch'ou-ts'ai)."

In note 2 on pages 47-48 of his article "Ordosica" in *Bulletin No. 9 of the Catholic University of Peking* (1934).1-96, Antoine MOSTAERT made the following valuable observation:

"J'ignore dans quelle proportion les noms de clan ont survécu chez les autres Mongols de la Mongolie Intérieure. Chez les Kharatšin du *baraγun qosiγun*, j'ai noté le nom de clan *il*. [47] Les individus qui appartiennent à ce clan écrivent ce nom *ila* et prétendent descendre de *Ie-liu Tch'ou ts'ai*. C'est un fait connu que *ila* 移剌 (doublet de Ie-liu 耶律) était le nom de famille de Ie-liu Tch'ou-ts'ai qui lui-même était de la famille princière des K'i-tan. (Voir P. Pelliot, T'oung Pao, 1931, p. 118. Cf. aussi le *Hei ta cheu leo* 黑韃事略, edit. Toung fang hio houei f. 4, recto: 移剌楚材 I la Tch'ou ts'ai). Quant à la forme vivante *il*, la chute de *a* final ne doit pas nous surprendre, le dialecte Kharatšin réduisant fortement les voyelles des syllabes non accentuées et une voyelle finale brève tombant facilement."

In *Yüan shih* 95 (*ts'ê* 32).29a2 we find still another orthography of this surname, namely *I-la* 曳剌, in a text in which YEH-LÜ Ch'u-ts'ai is called I-LA *chung-shu* Wu-t'u Sa-han-li 曳剌中書兀圖撒罕里, i. e., Urtu Saqal ("Long Beard"), the *chung-shu* ("Chancellor") I-LA. For the name *Urtu Saqal* by which Činggis Qan called YEH-LÜ Ch'u-ts'ai, because of his magnificent beard, cf. *Yüan shih* 146 (*ts'ê* 44).1b6. The relationship between this word (*ila*) and that which occurs in the term 曳剌馬 (*i-la ma*), i. e., an "*ila* horse" merits careful study. For examples of the latter cf. the *Ta Yüan Ma-chêng chi* 大元馬政記 (Kuo-hsüeh wên-k'u 國學

[of a document], Chên-hai personally writes Hui-hui (Uiγur) script reading: "Transmit to such-and-such a person." 郤又於後面年月之前鎮海親寫回回字云付與某人. This is probably a special precaution against Ch'u-ts'ai. That is why one must make an attestation with Hui-hui script. If it does not have this, then it does not constitute a document. One probably wishes to cause it to pass through [the hands of] Chên-hai. [Thus] it also would afford a countercheck.[30]

文庫 edition, no. 49), pp. 13, l. 7, 14, l. 2, 17, l. 1, etc. Cf. also the term 曳剌解子 (*i-la chieh-tzŭ*). For examples cf. *Yüan shih* 101 (*ts'ê* 34).2a7 and 2b5.

The dates of the birth and death of YEH-LÜ Ch'u-ts'ai were the subject of an article by CH'ÊN Yüan 陳垣 in the *YCHP* 8 (1930).1469-1472 entitled "Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai chih shêng tsu nien" 耶律楚材之生卒年 ("The Dates of the Birth and Death of Yeh-lü-ch'u-ts'ai"). His conclusion is that YEH-LÜ Ch'u-ts'ai was born in 1190 and died in 1244.

[28] The text has 前 (*ch'ien*) "before," not 後 (*hou*) "after." This is also the reading in the text published by HU Ssŭ-ching 胡思敬 in the *Wên-ying lou yü-ti ts'ung-shu, ti-i chi* 問影樓輿地叢書,第一集 (*ts'ê* 1).4b5. It is the reading in the text published by WANG Kuo-wei in the *Mêng-ku shih-liao ssŭ-chung chiao-chu* 蒙古史料四種校注 (*ts'ê* 3).10a6, in the *Hai-ning Wang Chung-k'o kung i-shu* edition (*ts'ê* 30). 7a8, and the *Kuo-hsüeh wên-k'u* edition, no. 25, p. 68, l. 3.

PELLIOT, as we have seen (see page 496 above), stated that "Un passage du *Hei-Ta che-lio* de 1237 (éd. de Wang Kouo-wei, 7*a*) spécifie qu'un édit en chinois n'était valable que [418] lorsque Činqai y avait ajouté, après la date, une ligne en caractères 回回 *houei-houei*." In view of the fact that all the texts have 前 (*ch'ien*), not 後, the words "après la date" appear, therefore, to be an inadvertance for "avant la date." It is possible that PELLIOT was misled by the fact that WANG Kuo-wei, in citing this passage in his commentary on 2a12-2b12 in the *Hai-ning Wang Chung-k'o kung i-shu* edition which PELLIOT used, did, indeed, erroneously cite it as: 又於後面日月之後. (The same error is found in the edition from which I have made the present translation and in the others to which I have referred above, with the exception, of course, of that published by HU Ssŭ-ching.)

[29] The term 後面 (*hou-mien*) may mean either the "end" or the "back." From the context it would appear, in this instance, to mean the "end," if we assume that the date was placed immediately after the text on the obverse of the document.

[30] In the margin of the *Wên-ying-lou* edition of the text (4b) there is a note which reads: 柅字似攝之誤。蓋傳鈔多省筆。作手旁耳字。展轉成此。或是括字之誤。亦未可定。要總非柅字。 "The character *ni* seems to be an error for *shê* ('to control'). It would appear that, in copying, one often economized on strokes. [Thus] one made the *êrh* ('ear') character with a *shou* ('hand') side (i.e., radical). [Then] it evolved into this. Perhaps, this is an error for the character *k'uo*. [However,] it cannot be determined either. [But,] in any case, it must not be the character *ni*."

In his "Chiao-k'an chi" (1a12-1b1), HU Ssŭ-ching remarked: 十八行互相檢柅。柅卽防止之義。見周易。眉批謂是攝字或[1b]括字之誤。非也。 "[The words] *hu-hsiang chien-ni* in column 18: *Ni* is [used in] the sense of *fang-chih* ('to check'). See the *Chou I*. The marginal (lit., 'eyebrow') note states that this is an

The schools in the Yen-ching municipality 燕京市學, in most cases, teach the Hui-hui (Uiγur) script as well as [how] to translate the language of the Ta (Tatar) people. As soon as one is able to translate the language, then he becomes a *t'ung-shih* 通事 ("translator").[31] Then, in the suite of the Ta (Tatar) people, he goes the rounds 行打 and intimidates people without restraint 恣作威福.[32] He demands and gets *sa-hua* 撒花 (*sauγa*).[33] He demands and gets things to eat.

Although the Ch'i-tan and the Ju-chên originally had their own script, neither uses it [any longer].

Chien-yen i-lai ch'ao-yeh tsa-chi 建炎以來朝野雜記,[34] *I chi* 乙集, 19: "Nor do the Ta-tan 韃靼 (Tatar) have writing. Whenever they conscript troops and horses, forthwith they twist grass (i. e., straw) into knots [35] and have men transmit [it]. [These men] are swifter than a comet. Sometimes they break [pieces of] wood as tallies. On the surface they incise a number of strokes. Each receives his half. When it happens that they dispatch an army, they use the coincidence of the wooden tallies as evidence."

Ch'ang-ch'un chên-jên Hsi-yu-chi 長春眞人西游記:[36] "The Mêng[9a]-ku 蒙古 (Mongγol) commonly have no writing. In some cases, they

---

error for the character *shê* or [1b] the character *k'uo*. It is wrong." For the word *ni* in the *Chou I* cf. *Harvard-Yenching Institute Sinological Index Series, Supplement No. 10, A Concordance to Yi Ching* (Peiping, 1935), p. 130a.

[31] For *t'ung-shih* cf. G. SCHLEGEL, *TP* 10 (1899).238; H. CORDIER, *TP* 3 (1902).311; B. LAUFER, *TP* 17 (1916).529; P. PELLIOT, *TP* 26 (1928-1929), 60 and 30 (1933).306.

[32] Lit., "recklessly makes awe and felicity."

[33] For this word cf. Paul PELLIOT, *TP* 26 (1928-1929).130, and Paul PELLIOT, "Sao-houa, sauγa, sauγat, saguate," *TP* 32 (1936).230-237.

[34] For this valuable work by LI Hsin-ch'uan 李心傳 of the Southern Sung cf. W. W. ROCKHILL, *TP* 15 (1914).421, note 1, and KUWABARA Jitsuzô *MTB* 7 (1937).78-79, note 4.

The passage which WANG cites may be found in the edition of the *Chien-yen i-lai ch'ao-yeh tsa-chi* published in the *Shih-yüan ts'ung-shu* 適園叢書 (*ts'ê* 68-75), 乙集, 19 (*ts'ê* 75).10b5-7.

The name *Ta-tan* was interpolated by WANG and 軍馬 (*chün ma*) was changed to 兵 | (*ping ma*).

[35] The system of twisting grass (i. e., straw) into knots is probably comparable to that of incising wooden tallies in that the knots on any two given pieces of straw would be identical in number and relative spacing so that they could effectively serve as tallies.

[36] For a discussion of this extremely important work cf. the introduction to WALEY's *The Travels of an Alchemist*. (See note 5 above.) Cf. also PELLIOT's review of WALEY's translation in *TP* 28 (1932).413-428. (See note 7 above.) For PELLIOT's remarks on the edition of the text published in the *Hai-ning Wang Chung-k'o kung i-shu* cf. "L'édition collective . . . ," *TP* 26 (1929).113-182 (pp. 172-175).

make contracts (lit., 'knot it') with words (i. e., oral language); in some cases, they incise [pieces of] wood as tallies." [37]

As for [the term] *mu chang* 木杖 ("wooden stick"), Li *shih-lang* 李侍郎 [38] emended [it] to *mu-pan* 木板 ("wooden board"). Shên I-an 沈乙庵 [39] *hsien-shêng* said: "[According to] the *Chung-t'ang shih-chi* 中堂事紀,[40] 'Hui-hui (Moslem) interpreter [. . .] [41] Mai-chu-ting 麥

---

[37] This text may be found in Wang's edition of the *Ch'ang-ch'un chên-jên Hsi-yu-chi*, 上, 18b11, in the *Hai-ning Wang Ching-an hsien-shêng i-shu* (*ts'ê* 39). First of all, it should be observed that the word 蒙古 (*Mêng-ku*) is not part of the original text which begins with the word 俗 (*su*) ("commonly").

Arthur Waley's translation (see note 5 above) (p. 67) of this text reads as follows: "They have no writing. Contracts are either verbal or recorded by tokens carved out of wood." In this translation, the words "recorded by tokens carved out of wood" do not render the sense of the original which says: "In some cases, they incise [pieces of] wood to make tallies." As a matter of fact, Waley, in this instance, might profitably have followed the Archimandrite Palladiĭ who, on page 289 of his translation entitled Си ю цзи, или описаніе путешествія на западъ ["Si yu czi, or Description of the Journey to the West"] in the Труды членовъ Россійской Духовной Миссіи въ Пекинѣ [*Works of the Members of the Russian Religious Mission in Peking*] 14 (1866) .259-434, rendered the passage as follows: Народъ этотъ не знаетъ письменности; договариваются только на словахъ и заключаютъ контракты нарѣзываніемъ мѣтокъ на деревѣ [212]). ["This people does not know writing; they reach agreement only on (the basis of) words and conclude contracts by the notching of marks on wood [212]."] Note 212, which appears on page 401, reads: Письменность Уйгурскими буквами была только что введена Чингисханомъ. ["Writing with Uĭgur letters had just been introduced by Čingishkhan."] The significance of this note by Palladiĭ has, I think, generally been overlooked.

[38] I. e., the great scholar Li Wên-t'ien 李文田 (1834 - 6 December 1895). Cf. the entry by Hiromu Momose in Arthur W. Hummel's *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period (1644-1912)* 1 (A-O) (1943) .494a-495b, where, however, there is no reference to Li's notes on the *Hei-Ta shih-lüeh*.

Although it is true that the *Wên-ying-lou* edition of the *Hei-Ta shih-lüeh* has 木板 (*mu pan*) (4a11), it is by no means certain that this is the result of an emendation by Li. On the contrary, we have more reason to believe that this is a reading which was already in the manuscript when Li acquired it or a misprint in the *Wên-ying-lou* text. Neither in the marginal notes of Li nor in the textual notes of Hu is there any mention of this term.

[39] As stated by Paul Pelliot, "L'édition collective . . . ," *TP* 26 (1929) .169, "Un certain nombre de notes utilisées par W. sont dues à 沈乙菴 Chen Yi-ngan, c'est-à-dire a 沈曾植 Chen Ts'eng-tche (1853-1922)."

[40] The "Chung-t'ang shih-chi" 中堂事記 ["Mémoires of the Affairs of the Chung-t'ang (i. e., Chung shu-shêng)"] by Wang Hui 王惲 of the Yüan dynasty is found in the *Ssŭ-pu ts'ung-k'an* reproduction of his collected works entitled *Ch'iu-chien hsien-shêng ta-ch'üan wên-chi* 秋澗先生大全文集 80-82 (*ts'ê* 20).

[41] It is not clear from the citation, as Wang presents it, that the words 一人 ("one man") of the original text have been omitted, and also that, at this point in the

尤丁.[42] As for the records which he translates, he pounds and works square and thick foot-paper [43] into leaves. With a wooden brush (i.e., stylus) he digs and writes P'u-su-man 普速蠻 [44] (Musulman) letters.'" [45] This being so, then the Hui-hui (Uighur) characters are written on

---

original text, we do not have a complete statement but merely an entry in which the words:

"Hui-hui (Moslem) interpreter—one man:
"Mai-chu-ting: . . ."

serve as topics.

[42] This transcription seems to represent the Persian (< Arabic) name *Maǰd al-Dīn* "Glory of the Faith." GARCIN DE TASSY translated it "la Gloire de la religion" on page 50 of his *Mémoire sur les noms propres et les titres musulmans* (Paris, 1878). For *maǰd* cf. F. STEINGASS, *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary* (London, Third Impression 1947), p. 1176a: "A مجد *majd* (v.n.), Satiating (camels with green pasture); overcoming, excelling; glory, grandeur, greatness, splendour, the honour derived from ancestors; name of the mother of a tribe; . . ." For *dīn* cf. STEINGASS, *op. cit.*, p. 554a: "A دين . . . *dīn*, Faith, religion; the Muhammadan faith; . . ." If this identification is correct, the Chinese transcription *Mai-chu-ting* would appear to be based on a form in which a metathesis of *ǰ* and *d* gave **Madǰ al-Dīn* > **Mädǰudīn* > *Mai-chu-ting*.

[43] The text as it stands (方厚尺紙) is unintelligible, since it is hardly conceivable that a man would write on paper a foot thick. If, however, we read 方尺厚紙 "thick paper a square foot [in size]," the sense is excellent. We must observe, however, that in the *Ssŭ-pu ts'ung-k'an* reproduction of the original Yüan edition of the *Ch'iu-chien hsien-shêng ta-ch'üan wên-chi* the text reads exactly as we find it cited here.

[44] This is a common transcription of *Musulman* in texts of the Yüan period. In the *Ch'ang-ch'un chên-jên Hsi-yu-chi*, 上, 30a4, we find 鋪速滿 (*P'u-su-man*). Cf. also WANG's commentary (*ibid.* 30a5-8).

In a memorandum written by WANG Hui when he was in the *yü-shih-t'ai* ("censorate") and entitled "Wei tsai tu Hui-hui-hu pu na ch'ai-shui shih chuang" 爲在都囘回戶不納差稅事狀 ["Memorandum Concerning Exemption from the *Ch'ai-shui* for Hui-hui Households at the Capital"] 88 (*ts'ê* 22) .5b2-6a3 (5b8) there is a quotation from an imperial edict wherein we find the transcription 木速兒蠻 (*Mu-su-êrh-man*). For other examples of *p-* ~ *m-* in the transcription of *Musulman* cf. WANG Kuo-wei, *loc. cit.* For an example of *Mu-su-man* 木速蠻 cf. W. W. ROCKHILL, *TP* 15 (1914) .434.

[45] The complete text of this passage in the "Chung-t'ang shih-chi" reads as follows (80.5b6-9):

"Hui-hui (Moslem) interpreter—one man:

"Mai-chu-ting: As for the records which he translates, he pounds and works square and thick foot-paper into leaves. With a wooden brush (i.e., stylus) he digs and writes P'u-su-man 普速蠻 (Musulman) letters. If it is necessary to write a multitude of things, at the four corners he uses thread to pierce and tie the leaves [together]. When he reads, then he removes [the thread] and takes them down. He is not a *p'ing-chang-chêng-shih* 平章政事."

paper with a wooden brush (i. e., stylus).[46] [Hence,] to write [the character] 杖 (*chang*) is right.

From the interesting text by Hsü T'ing we gather that the words written by Chên-hai were in the nature of an attestation without which a document was invalid. Whether the Mongolian equivalent of the words 付與某人 (*fu-yü mou-jên*) (" Transmit to such-and-such a person ") constituted the entire text in the hand of Chên-hai is, at the present time, impossible to say. It is possible, however, to offer in evidence of what I call " a chancellery practice of the Mongols in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries " three hitherto unpublished Mongolian texts which, although from another part of the Mongolian world, confirm the statement of our Chinese source.

The publication by Professor Erich HAENISCH of his study entitled " Zu den Briefen der mongolischen Il-khane Arġun und Öljeitü an den König Philipp den Schönen von Frankreich (1289 u. 1305) " [47] is the most recent of a long series of studies devoted to these precious letters, starting with the *mémoire* of Jean Pierre ABEL-RÉMUSAT entitled " Relations diplomatiques des Princes chrétiens avec les Rois de Perse de la race de Tchinggis, depuis Houlagou, jusqu'au règne d'Abousaid." [48] Although the study by Professor HAENISCH does, in several respects, advance our understanding of these letters, particularly because of his commendable use of the *Secret History of the Mongols*,[49] it also leaves certain problems unsolved and, in a few instances, presents us with interpretations which are not acceptable.

Aside from these considerations, however, I wish to devote this article to another matter. In his study Professor HAENISCH has

[46] This was probably a sort of *calamus*.

[47] *Oriens* 2 (1949) .216-235.

[48] Cf. p. 441 of my article entitled " The Expression *dur-a qočarulčaju* in the Letter of Öljeitü to Philippe le Bel " in *HJAS* 11 (1948) .441-455.

[49] For a discussion of one of HAENISCH's important discoveries resulting from his use of the *Secret History*, cf. note 40 on pp. 324-326 of Antoine MOSTAERT's article " Sur quelques passages de l'*Histoire secrète des Mongols* " in *HJAS* 13 (1950) .285-361. For an instance in which HAENISCH neglected to use the *Secret History* cf. note 123 on page 378 of Antoine MOSTAERT's article " Sur quelques passages de l'*Histoire secrète des Mongols* (Suite) " in this issue of the *HJAS*, (pp. 329-403).

presented reproductions of the obverse of the letters, that of Arγun (1289) constituting " Tafel I " between pages 220-221 and that of Öljeitü (1305) constituting " Tafel IIa " and " Tafel IIb " between pages 230-231.

While in Paris on the occasion of the *XXI^e Congrès International des Orientalistes*, in July of 1948, I was accorded the privilege of examining the original letters at the Archives Nationales. It was, then, with great surprise that I discovered that on the reverse of the letter of Öljeitü there were, in addition to the Italian text which ABEL-RÉMUSAT had published, a line in Persian and two lines in Mongolian which no one had ever published and, indeed, to which no one had ever made reference. These lines, therefore, are reproduced for the first time in Plate I of this article.

My transcription and translation of the lines are as follows:

[Persian]

سلطان فرنج

S(u)lṭān (-i-) F(a)r(a)nǰ [50]

King of France.

[Mongolian]

Tačm-a bičibe

üǰig inu Qutluγ Š-a Čuban Sewinč

Tačm-a has written [this].

Its *üǰig*. Qutluγ Š-a, Čuban, [and] Sewinč.

This very important Mongolian text not only confirms the accuracy of what HSÜ T'ING reported, but it contains the names of three people of historical prominence. At the same time, the text raises new problems for which satisfactory solutions are not immediately apparent. Let us subject it to a detailed analysis.

In the first line, the name which I read *Tačm-a* may also be read *Dačm-a* or *Tečm-e/Dečm-e* or *Taǰm-a/Daǰm-a* or *Teǰm-e/Deǰm-e*. I have not succeeded in establishing an identification. It is obviously the name of the scribe who wrote the text of the

[50] I wish to express my gratitude to M. Ali Bey TOPTCHIBACHY who very graciously accompanied me on my second visit to the *Archives Nationales* and deciphered for me this line of Persian.

bičig. The word *bičibe* is, of course, the *praeteritum perfecti* in *-be* of the verb *biči-* " to write."

The second line consists of two elements: *üǰig inu* and *Qutluγ Š-a Čuban Sewinč*. The words *üǰig inu* must be taken as constituting an absolute construction which has no grammatical connection either with what precedes or what follows. It appears to be an abbreviated chancellery formula of which the unexpressed words could be supplied mentally. To the best of my knowledge, the word *üǰig* is not registered in our dictionaries. I have not the slightest doubt, however, that it is the early Mongolian form of the word which is registered in Joseph Etienne KOWALEWSKI's *Dictionnaire mongol-russe-français* 1 (1844) .549b with the two orthographies *üǰüg* and *üsüg* and with the definition " lettre, caractère de l'alphabet, type; ²plume de roseau."

In the orthography *üsüg* the word is, indeed, attested as early as 1362 in lines 2 and 10 of the Mongolian text of the Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1362, where, in the first instance, the term *manglai-yin üsüg* means " the [seal] characters (lit., ' letters ') of the cap (lit., ' forehead ') " and, in the second, the term *manglai-yin yeke üsüg* means " the large (i. e., seal) characters (lit., ' letters ') of the cap." In both cases, the terms refer to the *chuan* 篆 (" seal ") characters of the cap of the Chinese text of the inscription.

Thus we have attested in Mongolian three forms of the same word: *üǰig~üǰüg~üsüg*. As a matter of fact, the word *üǰig* is Turkish, not Mongolian, in origin. On page 348b of the " Glossar " in A. VON GABAIN's *Alttürkische Grammatik* (Leipzig, 1941) we find the following entry: " *užik, uzik, užak, uzak*, < chin. 字 *tsŭ* < archaisch **dz'i̯əg* (B. KARLGREN, Shi King Researches, Bull. Mus. Far-Eastern Antiq., Stockholm 1932 S. 160 unter Zeichen 11) Buchstabe, Silbe || harf, hece." Cf. also the entries: " *uzak* s. *užik* " (p. 348a) and " *uzik* s. *užik* " (p. 348b).

On page 238 of C. BROCKELMANN's *Mitteltürkischer Wortschatz nach Maḥmūd al-Kāšγarīs Dīvan Luγāt at-Turk* (Budapest-Leipzig, 1928) we find the entries: " *üžük* (R. I, 1895) Buchstabe I, 68/9 " and " *üžüklämäk* buchstabieren I, 68, 16."

On page 383a-b of N. N. POPPE's Монгольский словарь Мукад-

димат ал-Адаб (Часть I-II) [*The Mongolian Dictionary Mukaddimat al-Adab* (Part I-II)] we find: "*üžük* اوژوک—ч. *qalam* قلم перо (калам) 184 623 || . . ." [51] In this instance, *üžük*, strictly speaking, is a Turkish, not a Mongolian, form of the word.

From these references, both Mongolian and Turkish, it is clear that the word *üǰig* (~*üǰüg*~*üsüg*) was used to designate first a "letter (of the Uighur script)" and then a "character (of the Chinese script)." If the etymology of the word found in A. von Gabain's "Glossar" is correct, in Turkish it designated a "character (of the Chinese script)" before it designated a "letter (of the Uighur script)." It is, however, difficult to admit that either of these meanings is applicable in the present text. At first glance, the problem appears somewhat complicated by the fact that on the right-hand side of the word *üǰig* there is a *tamγa* [52] or "seal" of which the first word (upside-down) is probably the last. I read it *bičig* "writing." [53] Furthermore, on the right-hand side of the word *üǰig* in the second text which is cited below (see page 516) there is a *tamγa* which, in effect, is a Chinese character. That the word *üǰig* does not refer to the *tamγa*, however, is clear from the fact that there is no trace of a *tamγa* beside the word *üǰig* in the text on the reverse of the edict of Busayid (Abū Sa'īd) Baγatur Qan of 1320, which is cited on page 523

[51] Cf. also the entries *üžügi hekin* (*ibid.* a), *üžüklebe ḥarfi.* (*ibid.* b), and *üžüktü* (*ibid.* b).

[52] For the term *tamγa* cf., e. g., the entry "7. nišan, tamγa" on pages 323-324 of F. W. K. Müller's "Uigurische Glossen" on pages 310-324 of the *Festschrift für Friedrich Hirth zu seinem 75. Geburtstag 16. April 1920* (Berlin, 1920). Cf. also the valuable remarks by Paul Pelliot on pages 35-38 of his "Notes sur le "Turkestan" de M. W. Barthold" in *TP* 27 (1930).12-56.

In note 5 on page 359 of his "Inscriptions et pièces de chancellerie chinoises de l'époque mongole" (see note 64 below) Chavannes remarked with reference to document "N° XXXVII":

"Au-dessous de la date, on voit un signe bizarre qui tient lieu de signature 押, cf. les n^{os} XXXVII, XXXIX. Ces signes sont assez analogues, semble-t-il, à la *tamga* qui figure sur les inscriptions turques de l'Orkhon."

Although I do not propose to discuss the *tamγa* in connection with the subject of this paper, I think that it might profitably constitute the subject of an independent study, because there is an abundance of source material and there are several excellent specimens of *tamγa* on Mongolian documents of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

[53] See Plate I.

below. This same conclusion was reached independently by the Reverend Antoine MOSTAERT whose remarks are cited below, on this and the following page.

It is also tempting to think that the word *üǰig* may have meant " signature," a very natural semantic derivative (particularly in Chinese) of the meaning of " letter " or " character." However, this meaning is practically excluded for the following reason: the word *üǰig* is followed by the pronoun *inu*, the *genitivus* of **i*, the archaic pronoun of the third person singular. Since we recognize three distinct names in the second part of the line, it is obvious that *inu* is not used with reference to these names. If such a reference were intended, the text would have *anu*, the *genitivus* of **a*, the archaic pronoun of the third person plural. The word *inu*, as remarked by the Reverend Antoine MOSTAERT in the passage of his letter which I have cited below, unquestionably refers to the document itself. Hence *üǰig inu* means " Its *üǰig*."

In considering the function of the word *üǰig*, we must not forget the words of HSÜ T'ING: " That is why one must make an attestation with Hui-hui script." In his text the word which I render " attestation " is 驗 (*yen*). It might also be rendered " verification " or " certification." Since the names which follow the word *üǰig* are placed on the document by way of " attestation," " verification," or " certification," it might be assumed that the word *üǰig*, in this usage, has the meaning of " attestation," " verification," or " certification."

In a letter to me dated 12 October 1951 the Reverend Antoine MOSTAERT wrote as follows:

> A propos de *üǰig inu*. Ce texte au revers de l'édit de Busayid baγatur qan est extrêmement intéressant. Puisque le revers de ce document porte les mots *üǰig inu* bien qu'on n'y voie aucune empreinte de cachet, j'incline à croire que, dans ces divers documents où nous lisons cette formule, le pronom *inu* ne se rapporte pas à une personne mais à la pièce elle-même et que le mot *üǰig* ne désigne pas le *tamγa* mais l'inscription. Je pense qu'on pourrait traduire *üǰig inu* par " sa marque de légalisation " parce qu'il semble que l'apposition du nom de certains dignitaires (accompagnée ou non de celle d'un *tamγa*) était précisément ce qui rendait la pièce valable.
>
> Jusqu'ici nous ne possédons que trois documents portant une inscription sur le revers. Une fois qu'on en aura découvert un plus grand nombre—et tout

donne à croire qu'on en découvrira en Perse ou en Turquie—nous serons plus sûrs de la manière dont il faut comprendre la formule *üǰig inu*.

Such an interpretation of the words *üǰig inu* is extremely convincing. However, in a letter to me dated 15 October 1951 the Reverend Antoine MOSTAERT proposed a new solution in the following terms:

Dans ma dernière lettre j'ai parlé aussi de la formule *üǰig*. J'avais d'abord pensé, comme vous, à " signature ", puis j'ai traduit par " sa marque de légalisation ", parce que de fait c'était cette inscription qui donnait force légale à la pièce. Mais, à présent, je vois qu'il faut traduire *üǰig* par " contreseing ". Le *üǰig* est vraiment l'équivalent du contreseing en usage au moyen âge dans les chancelleries européennes. Ce qui tient lieu de signature de l'ilkhan c'est le grand sceau apposé à la pièce, mais ce qui authentique et rend valables le sceau et la pièce c'est le *üǰig*. Les dignitaires dont nous lisons les noms sur le revers de ces documents ont contresigné la pièce; on peut donc dire que cette inscription ou plutôt souscription: les noms des dignitaires—avec ou sans le sceau que nous voyons sur deux des trois documents—constitue le contreseing. Il y a toutefois une différence entre ces contreseings de Perse et ceux des chancelleries européennes, en ce sens qu'en Europe, je le suppose du moins, on contresignait personnellement, tandis que dans la chancellerie des ilkhan on se contentait de faire écrire les noms par un scribe . . .

The meaning of " countersign " which is proposed by the Reverend Antoine MOSTAERT seems to be satisfactory in every way.

Reference has already been made to the pronoun *inu* (see page 511 above) and, as we have seen, the Reverend Antoine MOSTAERT has stated that " le pronom *inu* ne se rapporte pas à une personne mais à la pièce elle-même."

As I have already stated above, the names *Qutluγ Š-a*, *Čuban*, and *Sewinč* are those of three people of historical prominence.[54] On page 535 of Sir Henry H. HOWORTH's *History of the Mongols From the 9th to the 19th Century, Part III, the Mongols of Persia* (London, 1888), we read with reference to the coronation of Öljeitü:

The princes Kutlugh Shah, Choban, Pulad, Sevinj, and Isen Kutlugh stood on the right of the throne, with their girdles bound round them, while the princesses stood on the left, and in front were the amirs.[55]

---

[54] See notes 56, 58, and 59 below.

[55] This was extracted from HAMMER-PURGSTALL, *Geschichte der Ilchane das ist der*

These names are easily identifiable as Qutluγ Š-a, Čuban, Bolad, Sewinč, and Esen Qutluγ.

Qutluγ Š-a[56] is a hybrid name consisting of two elements: the Turkish *qutluγ*, which BROCKELMANN, *op. cit.*, p. 167, defines as "glücklich," and the Persian *šāh*, which F. STEINGASS, *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary* (London, Third Impression 1947), p. 726a, registers as "شاه *shāh*, A king, sovereign, emperor, monarch, prince; the king at chess; a check to the king (in chess); a bridegroom; a son-in-law; a title assumed by fakīrs; . . ." In note 31 on page 95 of the *Histoire des campagnes de Gengis Khan* (Leiden, 1951) by Paul PELLIOT and Louis HAMBIS we read: "Rien n'établit que le Tuši-Bahlawān surnommé Qutluγ-Šāh qui était à la tête de la cavalerie essentiellement Bayawut du souverain du Khwârezm était lui-même un Bayawut. Son surnom turco-persan de Qutluγ-Šāh, "Prince Fortuné", a été porté pas [*sic*] de nombreux Turcs." Thus we see that the name of *Qutluγ Š-a* was not an uncommon one.[57] It is also attested in the Chinese sources as *Hu-tu-lu Sha* 忽都魯沙 (*Qudlu*[γ] [= *Qutluγ*] *Ša*). Cf., e. g., the funerary inscription in memory of Ma-ha-ma Sha 馬合馬沙 (Maqma[d] Ša) by OU-YANG Hsüan 歐陽玄 in his *Kuei-chai wên-chi* 圭齋文集 9 (*ts'ê* 2).49b3-53a3 (49b8 and 50a1).

Mongolen in Persien 2 (Darmstadt, 1843).180-181, where the original text reads as follows: "Kotloghschah Nujan wurde des ersten Amtes [181] des Heeres und des Hofes, nämlich als Beglerbeg, d.i. Fürst der Fürsten, würdig erachtet, und seine Fertigung in rother Tinte allen Befehlen beigesetzt; die Nujane Dschoban, Pulad, Husein, Sewindsch und Inskotlogh waren demselben als Diener untergeben; . . ."

[56] This valiant man, who served under Ṭasan and Öljeitü, died a warrior's death in Gīlān in 1306. The highlights of his active career may be gleaned from *Tome quatrième* of the Baron C. d'OHSSON's *Histoire des Mongols, depuis Tchinguiz-Khan jusqu'à Timour Bey ou Tamerlan*, where references are found on pages 94, 95, 124-125, 139, 150, 158, 169, 177-178, 187-188, 189, 190, 192, 197, 198, 229, 236, 258, 259, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 334, 338, 479, 482, 490, 491-492, 494, 496, and 497-498. On page 482 it is stated: "Après avoir fait revêtir de robes d'honneur les officiers, il [i. e., Œuldjaïtou—F.W.C.] confia le département de la guerre aux généraux Coutloucschah et Tchoban nouyan, qui furent les chefs de *l'Olous mongol*, . . ." Cf. also the "Register" of "Personen" on page 518a of Bertold SPULER's *Die Mongolen in Iran* (Leipzig, 1939).

[57] For still other examples of this name cf. Louis HAMBIS, *Le chapitre cvii du Yüan che* (Leiden, 1945), p. 173b ("Index des noms propres").

The name *Čuban*[58] is the Turkish (? < Persian) *čupan*, which BROCKELMANN, *op. cit.*, p. 59, registers as "*čupan* (s. V. Thomsen, Det Kgl. Danske Vid. Selsk. phil. hist. Med. I, 1, 15 ff) Gehilfe des Dorfvorstehers I, 337, 6." STEINGASS, *op. cit.*, p. 402a, registers the word as "چوپان *chopān*, A shepherd."

On page 882a of *The Encyclopaedia of Islām*, Volume I (A-D) (1913), the entry on *Čūpan* by W. BARTOLD reads as follows:

ČŪPĀN, ČOPAN (Čaghatāi) or ČOBAN (Othmanli and Krim-tatar), a Perso-Turkī word for "herdsman"; it is applied particularly to shepherds and cowherds in opposition to horseherds (Pers. *kalabān*). The Čūpān is considered the type of the lowest class of the people in a contemptuous sense, when the rude and uncultured people are contrasted with the classes chosen to rule (cf. the sayings ascribed to Čingiz-Khān in Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Berezin, *Trudi vost. otd. arkh obshč.*, xv. 179), as well as in epic tales in which the representative of the inherent strength of the people appears as the faithful ally and rescuer of his selfish and ungrateful master (e. g. in the *Kitāb-i Dada Ḳorḳud*, *Zap. vost.* etc. xii. 038 *et seq.*). The word "Čūpān" is also found as the name even of persons of the highest rank (cf. for example, Emīr Čūpān, regent of Persia under Abū Sa'īd 1316-1327 A.D. and founder of a dynasty).

The name *Sewinč*[59] is the Turkish *Säwinč*. A. VON GABAIN, *op. cit.*, p. 333b has "*säwinč*, *s* (*ä*) *winč* Freude, Dank || sevinç, teşekkür." BROCKELMANN, *op. cit.*, p. 177, also has "*sävinč* Freude."

This name is also well attested in Chinese sources. In note 44 on page 182 of his fascinating article, "Mots de civilisation de Haute Asie en transcription chinoise," in *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* (Budapest, 1950).141-185 (with a Russian résumé on pp. 185-188), Louis LIGETI cites the name

[58] For references to Čuban, who served under Ḥasan, Öljeitü, and Busayid and met death by strangulation in the time of Busayid, cf. d'OHSSON, *op. cit.*, pp. 134, 137, 158, 201, 230, 327, 330, 331, 334, 338, 482, 489, 490, 530, 576, 578, 582, 608, 609-614, 616, 623, 632-642, 649, 650, 658-659, 667-678, 680-682, 685-688, 693, 716, 727, 728, and 734.

Cf. also SPULER, *op. cit.*, "Register" of "Personen," p. 507a.

[59] For references to Sewinč, a loyal retainer of Öljeitü, who reared the young Busayid and, with Čuban, placed him on the throne in April of 1317 and who died near Baghdad in January of the following year, cf. d'OHSSON, *op. cit.*, 480, 494, 565, 566, 600-605, and 609.

Cf. also SPULER, *op. cit.*, "Register" of "Personen," p. 520b.

Hsiao-yün-shih 小云失 from the *Yüan shih*, " ch. 34, f. 5a," " qui supposerait un nom également turc **Sävinč* " and *Hsiao-yün shih Hai-ya* 小雲石海涯 (here the character 涯 must be read *ya*, not *yai*) from " ch. 143 " of the *Yüan shih* and reconstructs " **Sävinč qaya?*." The reconstruction is absolutely certain and the question mark is not necessary.

The first example is found in *Yüan shih* 34 (*ts'ê* 11) .5a7 in a passage reading: 命中尚卿小云失以兵討雲南. " [The Emperor] ordered the *chung-shang-ch'ing* Hsiao-yün-shih (Sewinč) to lead a punitive expedition against Yün-nan." The second is the name of the well-known Sewinč Qaya, whose biography is found in *Yüan shih* 143 (*ts'ê* 43) .12b2-14a7. This Sewinč Qaya was the subject of an interesting article by YANG Tsung-han 楊宗翰 (himself of Mongolian antecedents) entitled " Hsiao-yün-shih Khaya 小雲石海涯 (1286-1324) " and published in *Monumenta Serica* 9 (1944). 92-100. As stated by Professor YANG at the very outset of his article, " The available primary source for the life of Hsiao-yün-shih khaya 小雲石海涯 is the biography written of him by his personal friend Ou-yang Hsüan 歐陽玄." In a future publication, I shall have occasion to examine in more detail the sources for the life of Sewinč Qaya.[60]

I should like to conclude my remarks on this text with the citation of a pertinent passage from HOWORTH, who, describing the three days of feasting following the coronation of Öljeitü, states (*ibid.*, pp. 535-536):

> Kutlugh Shah was appointed commander-in-chief of the army and given the first position at Court as Beglerbeg, [536] and his tamgha or mark in red was attached to all orders. The noyans Choban, Pulad, Husein, Sevinj, and Inskutluk were put under him.[61]

On 17 July 1948, on the occasion of a visit to Rome and the Città del Vaticano, through the gracious courtesy of His Eminence Eugène the Cardinal TISSERANT and His Highness Monsignor Angelo MERCATI, *Prefetto della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, I was accorded the privilege of seeing in the Archivio Segreto the

[60] I refer to my forthcoming study on the Mongolian translation of the *Hsiao ching* done during the Yüan dynasty.

[61] This was extracted from d'OHSSON, *op. cit.*, pp. 481-483.

precious documents from the Mongolian rulers of Iran to the Papacy.[62]

Again I was surprised to find on the reverse of the letter of Ṛasan of 1302,[63] earlier by three years than that of Öljeitü, a line in the Uighur script, but in the Mongolian language, which I transcribe and translate as follows:

üǰig inu Üredün kesigün ekin ödür Qutluγ Š-a Erisidküle. Iramadan.

Its *üǰig*. First day of the *kesig* of Üred. Qutluγ Ša, Erisidküle, [and] Iramadan."

Here again we have a text which confirms the accuracy of what Hsü T'ing reported. It is reproduced for the first time in Plate II of this article. Let us subject it to a detailed analysis.

Unlike the text on the reverse of the letter of Öljeitü, this one does not have a line similar to that of *Tačm-a bičibe*. Furthermore, the single line which constitutes the text in question consists of three, not two, elements.

With the first of these, *üǰig inu*, we are already familiar. Here again, I take it to mean "Its countersign." It, too, is placed beside a *tamγa* which, as I am informed by my friend and colleague Professor YANG Lien-sheng 楊聯陞, is the Chinese 宝 (*pao*), an abbreviated form of 寶 (*pao*) "seal."

As for the second element, *Üredün kesigün ekin ödür* ("The first day of the *kesig* of Üred"), it is one which we have not encountered in the previous text. As a matter of fact, it is extremely important, for, to the best of my knowledge, it is the only attested example in the Mongolian language of a formula which is found many times in Chinese sources of the Yüan period.

In "N° XI" of Ed. CHAVANNES' "Inscriptions et pièces de chancellerie chinoises de l'époque mongole"[64] we read (page 429):

[62] These documents, as Paul PELLIOT indicated, e. g., on page [3] of "Les Mongols et la Papauté," *Extrait de la Revue de l'Orient chrétien 3e Série*, T. III (XXIII) N^{os} 1 et 2 (1922-23), pp. 3-30, are the letter of Arγun of 1290, the safe-conduct of Arγun of 1291, and the letter of Ṛasan of 1302. They will be published in a forthcoming issue of the *HJAS* by the Reverend Antoine MOSTAERT and myself.

[63] A reproduction of lines 5 (*Tümen γurban-iyar*) to 14 (*-dür bičibei*) of this precious letter may be found on page 439 of Harold LAMB's *The Crusades: The Flame of Islam* (New York, 1931).

[64] *TP* 5 (1904).357-447

Ensuite d'un édit de l'empereur, le *hing-siuan-tcheng-yuan* a reçu du *sinan[sic]-tcheng-yuan* [2]) une dépêche ainsi conçue:

La deuxième année *yuan-t'ong* (1334), le vingt-sixième jour du premier mois, le deuxième jour du *k'ie-sie* (kechik) de *Tou-lien t'ie-mou-eul* (timour) [3]) . . .

This is a translation of the following passage: 皇帝聖旨裏行宣政院。准宣政院咨。元統二年正月二十六日。篤連帖木兒怯薛第二日.[65] Note 2 refers the reader to note 5 on pages 428-429 for an explanation of the term *hsüan-chêng-yüan*, "*siuan-tcheng-yuan*" in CHAVANNES' transcription and misprinted "*sinan-tcheng-yuan*" on page 429.

At the beginning of note 3 on pages 429-432, CHAVANNES stated (p. 429):

篤連帖木兒怯薛第二日。 Cette indication dans la date est digne de remarque. On en retrouve la présence ailleurs; ainsi, dans la pièce N° XV: 元統三年五月初七日阿察赤怯薛第二日。«La troisième année *yuan-t'ong* (1335), le septième jour du cinquième mois, le deuxième jour du *k'ie-sie* (kechik) d'*A-tch'a-tch'e*». En voici un autre exemple où cependant l'indication du jour du kechik ne suit pas immédiatement l'indication du jour du mois: 於至大元年十月十一日至隆福宮。今上皇帝潛龍時分。月海怯薛第一日。親捧蓮宗寶鑑。 (*Trip., éd. Jap.*, vol. XXXII, fasc. 11, p. 51 r°) «La première année *tche-ta* (1308), le onzième jour du dixième mois, ils (des religieux) arrivèrent au palais *Long-fou*. L'empereur actuel, qui était à cette époque héritier présomptif, le premier jour du *k'ie-sie* (kechik) de *Yue-hai*, reçut en personne (l'ouvrage intitulé) *Lien tsong pao kien*». . . .

In the same note (pp. 430-432) CHAVANNES presented an integral translation of the notice in *Yüan shih* 99 (*ts'é* 33) .1b8-3b2 on the "Ssŭ ch'ieh-hsieh" 四怯薛 ["Four *Keseg*"].[66] In this notice we read: 怯薛者猶言直宿衞也。凡宿衞每三日而一[2a]更.

[65] Cf. plate "N° XI."

[66] The Chinese transcription *ch'ieh-hsieh* is based on a Mongolian *kese[g]*, a variant form of the word written *kesig* (> *kešig*) in our text. As stated by Paul PELLIOT on pages 27-28 of his "Notes sur le "Turkestan" de M. W. Barthold" (see note 52 above), "La description de la "garde" de Gengis-khan et de ses successeurs méritera un travail spécial; en attendant, on peut [28] joindre aux informations de M. B. la longue note de Chavannes dans *T'oung Pao*, 1904, 429-432, et aussi Yule-Cordier, *Marco Polo*[3], I, 379-381, *Notes and Addenda*, 69." The valuable remarks by PELLIOT himself (*op. cit.*, pp. 27-31) must be added to these references which he furnished. We must not forget, however, the important study by YANAI Wataru 箭內亙 "Genchō keshikukō" 元朝怯薛考 ["Study of the *Ch'ieh-hsieh* of the Yüan Dynasty"] which may be found in his *Mōkoshi kenkyū* 蒙古史研究 [*Studies in Mongolian History*] (Tōkyō, 1937), pp. 211-262.

CHAVANNES rendered these words (p. 430):

K'ie-sie signifie les gardes qui sont de service à tour de rôle. D'une manière générale, ces gardes alternent une fois tous les trois jours.[67]

At the end of his translation CHAVANNES remarked (p. 432):

Dans les expressions que nous avons citées au début de cette note: kechik de *Tou-lien t'ie-mou-eul*, kechik d'*A-tch'a-tch'e*, kechik de *Yue-hai*, il est vraisemblable que *Tou-lien*, *T'ie-mou-eul*, *A-tch'a-tch'e* et *Yue-hai* sont les noms des chefs respectifs des kechik mentionnés.

It is not only likely, as CHAVANNES suggests, but a fact that the proper names are "les noms des chefs respectifs des kechik mentionnés." In the case of the name *Tu-lien T'ieh-mu-êrh*, CHAVANNES reconstructed only the second part. His reconstruction "timour" is, however, not quite exact. We must reconstruct *Temür* ("Iron").[68] *Tu-lien* is a transcription of the Mongolian *Dūren* < *Dü'üren* < *Dügüren* "Full." Hence the name *Dūren Temür* means "Full Iron." Cf. also the name *Sengge Temür Dügüreng Qaγan* in the *Altan tobči* (Peking ed.), p. 6, l. 8.

As for *A-ch'a-ch'ih*, for which CHAVANNES did not present a reconstruction, it is probably the Mongolian *Ačāči* <**Ača'ači* <**Ači'ači* <**Ačiyači* <**Ačiγači* "Pack Man." The word *ačān* <**ača'an* <**ači'an* < **ačiyan* <*ačiγan*. It means "pack" and the suffix *-či* is used to designate the agent of an action or the person who is charged with a specific function, in this case the man who is in charge of packs.

Finally, *Yüeh-hai* seems to be the transcription of a name, **Yoqai*, but I have not encountered it elsewhere.[69]

Turning to the "Seconde série" of CHAVANNES' "Inscriptions et pièces de chancellerie chinoises de l'époque mongole"[70] we find still other examples. Thus in "N° XXXI" we read (p. 334):

[67] Cf. *Yüan shih* 99 (*ts'ê* 33).1b10-2a1.

[68] CHAVANNES himself corrected "timour" to "temour" in *TP* 9 (1908).334. See the text which is cited on page 519 below.

[69] For the use of 月 (*yüeh*) to transcribe *yo* with the back vowel as well as *yö* with the front vowel cf., Marian LEWICKI, "Turcica et Mongolica," *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 15 (1939-1949).239-267 (p. 249, n. 36). For an interesting example, cf. *Yoqunan* in the *Secret History of the Mongols* (*YCPS* 7.14a5).

[70] See note 1 above.

La deuxième année *yuan-t'ong* (1334), le premier mois, le vingt-sixième jour qui était le second jour du *k'ie-sie* (kechik) [2] de *Tou-ling t'ie-mou-eul* (Toureng temour) [3], . . .

2) Sur les kechik, voyez la longue note publiée dans le *T'oung pao* de 1904, p. 429-432.

3) 篤怜帖木兒. Le second caractère est écrit 連 *lien* dans la pièce n° XI (*T'oung pao*, 1904, p. 429). Ce personnage est celui qui est mentionné par le *Yuan che* (chap. XXXIII, p. 3V°, année 1329) sous le nom de 篤麟帖木兒 et (chap. XXXVI, p. 2V°, année 1332) de 篤憐帖木兒. Le *K'in ting Yuan che yu kiai* 欽定元史語解 (chap. XVI, p. 7r°) nous indique que ce nom correspond au mongol Toureng temour.

This is a translation of the following text: 元統二年正月二十六日。篤怜帖木兒怯薛第二日。 (Planche 8, No. XXXI, ll. 1-2).

Again in " N° LX " we read (pp. 421-424):

Le *siuan-tcheng-yuan*, agissant en vertu d'un auguste édit de l'Empereur, la vingt-troisième année *tche-tcheng* (1363), le dixième, [424] mois [1], le treizième jour qui était le second jour du *k'ie-sie* (kechik) Ho-la tchang[2], . . .

1) Quoique la date soit en grande partie effacée, on peut la rétablir grâce au texte gravé sur l'avers de la stèle où se trouve rappelée cette délibération.

2) Le dixième mois de l'année 1365, ce *Ho-la-tchang* reçut le titre de *tche kiu mi yuan che* 知樞密院事 (*Yuan che*, chap. XLVI, p. 7 v°).

This translates the Chinese 宣政院至正廿三年十月十三日。哈剌章怯薛第二日。 (p. 422, N° LX, l. 1).

Finally in " N° LXI " we read (p. 426):

Le *siuan-tcheng yuan* agissant en vertu d'un édit impérial, la vingt-sixième année tche-tcheng (1336), le dix-septième jour du deuxième mois, premier jour du kechik *Wan-tchö t'ie-mou-eul* (Euldjaï temour) [2], . . .

2) Cf. *K'in ting Yuan che yu kie*, chap. IX, p. 15v°. Ce *Wan-tchö t'ie-mou-eul* fut nommé conseiller de droite dans le huitième mois de l'année 1367 (*Yuan che*, chap. XLVII, p. 2r°).

This translates the Chinese 宣政院至正廿六年二月十七日。完者帖木兒怯薛第一日。 (p. 427, N° LXI, ll. 1 and 2).

In spite of the *Ch'in-ting Yüan shih yü-chieh*, the name which is written *Tu-ling T'ieh-mu-êrh* in " N° XXXI ", *Tu-lien* (連) *T'ieh-mu-êrh* in " N° XI " (see above), *Tu-lin* (麟) *T'ieh-mu-êrh* in *Yüan shih* 33, and *Tu-lin* (憐) *T'ieh-mu-êrh* in *Yüan shih* 36 is not " Toureng temour," as CHAVANNES stated. The various

transcriptions are all based on an original *Dūren~Dūreng* < *Dü'üren~Dü'üreng* < *Dügüren~Dügüreng Temür*, as I have demonstrated above.

In the case of *Ha-la Chang*, it is the Mongolian *Qara J̌ang* " Black J̌ang," the counterpart of *Čaγan J̌ang* " White J̌ang." These were the Mongolian designations for certain aborigines in the Yün-nan region. Both of these designations came to be used as personal names.[71]

Finally the name which CHAVANNES reconstructed as " Euldjaï temour " is *Öljei Temür* " Happiness Iron."

Although these examples from the texts published by CHAVANNES are adequate to illustrate the Mongolian practice of dating official documents by the day of the *kesig* of a given officer, I should make it clear that they could be multiplied many times by examples drawn from numerous sources of the Yüan period.

From all of this it is evident that the formula in question was: ——— *-u/ -ü* (or *-un/ -ün*, or *-yin*) *kesigün* ——— *ödür*. At the beginning of the formula it, presumably, was customary to supply the name of the officer in command and before the word *ödür*, it also, presumably, was customary to supply the number of the day in question—the first, second, or third.

As CHAVANNES stated (see above), " D'une manière générale, ces gardes alternent une fois tous les trois jours."

The system of rotating the *kesig* every three days was established by Činggis Qan himself. The order by which this practice came into force is found in §192 of the *Secret History of the Mongols*, where we read (*YCPS* 7.20a5-21b2):

basa Činggis qahan ǰarliγ bolurun qorčin turγa'ud [20b] *kešigten ba'urči e'ütenči aγtači üdür kešig oroǰu naran šinggegü-yin urida kebte'ül-e ǰayilaǰu aγtas-tur-iyan γarun qonotuγai. kebte'ül söni ger horčin kebtegün-iyen kebte'ülǰü e'üten-tür bayiγun-iyan kešiglen bayi'ultuγai. qorčin turγa'ud* [21a] *manaγari inu bidan-i šülen ide'esü kebte'ül-tür keleleǰü qorčin turγa'ud ba'určin e'üdečin mün mün mör-dür-iyen yabutuγai. sa'urin-dur-iyan sa'utuγai. γurban söni γurban üdür kešig üdür-iyen da'usču mün gü yosu'ar γurban söni qonolduǰu* [21b] *ye'üdgeldüǰü söni kebte'ül atuγai. horčin kebteǰü qonotuγai ke'en ǰarliγ bolba.*

---

[71] For the name *Qara J̌ang* cf. note 203 on page 124 of my study " The Sino-Mongolian Inscription of 1362 in Memory of Prince Hindu," *HJAS* 12 (1949).1-133. For *Čaγan J̌ang* cf. Ed. CHAVANNES, *TP* 13 (1912).603.

" Again when Činggis Qahan ordered, he ordered saying, ' Let the quiver-bearers (*qorčin*), [20b] the *turγa'ud kešigten* (i. e., the *kešigten* who are day-guards), the stewards (*ba'urči*), the doorkeepers (*e'ütenči*), and the gelding-keepers (*aγtači*) go (lit., " enter ") [on] duty (*kešig*) [in] the day[-time] and, before the sun sets, retire for the night-guards (*kebte'ül*) and, going out to their geldings, pass the night. Let the night-guards, at night, have lie their [men] who shall lie around the tent and have stand in rotation their [men] who shall stand at the door.[72] Let the quiver-bearers and the day-guards, [21a] tell [it] unto the night-guards the next day, when We take (lit., " eat ") broth, and let the quiver-bearers, day-guards, stewards, and doorkeepers act in accordance with their respective duties. Let them sit upon their seats. Let them (i. e., my *kešigten*), completing their days of duty of three nights and three days and passing the three nights in the very same (i. e., above-mentioned) manner[73] [21b], changing [places with their relief], be night-guards the night [which follows the relief]. Let them pass the night lying [all] around.' "[74]

The name *Üred* in our formula presents a problem. If my reading is correct, it would appear to be a plural in *-d* of *üre* which KOWALEWSKI (1.577b) defines: " fruit, graine; [2]descendant, les descendants, la postérité; [3]produit, effet, conséquence; [4]profit, avantage, utilité, récompense, rémunération, rétribution; [5]en Chine, mou, un mou de terre, un arpent de terre." Such a plural form for this word is, to say the least, extraordinary, because this word regularly has a plural in *-s*, i. e., *üres*.[75]

The third element of this text, like the second of the comparable text on the reverse of the letter of Öljeitü, consists of three names, the first of which is that of Qutluγ Š-a, the same Qutluγ Š-a whom we have already encountered.

As for the second, *Erisidküle*, of which my transcription is provisional, I have no satisfactory explanation. I have not en-

[72] Cf. note 140 on pages 389-391 of Antoine MOSTAERT's article " Sur quelques passages de l'*Histoire secrète des Mongols* (Suite) " in this issue of the *HJAS* (pp. 329-403) for his translation of the words *kebte'ül söni ger horčin . . . kešiglen bayiγultuγai*. I have followed his translation.

[73] I. e., the manner whereby the *turγa'ud* go out to their geldings to pass the night and the *kebte'ül* take over the duties of sleeping around the tent and standing guard at the door.

[74] Cf. note 140 on pages 389-391 of Antoine MOSTAERT's article (see note 72 above) for his translation of the words *γurban söni γurban üdür . . . qonotuγai*. I have followed his translation.

[75] Cf., e. g., the example in line 15 on page 30 of the chronicle of Saγang Sečen (Isaac Jacob SCHMIDT, *Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen und ihres Fürstenhauses* [St. Petersburg, 1829]).

countered such a name elsewhere. It is possible that it consists of two elements: *Erisid* and *Küle*. *Erisid* might be the Mongolian form of the Persian (<Arabic) *Rašīd* with a prothetic *e* vowel comparable to the prothetic *i* vowel which is found in the name *Iramadan* which I shall discuss below. If so, it would indicate that the vowel in the first syllable of the name *Rašīd* was fronted to the point that it became *i* in Mongolian. The word *Rašīd* itself is defined by STEINGASS (*op. cit.*, 578b) as follows: "A رشيد *rashīd*, A director, conductor, guide; orthodox; brave, courageous (m.c.); one of the names of God." I confess, however, that it is not with any particular conviction that I propose this identification.

As for *Küle*, I do not know what it is.

The third name is the Mongolian form of the Persian (< Arabic) *Ramaḍān*. Cf. STEINGASS, *op. cit.*, p. 587a: "A رمضان *ramaẓān*, The ninth month of the Muhammadan year; the fast observed during that month."

In his entry on *Ramaḍān* on page 1111a-b of *The Encyclopaedia of Islām*, Volume III (L-R) (1936), M. PLESSNER stated (p. 1111a):

RAMAḌĀN (A.), name of the ninth month of the Muḥammadan calendar. The name from the root *r-m-ḍ* refers to the heat of summer and therefore shows in what season the month fell when the ancient Arabs still endeavoured to equate their year with the solar year by intercalary months [see NASĪ'].

The initial *i* of the Mongolian form is a prothetic vowel which regularly appears in words of foreign origin with an initial *r-*. Cf., e. g., *Irad Barans* "Roi de France" in line 4 of the letter of Arγun to Philippe le Bel, *Iriduwarans* "Roi de France" in line 2 of the letter of Öljeitü to Philippe le Bel, *iraiyad* <Persian (<Arabic) *raʿīyat* "subject" in line 4 of "Document III" (Fig. 29) and line 2 of "Document III" (Fig. 31) (page 42) of Paul PELLIOT's article "Les documents mongols du Musée de Ṭeherān" in *Athār-é-Īrān* 1 (1936) .37-44, and *irayis-ud*, plural in *-ud* of *irayis* < Persian (< Arabic) *raʾīs* "chief" in line 2 of "Document III" (Fig. 31) (page 42) of "Les documents mongols . . ."

Although it may seem strange to find the name of the ninth month of the Mohammedan year used as a personal name, such usage is well attested in Chinese sources of Yüan history. Cf.,

e. g., *Yüan shih* 29 (*ts'ê* 10) .26a7, where the name is written 亦剌馬丹 (*I-la-ma-tan* [= *Iramadan*]). Cf. also *Yüan shih* 32 (*ts'ê* 11). 14a6-7. Because of the initial, prothetic *i-*, it is evident that the Chinese transcription of the name is based on a Mongolian, not a Persian, form of the name.

On the occasion of my recent visit to Teheran to inspect the Mongolian documents in the Musée de Téhéran, the late Mehdi Bahrami, Curator of Islamic Art at the museum, very kindly permitted me to examine on 13 September of the present year, two texts which are found on the reverse of the edict of Busayid Baγatur Qan of 1320 and to which he had first called my attention in 1950.

The first of these texts is found at the top of the document. It consists of a single line in the Uighur script, but in the Mongolian language. The second is found at the bottom of the document. It consists of three lines in the Uighur script, but in the Mongolian language. The third of the three lines is slightly elevated, because it begins with the word *ǰrlγ* ("edict") which requires the honorific lift. I transcribe and translate these texts as follows:

(1)

üǰig inu . .?. . Dawlaš-a . .?. . Taǰadin Ali Š-a

(2)

[1] *šiγ Šaqid-un Qaγas-a waγb-i*
[2] *köbegün inu medetügei. kemegsen*
[3] *ǰrlγ* *Birus bičibe*

(1)

Its *üǰig. . .?. .* Dawlaš-a . .?. . Taǰadin Ali Š-a

(2)

An edict in which one has said, "Let his (i. e., *šiγ* Šaqid's) son administer the Qaγas-a *waγb* of *šiγ* Šaqid." Birus has written [this].

Thus for the third time we have a text which confirms the accuracy of what Hsü T'ing reported. I regret that it was impossible for me to have the texts photographed in the short time at

my disposal, but I hope to be able to include a reproduction of the texts in my forthcoming article on "The Mongolian Documents in the Musée de Téhéran." Let us, then, also subject these texts to a detailed analysis.

In the first of these two texts we find two elements, both of which are exactly parallel with those in the second text on the reverse of the letter of Öljeitü. Unlike that on the reverse of the letter of Γasan, this one lacks the date. On the other hand, in the second of the two texts we find, first of all, a new element, namely a résumé of the contents of the edict, and then the words *Birus bičibe* which are exactly parallel with the words *Tačm-a bičibe* in the first of the two texts on the reverse of the letter of Öljeitü.

The words *üǰig inu* which constitute the first element of the first text are now attested for the third time, leaving us not the slightest doubt as to their frequency in this formula. It is strange, however, that in this instance there is not the slightest trace of a *tamγa* beside these words.

The second element of this text appears to consist of two names of which the first appears to consist of three words. I have, however, succeeded in deciphering only the word *Dawlaš-a* which is the second of the three.

The name *Dawlaš-a* is composed of *Dawla*+Š-*a*. *Dawla* suggests the Persian *daula*. Cf. STEINGASS, *op. cit.*, p. 546b: "دولة *daula*, A whirlwind, hurricane; a cup; a circle; a ringlet; . . ." For *š-a*, the Persian *šāh*, see page 513 above. There seems to be no evidence, however, that *Daula Šāh* is an attested name in Persian. If the text had *Dawladš-a*, it would be the Persian name *Daulat Šāh*. For *daulat* cf. STEINGASS, *op. cit.*, p. 546b: "A دولة *daulat* (v. n. of دول), Going round each other in combat; good turn of fortune; felicity, wealth, victory; power, dominion, empire; a state, reign, dynasty; . . ." (For examples of the name *Daulat Šāh* cf. SPULER, *op. cit.*, "Register" of "Personen," p. 507b.) It is tempting to regard *Dawlaš-a* as a variant transcription of **Dawladš-a*, with the assimilation of the *-d* (<Persian *-t*) of *Dawlad* to the *š-* (<Persian *š-*) of *š-a*. In the Chinese sources for Yüan history we find the name *Tao-la Sha* 倒剌沙. Cf., e. g., *Yüan-shih* 29 (*ts'ê* 10) .12b1, 13a3, etc. This name might be re-

constructed as either *Daula Šāh* or *Daulat Šāh*. In this case, however, the latter reconstruction is almost certainly preferable.

The name *Taǰadin Ali Š-a*[76] is that of the well-known minister of Busayid (Abū Sa'īd) Baγatur Qan. *Taǰadin* is the Persian *Tāǰ al-Dīn* " Crown of the Faith." GARCIN DE TASSY, *op. cit.*, p. 12, translated it " la Couronne de la religion." For *tāǰ* cf. STEINGASS, *op. cit.*, p. 273: "تاج *tāj* (O.P. *taka*), A crown, diadem; . . ." *Ali Š-a* is the Persian *'Alī Šāh*.

As I have already observed, the second of these two texts introduces a new element, namely a résumé of the content of the document. Since the document itself will be studied in the forthcoming publication to which I have made reference above, I shall not attempt a discussion of it in this paper.

The word *šiγ* is the Persian (<Arabic) *šaiḫ*. Cf. STEINGASS, *op. cit.*, p. 772a: " A شيخ *shaikh*, A venerable old man; a man of fifty and upwards; a man of authority, a chief, prelate, prior, abbot, superior of the dervīshes or Muhammadan monks; doctor learned in religion and law; preacher; a sheik; . . ."

Šaqid is the Persian (<Arabic) *šahīd*. Cf. STEINGASS, *op. cit.*, p. 771a: " A شهيد *shahīd, shihīd*, A witness; a martyr; . . ."

Reference to the *šiγ Šaqid* is made in line 1 of the first fragment of " Document III " in " Fig. 30 " on page 41 of Paul PELLIOT's article " Les documents mongols du Musée de Ṭeherān " in *Athār-é Īrān* 1 (1936) 37-44.

The word *waγb* is the Persian (<Arabic) *waqf*. Cf. STEINGASS, *op. cit.*, p. 1477a: " A وقف *waqf* (v.n.), Standing, stopping, staying, halting, waiting; . . . bequeathing for pious uses (as habitations for the poor, and books for the use of learned men); such bequest or legacy; . . ."

[76] For references to Tāǰ al-Dīn 'Ālī Šāh cf. d'OHSSON, *op. cit.*, pp. 542, 545, 546, 579-583, 608-612, 632, 634, 637-642, note 1, 646, 649, 659, and 665. Under the date of 1 May 1312, d'OHSSON wrote (pp. 544-545): " Le sultan [i.e., " Œuldjaïtou "—F. W. C.] était partit de Bagdad; en passant [545] par le Djemhal (défilé), il y jeta les fondements d'une ville qu'il nomma Soultan Abad, et dès son retour à Soultaniyé, il éleva au poste de vézir Tadj-ud-din Alischah." Tāǰ al-Dīn 'Ālī Šāh continued to serve under Busayid (Abū Sa'īd) and, in the words of d'OHSSON, *op. cit.*, p. 665, " Le vézir Tadj-ud-din Alischah termina sa carrière au commencement de l'année 1324. Avant lui, aucun vézir des souverains mongols de la Perse, n'était mort naturellement. Le Sultan, qui l'aimait beaucoup, alla le voir pendant sa maladie."

Cf. also SPULER, *op. cit.*, " Register " of " Personen," p. 521a.

Qaγas-a is a place name which I have not identified. It is found in line 7 of the fragment of " Document III " in " Fig. 30 " of PELLIOT's article and in line 2 of the first fragment of " Document III " in " Fig. 30 " on page 41 of the article. In the latter instance the text has *Qaγas-a-yin w[aγ]b* " *waγb* of Qaγas-a."

The words *Birus bičibe* are, as I have already stated, parallel with those of *Tačm-a bičibe* on the reverse of the letter of Öljeitü.

The name *Birus* is the Persian *Pīrūz*. Cf. STEINGASS, *op. cit.*, p. 265a: " پیروز *pīroz*, Victorious; prosperous, favoured by fortune and opportunity; a champion of Irān."

From these four important sources—the statement by Hsü T'ing, the text on the reverse of the letter of Γasan, those on the reverse of the letter of Öljeitü, and those on the reverse of the edict of Busayid Baγatur Qan, to place them in their proper chronological sequence—it is evident that it was a chancellery practice of the Mongols in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries to validate official documents in the manner which has been discussed above. That this practice, like certain other chancellery practices of the Mongols, was of Uighur origin is, I think, demonstrable, but I shall not attempt to discuss that aspect of the question in this paper.

Before concluding, I should like to draw the reader's attention to an important text from which we learn that no ordinance of the *il qan* Arγun was valid without the seal of his minister Buqa. Although no mention is made of a line in Uighur script, it might be assumed that such a line constituted an element of the validating process. The text which I have in mind is found on pages 13-14 of *Tome quatrième* of d'OHSSON's *Histoire des Mongols*, where it is related:

> Il [i.e., Argoun—F.W.C.] investit Boucaï, par un décret royal, d'une autorité presque sans bornes, et statua que tant qu'il [14] n'aurait pas commis neuf délits graves, il ne pourrait être interrogé que par le souverain lui-même; que les ordonnances de l'Ilkhan ne serait exécutoires qu'autant qu'elles aurait été munies du sceau (altamgha) de Boucaï, dont les ordres, pour être respectés, n'avaient pas besoin de la sanction royale. Boucaï se distinguait entre les Mongols par ses connaissances en fait d'administration. Il avait de la capacité; il voulait l'ordre et la justice. Sa séverité réprima les désordres; mais son pouvoir, si étendu qu'il ne lui manquait du souverain que le titre, lui attira des envieux, qui n'osant l'attaquer de front, à cause de la faveur dont il jouissait, épièrent l'occasion de le perdre.

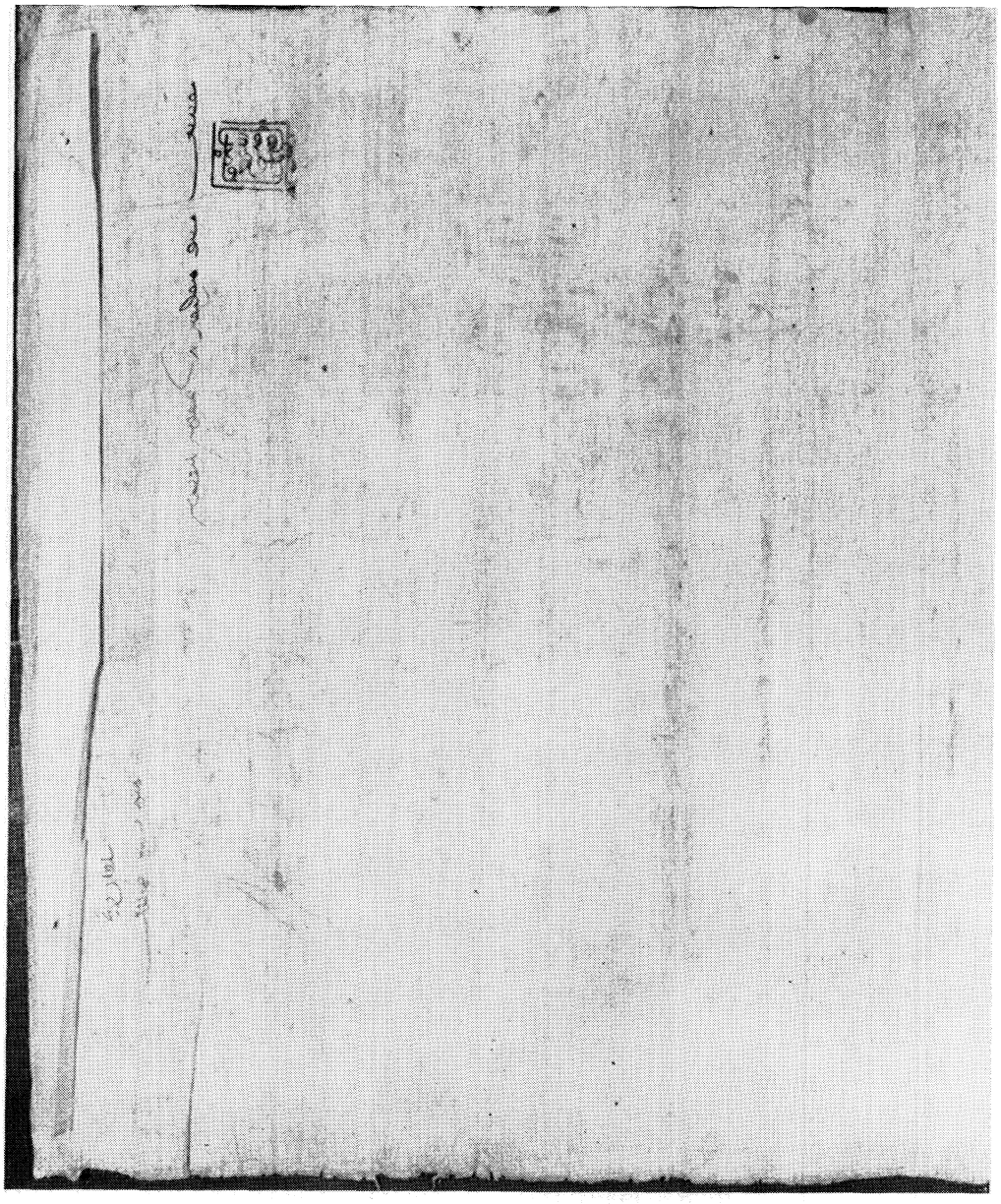


PLATE I

Reverse of the Letter of Öljeitü of 1305
(Archives Nationales)

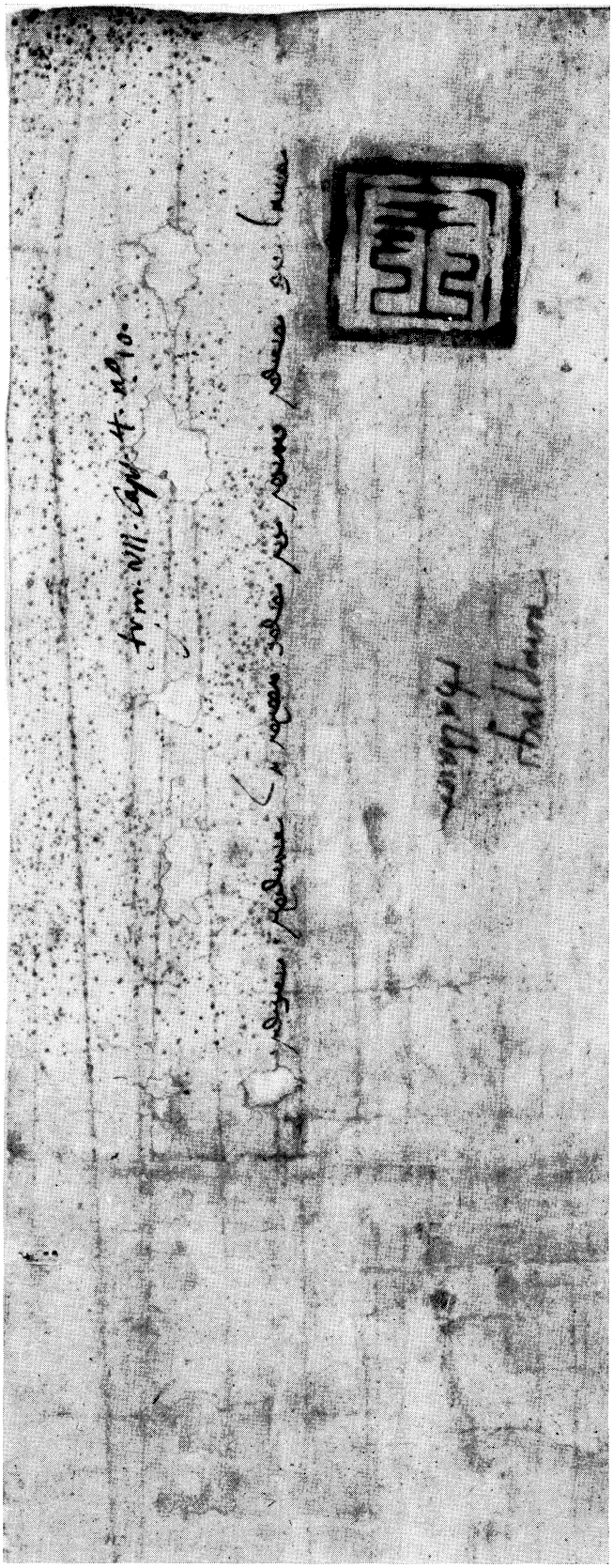


PLATE II

Reverse of the Letter of Pasan of 1302
(Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana)