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THE MONGOLIAN DOCUMENTS
IN THE
MUSÉE DE TÉHÉRAN

FRANCIS WOODMAN CLEAVES
HARVARD UNIVERSITY

IN MEMORIAM
MEHDI BAHRAMI
DILIGENTISSIMI AC FIDELISSIMI
CVSTODIS
EARVM LITTERARVM RARISSIMARVM
PERSARVM REGVM
EX MONGOLORVM DYNASTIA
IN TEHERAN CONSERVATARVM

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Preface

The late Paul Pelliot published in *Athār-é Īrān, Annales du Service Archéologique de l'Iran* 1 (Paris, 1936) .37-44, a brief article entitled "Les documents mongols du Musée de Ṭeherān."[1]

The first two paragraphs of the article read as follows:

Il ne subsiste que fort peu de documents mongols dus aux souverains mongols de l'Iran. Pendant longtemps on n'a connu que les deux lettres adressées respectivement à Philippe le Bel, en 1289 et en 1305, par les *ilkhan* Arghun et Öldjäitü. Quelques lettres et sauf-conduits ont été retrouvés il y a quatorze ans au Vatican; leur étude n'est pas achevée. Mais c'est la première fois que des documents de même nature sont retrouvés en Iran même, et c'est là qu'on peut légitimement espérer de voir la liste s'allonger.

Les documents actuellement conservés au Musée de Téhéran sont tous fragmentaires, mais à des degrés différents; ils appartiennent en effet, à trois édits dont l'un est représenté par trois lignes d'exorde (Document I), un autre par sept lignes faisant partie du corps de l'édit (Document II); tout le reste appartient à un troisième édit où il ne semble pas que les lacunes soient bien considérables et dont nous avons en tout cas le nom de l'auteur au début et la date à la fin (Document III).

Of these three documents Pelliot integrally deciphered and translated (p. 37) only the three lines of "Document I." In the case of "Document II," he only translated (p. 38) the words *Bolad terigüten* "headed by Bolad" in line 1 and, in the case of "Document III," he only deciphered and translated (p. 38 and p. 44) the words *Busayid baγatur qan üge manu* "Word of Us, Busayid Baγatur Qan" in line 1 of "Fig. 31" and the words *bičig* [17] *manu. doluγan jaγud qorin od-tur bičin jil namur-un* [18] *dumdadu sara-yin naiman qaγučid-ta Sultaniya-da* [19] *büküi-dür bičibei* ("Our Writ. [We] have written [it] on the eighth *qaγučid* of the middle moon of autumn, the monkey year, in the year seven hundred and twenty, at the moment when [We] were in Sultaniya") in lines 16-19 of "Fig. 29."

When, in 1937, Professor V. Minorsky said in his review[2] of the first volume of *Athār-é Īrān*: "The document will certainly be much discussed by the Mongol scholars," in emphasizing the importance of Pelliot's "Document III," he anticipated the great interest which the three documents present not only for the specialist in Mongolian studies, but also for the specialist in Iranian studies. It seems to me that, in spite of this pertinent remark, the documents have, to the present time, been somewhat neglected.[3]

[1] Cf. the review of the first volume of *Athār-é-Īrān* by V. Minorsky in *BSOS* 9 (1937-1939) .234-235.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 235. See note 1 above.

[3] I do not intend, by this statement, to imply that the documents have not been studied at all by scholars, because that would be a misrepresentation of fact. I know, for example, that Professor Nicholas N. Poppe studied them after the publication of Pelliot's article, for he told me in a letter dated 21 June 1950 in which he dis-

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Reproductions of the fragments are included in PELLIOT's article. There are seven in all: "Fig. 27. Document I," p. 39; "Fig. 28. Document II," p. 40; "Fig. 29. Document III"; "Fig. 30. Document III"; "Fig. 30. Document III," p. 41; "Fig. 31. Document III," p. 42; and "Fig. 31. Document III," p. 43.

On the basis of these reproductions I undertook the study of the documents in the summer of 1947. A glance at the reproductions will suffice to show why the undertaking might have been considered discouraging, if not foolhardy.

In a letter dated 29 July 1948 the Reverend Antoine MOSTAERT wrote:

> L'écriture de ces documents est en effet si indistincte et les pièces elles-mêmes sont si fragmentaires, et de plus remplies de tant de mots non mongols qu'on est comme dépaysé quand on veut les déchiffrer. Le déchiffrement et la traduction de documents pareils demandent nécessairement un long travail et ne peuvent être forcés.

If, after six years of work, I am now ready to present an integral transcription and translation of the documents, I must, first of all, make it a matter of record that, for whatever degree of success I may have achieved, I am indebted in no small measure to the unfailing encouragement and material assistance which I have received from the Reverend Antoine MOSTAERT, Professor W. B. HENNING, Professor Nicholas N. POPPE, Professor Richard N. FRYE, Dr. Herbert F. SCHURMANN, M. Ali Bey TOPTCHIBACHY, and the late Mehdi BAHRAMI, to mention only those of my colleagues and friends who have, in one way or another, been most closely associated with me in this undertaking. Some of the remarks and comments which have been formulated by one or another of these scholars are of the greatest importance in the solution of problems in the documents. I have faithfully and conscientiously tried to acknowledge each of their valuable contributions in the notes to the translations of the documents, presenting, wherever possible, the original texts of their respective communications.

I wish particularly, at this juncture, to acknowledge my very special indebtedness and gratitude to Professor HENNING who has been so exceptionally generous with his precious time and great learning. The spirit of humility and intellectual integrity in which he has so substantially contributed to this study must not go unmentioned. In compliance with his request that I include a "disclaimer," I can, perhaps, do no better than to quote his own remarks from three of a long series of letters in which he patiently and sympathetically replied to my numerous questions concerning matters quite beyond my competence.

---

cussed some of the difficult terms and names in the documents: "I remember that I had many troubles with these names in the 1930's and I asked also learned Uzbeks and other Moslems." The Polish scholars Władysław KOTWICZ and Marjan LEWICKI, as we shall see, have both utilized the documents in their respective publications. Furthermore, more recently, both the Reverend Antoine MOSTAERT and I have had occasion to refer to them in our respective separate publications as well as in a joint publication. Finally, the Russian scholar L. S. PUČKOVSKIĬ, likewise, has made reference to the material previously cited by KOTWICZ. These, however, are the only specific instances with which I am familiar.

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In a letter dated 20 September 1952 he wrote:

Very glad indeed to know you will now be able to turn to the Teheran documents: I shall look forward with great interest to the letters you promise on the problems involved, though I am bound to say that I fear in my almost total ignorance of the period in question I shall scarcely be able to answer your questions. I really know nothing of Mongol times; I am not posing, it is the bare truth.

Again, in a letter dated 31 October 1952 he wrote:

You deserve congratulations on having overcome the chief difficulties of these documents. I am sorry that I have so few useful suggestions to make, but I am truly ignorant of Mongol-Persian times.

Finally, in a letter dated 5 December 1952 he wrote:

Incidentally, if you have occasion to quote my remarks in several cases, I shall be thankful if you will kindly include a disclaimer, on my part, to any pretence of expert knowledge of Mongol times. I do not want it to be thought that I was setting myself up as an expert in a field of study about which I really know nothing. In this series of letters I have stressed my shortcomings more than once: you have, in your great kindness, taken no notice of such disclaimers; nevertheless, I hope you will be good enough to include some such remark.

In the course of the summer of 1948 my colleague and friend Professor Richard N. FRYE of this University very kindly sent to me from Teheran new photographs of the passages which are almost illegible in PELLIOT's reproductions. Although some of these, unfortunately, were not more legible than PELLIOT's, in general, they permitted me to decipher rather rapidly several words which, until then, had resisted every effort I made to decipher them. Furthermore, Professor FRYE greatly assisted me in the verification of my readings by copying by hand certain words and sometimes whole lines which lacked distinctness in the photographs.

In 1950, I received from Teheran, thanks to the kindness of Mehdi BAHRAMI, late Director of the Musée de Téhéran, a supplementary set of photographs which, for several passages, are more distinct than the previous ones.

In the month of September of 1951, it was my great privilege to be allowed, through the courtesy of Mehdi BAHRAMI, to see and closely examine in the Musée de Téhéran itself these precious, though fragmentary, documents from a chancellery long since forgotten. Thus I was able not only to check my transcription, word by word, against the original text of each fragment, but I also was able to decipher several more words which are indistinct in PELLIOT's reproductions.

On 13 September, the day before my departure from Teheran, Mehdi BAHRAMI had the fragment of the *Bičig* of Busayid Baγatur Qan of 1320, which Pelliot called " Fig. 29 Document III," lowered from the wall on which

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it was hung and kindly permitted me to examine the two texts which are found on the reverse and to which he had first called my attention in 1950.[4]

Since it was impossible in the short time at my disposal to have these texts photographed, I had to content myself with copies which I made by hand. However, Professor Richard N. FRYE, who was in Teheran later in the autumn of 1951, very kindly requested M. André GODARD to have the texts photographed. After a preliminary exchange of letters between M. GODARD and myself, I received the following welcome letter from him, dated 26 January 1952:

> En réponse à votre lettre du 3 Janvier 1952, je vous envoie les photographies des deux petites inscriptions qui se trouvent au revers de l'édit mongol du Musée de Téhéran.

I take this opportunity to express my sincere thanks to M. GODARD for his great kindness in having the texts photographed.

In closing this Preface, I wish to state that, in making, as I have, a number of acknowledgments, I do not, in any manner, disclaim responsibility for the imperfections of my work.

[4] Cf. my remarks on pages 523-526 of my article "A Chancellery Practice of the Mongols in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries" in *HJAS* 14 (1951) .493-526.

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Introduction

Preliminary Remarks

Whereas the only pieces of the Mongolian chancellery in China which have, as yet, come to light are those of which the texts are on stone,[1] the only pieces of the Mongolian chancellery in Iran which have, as yet, come to light are, on the contrary, those of which the texts are on paper. At the present time, the extant pieces of the Mongolian chancellery in Iran may be divided into two general categories: (1) those which pertain to "domestic affairs" and (2) those which pertain to "foreign affairs."

The first category consists of the documents herein published under the title of "The Mongolian Documents in the Musée de Téhéran." They are as follows:

1. "Document I" (undated)
2. "Document II" (undated)
3. "Document III" (*Bičig* of Busayid Baγatur Qan of 1320)

The second category consists of the following documents:

1. *Bičig* of Abaγa ([?]1267 / [?]1279)
2. *Bičig* of Arγun to Philippe le Bel (1289)
3. *Bičig* of Arγun to Nicholas IV (1290)
4. *Bičig* of Γasan to Boniface VIII (1302)
5. *Bičig* of Öljeitü to Philippe le Bel (1305)

The most recent edition of the letters to Philippe le Bel is that by Professor Erich Haenisch entitled "Zu den Briefen der mongolischen Il-khane Arġun und Öljeitü an den König Philipp den Schönen von Frankreich (1289 u. 1305)" in *Oriens* 2 (1949) .216-235. The only edition of the other three is that by Antoine

[1] These are the documents in the 'Phags-pa script of which the most recent editions are: (1) (for those hitherto unpublished) Marian Lewicki's "Les inscriptions mongoles inédites en écriture carrée" in *Collectanea Orientalia* 12 (1937) .1-72 and (2) (for all except those which have been discovered since the publication of his monumental work) N. N. Poppe's Квадратная письменность [*Square Writing*] (Moscow-Leningrad, 1941).

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MOSTAERT and Francis Woodman CLEAVES entitled " Trois documents mongols des Archives secrètes vaticanes " in *HJAS* 15 (1952) .419-506.

In this study the three documents pertaining to " domestic affairs " are presented in the sequence in which they appear in PELLIOT's article. Only the third of the three can be dated with any degree of precision.

Description of the Documents

Document I

(Fig. 27 / Page 39)

The first of the three documents consists of only three lines. PELLIOT described it as follows (*op. cit.*, pp. 37-38):

Document I. Ces trois lignes d'exorde sont d'une belle calligraphie ornementale (fig. 27). Elles se lisent:

Mongka t(ä)ngri-yin Kücün-dür
Muqamad baiqambar-un iman-dur
Yäkä suu-djali-yin ibägä-dür,

" Dans la force du Ciel éternel,
Dans la faveur (?) du prophète Mahomet,
Dans la protection de la grande Fortune ",

Nous aurions là la formule traditionnelle des édits mongols si la conversion des Mongols de l'Iran à l'Islam n'avait fait ajouter la mention de Mahomet. La " grande Fortune " est la fortune dynastique remontant à Gengis-Khan lui-même. Le seul mot un peu douteux est *iman*, qui n'est pas mongol; j'y ai vu l'arabe إمّة, " faveur ", " bienfait ".

[38] On pourrait se demander si ces trois lignes d'exorde ne sont pas précisément celles qui manquent en tête du document III. Je suis loin d'écarter cette solution. Si je ne l'ai pas adoptée expressément c'est parce que l'écriture de cet exorde est très différente de celle du document III, et aussi parce que le fragment qui a conservé ces trois lignes d'exorde ne porte pas de cachet chinois comme tous les fragments du document III. Mais à cela on pourrait répondre qu'une calligraphie ornementale a été employée pour la seule invocation initiale, et l'écriture ordinaire pour le reste de l'édit; et, en ce qui concerne le cachet chinois, qu'il n'est appliqué, en principe, qu'à la fin du texte et partout où deux papiers sont collés bout à bout; or l'exorde n'est fait que d'un seul papier.

Je n'ai disposé que de photographies; peut-être l'examen des originaux permettrait-il d'arriver à une solution mieux assurée sur ce point.

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We should add to PELLIOT's description the fact that each word is written in gold and is carefully outlined in vermilion.

For a discussion of " le seul mot un peu douteux," see " Document I," (Fig. 27 / Page 39), note 2.

Document II

On page 38 of his article, PELLIOT described this document in the following terms:

> Document II. Le document II ne contient plus que sept lignes de formules assez courantes (fig. 28). C'est presque la fin de l'édit, sans date malheureusement. A la ligne I il est question des chiliarques " Bulad et autres ". Il s'agit certainement d'un Pulad, mais on ne se serait pas attendu à voir le nom vocalisé à la façon iranienne, au lieu de la forme mongole (empruntée) Bolod.
>
> L'intérêt de ce document vient du cachet chinois qu'il porte, et qui est identique à celui de la lettre d'Arghun à Philippe le Bel (1289); on peut donc supposer que nous avons ici un fragment d'un édit d'Arghun, mais les formules subsistantes ne permettent pas d'en préciser l'objet.

As stated by MOSTAERT and CLEAVES, however, in note 12 on page 432 of their article " Trois documents mongols . . . ,"

> Il suit de là aussi qu'il n'est pas sûr que le document II (f. 28) publié par Pelliot dans *Documents mongols*, p. 40, (voir aussi ci-après, pl. VIII) et qui porte un cachet dont la légende est la même que celle du cachet apposé sur la lettre d'Arγun à Philippe le Bel (1289), soit réellement d'Arγun, comme le suppose Pelliot, et non pas d'Abaγa. Il n'est même pas sûr qu'il puisse être attribué à l'un de ces deux ilkhan. En effet, bien que la légende soit la même, il est certain que le cachet que porte ce document II n'est pas identique à celui qui se voit sur le sauf-conduit d'Abaγa et sur les lettres d'Arγun de 1289 et 1290, les caractères de cette légende étant tracés différemment.

Of the seven extant lines only one has a lacuna which is easily completed, i. e., [*ǰr*]*lγ* in line 6.

In view of the fact that lines 2-7 constitute a series of formulae which are identical with those at the end of " Document III," it is also possible to restore all of line 8 and the first word of line 9.

In this document the first five letters of the word *bidan-a* at the beginning of line 5 are written in gold and the last letter (*-a*) is written in black. The top of the *b* has been cut off. As for the word *ǰrlγ* at the beginning of line 6, the letters *ǰr* have disappeared. The remaining letters *lγ* are in gold. We may safely assume that

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the word *ǰrlγ* at the beginning of the restored line 8 and the word *manu* at the beginning of the partially restored line 9 were also written in gold.

Each of these words written in gold is placed at the beginning of the line in which it occurs approximately four letter spaces higher than the words at the beginning of the remaining lines. Thus we have evidence for the first time of words such as *bidan-a* (" by Us ") (with the suffix *-a* excluded), *ǰrlγ* (" Edict "), and *manu* (" of Us ") being given special prominence, because of their royal character, not only by honorific elevation, but also by being written in gold.

Document III

Of the three documents pertaining to " domestic affairs " only " Document III " consists of more than a single fragment. As a matter of fact, it consists of eight fragments which, when assembled in their proper sequence, still do not constitute a complete text.

PELLIOT described the document as follows (p. 38):

> Document III. Le document III est le plus considérable (fig. 29, 30 et 31). L'invocation initiale manque, à moins qu'elle ne soit constituée par le document I. Vient ensuite, très régulièrement, le nom de l'auteur:
>
> *Busayit baqadur qan ügä manu,*
> " Abū-Sa'īd bahadur Khan; notre parole ",
>
> Le texte lui-même porte sur l'attribution de biens musulmans; il est encombré de mots techniques arabes, en général assez clairs. La fin est ainsi conçue:
> *Bicik manu. Dolo an dja ut qorin ot-dur bicin djil namur-un dumdatu sarayin naiman qa ucit-ta Sultaniya-da bükü-dür bicibäi,*
> " Notre écrit. Dans l'année 720, l'année du singe, à la lune médiane de l'automme, le 8 de la lune décroissante, alors que j'étais à Sultaniyeh, j'ai écrit."

PELLIOT clearly recognized, among the eight fragments which constitute " Document III," both the initial and terminal ones (*op. cit.*, p. 38). As for the other six, he did not indicate the sequence in which they should be placed so that the document might be read as a continuous text nor did he inform the reader that the sequence in which they appear in his reproductions should not even be considered suggestive.

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For the sake of facilitating the use of PELLIOT's reproductions, at least until they are superseded by better ones, I shall consistently refer to the fragments of this document in terms of the legends which he himself used to designate them. In presenting, at this time, my own arrangement of the fragments, I shall explain, in each case, the reasons for which I consider the relative position of any given fragment to be that to which I have assigned it.

It must also be observed, before we proceed to an analysis of the physical features of each fragment which permit us to determine the original positions of the fragments in the document, that such a long document consisted of numerous sheets of paper adhesively so attached that the sheet on the left always slightly overlapped the sheet on the right. The joint formed by the superimposed right-hand edge of the sheet of paper on the left was regularly sealed by a seal so affixed that it straddled both sheets of paper—that on the left and that on the right. Furthermore, the seal was alternately affixed so that the first impression appeared near the top of the first two sheets so joined and the second impression near the bottom of the second two, etc. The fragments of this document are, in effect, nothing more than sheets of paper—some consisting of two sheets still attached to each other—which became detached from the document as a whole. In some cases, they have, however, suffered independent mutilation.

Fragment 1

(" Fig. 31. Document III ") (B)

This fragment consists of the single line *Busayid bayatur qan üge manu* " Word of Us, Busayid Bayatur Qan " which constituted the preamble of the entire document. It will be observed that a substantial strip of paper has been torn out of the center of the document from just above the half-way point to the bottom edge. The gap formed by the tear in this fragment is the first of two large gaps in the entire document, the second being that in " Fragment 4 " (" Fig. 31. Document III ") (A). When we reach " Fragment 5 " (" Fig. 30. Document III ") (A), how-

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ever, we shall see that the large gap in this fragment and that in "Fragment 4," fortunately, have closed, giving way to the first two of a double, parallel series of holes which appear with fairly constant regularity in a declining sequence of size in each of the successive fragments. The relative size of these holes is also of considerable utility in placing the fragments in their correct relative positions. It is clear, even in PELLIOT's reproductions, that each of the double series of holes coincides with a horizontal fold in the document.

Fragment 2

("Fig. 31. Document III") (C)

This, in some ways, is the most troublesome of all these fragments, for it has been cut from a larger fragment and adhesively attached to the lower right corner of "Fragment 1." Since the fragment consists of two lines which might properly be expected to occur near the beginning of the text, I presume that "Fragment 2" probably followed "Fragment 1." I have not the slightest doubt, however, that it was an entirely separate sheet of paper which, since it carried no writing on the upper half, was trimmed to its present size and attached to the blank area at the lower right-hand side of "Fragment 1."

Fragment 3

("Fig. 30. Document III") (B)

I have placed this fragment in third position, because it is clear that the small hole near the top coincides with that near the top on the upper left-hand side of the fragment which I have designated as "Fragment 4" ("Fig. 31. Document III") (A). Furthermore, the left half of the impression of the seal on the upper right-hand side of the fragment perfectly coincides with the right half of the impression of the same seal on the upper left-hand side of "Fragment 4." It is true that in PELLIOT's reproduction ("Fig. 30. Document III") (B) the impression of the seal in this fragment is larger than that in "Fragment 4" ("Fig. 31. Document III"), but that, obviously, is merely a

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difference in the relative size of the photographs, not in the impressions of the seal. For the first time we observe a feature which also is of great importance in determining the relative position of the fragments: the fact that the right-hand side of " Fragment 3 " (" Fig. 30. Document III ") (B) slightly overlapped the left-hand side of " Fragment 4 " (" Fig. 31. Document III ") (A) to which it was attached by some sort of adhesive substance.

Fragment 4

(" Fig. 31. Document III ") (A)

That this fragment must follow " Fragment 3 " is clear from what has just been demonstrated above. It will be observed that the upper left-hand margin of the fragment was, in its original form, overlapped by " Fragment 3." For that reason, when the seal was affixed so as to straddle both sheets of paper, the whole right-hand side of the impression fell on the paper of " Fragment 4 " along the joint constituted by the right-hand edge of " Fragment 3 " when it was attached to " Fragment 4." It will further be observed that the large gap encountered in " Fragment 1 " (" Fig. 31. Document III ") (B) is duplicated in this document, the whole lower left-hand side of which has disappeared, taking with it the text of the lower half of the first line of the fragment. This gap, as we are about to see, closes in " Fragment 5 " (" Fig. 30. Document III ") (A).

Fragment 5

(" Fig. 30. Document III ") (A)

From the right half of the impression of the seal at the lower left-hand side of this fragment which coincides with the left half of the impression at the lower right-hand side of " Fragment 4," from the two large holes in the fragment—the one in the center and the one below it near the bottom—, which correspond to the large gap in " Fragment 1 " (" Fig. 31. Document III ") (B) and to that in " Fragment 4 " (" Fig. 31. Document III ") (A), from the impression of the seal at the upper right-hand side of

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this fragment which perfectly coincides with that at the upper left-hand side of " Fragment 6 " (" Fig. 31. Document III "), and from the terminal flourishes of the " tails " of two final *b*'s which respectively belong to the words *[w]aγb-udi* and *qarab* in line 1 of " Fragment 6 " (" Fig. 31. Document III "), it is obvious that this fragment must be placed between " Fragment 4 " (" Fig. 31. Document III ") (A) and " Fragment 6 " (" Fig. 31. Document III ").

Fragment 6

(" Fig. 31. Document III ")

This fragment and those which follow now easily fall into position. From the slight margin on the left-hand side of the fragment, it is clear that it was overlapped by the right-hand edge of " Fragment 5 " (" Fig. 30. Document III ") (A). The seal, as usual, was affixed so as to straddle both sheets of paper. The coincidence of the two halves of the impression is perfect. The final flourish of the " tail " of the final *-b* in *[w]aγb-udi*, as well as that in *qarab*, both of which words appear in the first line of " Fragment 6 " (" Fig. 31. Document III "), are found, as we have already observed, on the right-hand side of " Fragment 5 " (" Fig. 30. Document III ") (A). If the right-hand edge of " Fragment 5 " (" Fig. 30. Document III ") (A) were superimposed, in its original position, on the left-hand margin of " Fragment 6 " (" Fig. 31. Document III "), it would be found that the coincidence of the now severed parts of the tails of the final *b*'s would be perfect. In addition to these features, we observe the continuation of the double, parallel series of holes, established as such in the preceding fragment, which clearly reveal a gradual, declining sequence in size, with an occasional interruption of the pattern, as in the case of the third hole in the bottom series and the last hole in the top series. Again we find the left half of the impression of the seal at the upper right-hand edge of the fragment, which perfectly coincides with the corresponding right half of the same impression on " Fragment 7 " (" Fig. 30. Document III ").

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Fragment 7

(" Fig. 30. Document III ")

This fragment falls between " Fragment 6 " (" Fig. 31. Document III ") and " Fragment 8 " (" Fig. 29. Document III "). Again we observe that there is a slight margin along the left-hand side which makes it irrefutably clear that this side of the fragment was overlapped by the edge of the right-hand side of " Fragment 6 " (" Fig. 31. Document III "). The seal in this, as in the previous cases, was so affixed that it straddled both sheets of paper. The impression at the upper left-hand side of this fragment is, of course, that of the right half of the complete impression. The coincidence of the two halves, if they were brought together, would be found to be perfect. The double, parallel series of holes continues to decline in size as they proceed from the left-hand to the right-hand side of the fragment. At the upper right-hand side of the fragment there is, again, the left half of the impression of the seal of which the corresponding right half is found at the upper left-hand side of " Fragment 8 " (" Fig. 29. Document III ").

Fragment 8

(" Fig. 29. Document III ")

This is the longest and best preserved of the several fragments constituting " Document III." The right half of the impression of the seal, placed so as to straddle both sheets of paper, perfectly coincides with the corresponding left half at the upper right-hand edge of " Fragment 7 " (" Fig. 30. Document III "). The double, parallel series of holes continues to decline in size until, fortunately, they entirely disappear, the lower series achieving this extinction, however, sooner than the upper.

In these remarks on the physical features of the fragments, which make it possible to determine the relative sequence of the latter, I have not considered it necessary further to demonstrate, in every case, that there is a progressive continuity of text which obviously must obtain, if the sequence of the fragments which I propose is to be considered acceptable.

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Of the forty-four extant lines only nine have lacunae: Fig. 30 / Page 41 (B), l. 1; Fig. 31 / Page 42 (A), l. 1; Fig. 30 / Page 41 (A), l. 2; Fig. 31 / Page 43, ll. 1, 3, 5, and 6; Fig. 30, l. 2; and Fig. 29, l. 2. Of these lacunae only two are not easily completed: Fig. 30 / Page 41 (B), l. 1, and Fig. 31 / Page 42 (A), l. 1.

In addition to the lines which are extant, there was almost certainly a second line on the sheet of paper which is designated as Fig. 31 / Page 42 (B). There must also have been a line or two before the first line on the sheet of paper which is designated as Fig. 31 / Page 42 (C).

The entire first line of "Document III" (*Busayid bayatur qan üge manu*) (Fig. 31 / Page 42) (B) is written in gold. The word *bidan-a* in line 2 of Fig. 30 / Page 41 (B) is written in gold. For a discussion of this word see "Document III" (Fig. 30 / Page 41) (B), note 2. The word *ǰrlγ* in line 1 of Fig. 30 / Page 41 (A) is written in gold. The first four letters of *ǰrlγ-ud*, that is, the word proper without the plural suffix in *-ud*, in line 1 of Fig. 31 / Page 43 are written in gold. The word *ǰrlγ* in line 4 of the same fragment is also written in gold. The word *bidan-a* in line 13, the word *ǰrlγ* in line 14, the word *ǰrlγ* in line 16, and the word *manu* in line 17 of Fig. 29 are each written in gold.

The words *bičin ǰil* in line 17 of the same fragment are written in a much lighter ink, a fact which would indicate that they were added after the document had been completed. See also page 19 below.

I am not at all certain that Pelliot was right in stating that the *invocatio* is missing, because the opening lines:

Busayid bayatur qan üge manu

. . . . . .

ǰayud-un noyad
Gilan Daštawand Güštasbi,

while admittedly incomplete, are in every way parallel with those of the *Bičig* of Abaγa of (?) 1267 / (?) 1279, that of Γasan of 1302, and that of Öljeitü of 1305. In other words, the document may never have had an *invocatio*. If it did, the *invocatio* would unquestionably have preceded the line *Busayid bayatur qan üge*

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manu, just as it precedes the line *Aryun üge manu* in the *Bičig* of Aryun of 1289. That the three lines constituting "Document I" could have been the *invocatio* of "Document III" is highly unlikely, if for no other reason than the fact that the paper on which they are written is not so wide as that on which the text of "Document III" is written.

PELLIOT's remark: "Le texte lui-même porte sur l'attribution de biens musulmans" compels us to conclude that he had not had sufficient time in which to study "Document III," for, general as his statement is, it is still sufficiently specific to reveal that he had not established the true nature of the document. Had he disposed of the time in which to assemble the diverse fragments in their proper sequence and to decipher the text of each, he undoubtedly would have modified, if not completely altered, his statement. When he added, however, "il est encombré de mots techniques arabes, en général assez clairs," it is perfectly obvious that he had recognized a salient linguistic feature of the document, the high incidence of foreign vocabulary, some of which still awaits identification.

It was Professor W. B. HENNING who first recognized the true nature of the document on the basis of my provisional translations of "Fig. 31 / Page 42" (A), "Fig. 30 / Page 41" (A), and "Fig. 31 / Page 43." From the essential part of the text contained in these three fragments we learn that:

It had been reported by the *šiγ* Badaradin Abul Maqmad Maqmud that, although, by virtue of an edict, he had, in the place of his father the *šiγ* Čamaladin, sat on the *sujada* of the *šiγ šaqid* Ibrayim and had been appointed over the *qaγas-a-yin waγb-ud*, his elder brother, Šamsadin Maqmad, not letting him approach, took his edicts and writs and let the foundation go to wrack and ruin.

Judging this to be an illegal act, Busayid Baγatur Qan decreed that Šamsadin Maqmad should restore whatever edicts and writs he had taken and whatever he had misappropriated from the terms of the foundation. He further decreed that the *šiγ* Badaradin Abul Maqmad Maqmud should, as formerly, sit on the *sujada*.

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In a letter dated 18 November 1952, Professor HENNING wrote, in part, as follows:

> The expression " sit on the *sajjada* " is very valuable in determining the nature of the circle of persons with whom the document is concerned: it is characteristic of Dervish Orders, exclusively, and shows that the quarrel which led to the issue of your document was a quarrel about the *chieftainship* of a Dervish Order, involving naturally the administration of the property of the Order. . . .[2]

Of the three documents, " Document III " is the only one with a date: *bičin jil namur-un* [18] *dumdadu sara-yin naiman qayučid-ta* " On the eighth *qayučid* of the middle moon of autumn, the monkey year, in the year seven hundred and twenty."

PELLIOT discussed the date in the following terms (*op. cit.*, p. 44):

> L'année 720 de l'hégire correspond à 1320, qui est bien une année du singe. La date indiquée du 22 de la 8ème lune ne doit toutefois pas être calculée d'après le calendrier lunaire arabe mais d'après le calendrier luné-solaire ouigour, très voisin du calendrier chinois. En calendrier chinois, il s'agirait du 24 septembre 1320. Cette date n'est qu'approximative pour le calendrier ouigour, car on n'a pas encore étudié d'une façon systématique les petites divergences entre les deux calendriers.
>
> Cet édit d'Abū Sa'īd de septembre 1320 soulève une dernière question. Tant dans le corps du texte, qu'à la fin, on y a opposé à maintes reprises un cachet chinois, et c'est celui-là même qui est apposé sur la lettre d'Öldjäitü de 1305. Bienque les rapports aient continué entre les *ilkhan* et l'empereur mongol de Chine sous Abū Sa'īd, nous sommes amenés à supposer qu'on n'avait pas envoyé de Pékin à ce dernier un nouveau sceau d'investiture; et c'est pourquoi, quatre ans après son avènement, Abū Sa'īd aurait encore employé le sceau de son prédécesseur.

On pages 17-18 of his article " Quelques mots encore sur les lettres des il-khans de Perse refrouvées [*sic*] par Abel-Rémusat " in *Collectanea Orientalia* 10 (1936) .1-22, Władysław KOTWICZ observed:

> 22. Les deux épîtres, celle d'Argoun et celle d'Oeuldjeïtü, portent presque la même date: le sixième et le huitième jour de la dernière décade du premier mois de l'été. La solution de ces dates [18] présentent de graves difficultés que j'ai déjà signalées[1]); actuellement M. Pelliot s'est heurté à des difficultés

[2] See " Document III " (Fig. 30 / Page 41) (A), note 7, for the complete text of Professor HENNING's communication on this subject.

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pareilles en cherchant à résoudre la date que portent les documents de Téhéran. Il part du principe que les il-khans se servaient du calendrier ouïgour, quelque peu différent du calendrier chinois. Mais ici, il faut encore rappeler une autre circonstance. L'il-khan Ghazan introduisit en l'an 701 de l'hégire (= A. D. 1302) une ère nouvelle, connue sous le nom d'il-khanienne. C'est de celle-là qu'ont pu se servir, aussi bien Oeuldjeïtü que Abū-Sa'īd[2]) et, pour résoudre les dates de leur règne, il est indispensable d'étudier les particularités non seulement du calendrier ouïgour, comme l'indique M. Pelliot, mais aussi celles de l'ère il-khanienne.

---

[1]) RO IV, 137.

[2]) В. Бартольдъ, Персидская надпись на стѣнѣ анійской мечети Мануче (СПБ 1911), 15; F. G. Ginzel, *Handbuch der . . . Chronologie*, I (Leipzig, 1906), 304-305.

In his review[3] of the first volume of *Athār-é-Īrān*, V. Minorsky wrote:

> A short but very interesting note has been contributed by P. Pelliot on three documents in Mongol found in Tehran, one of which bears the [235] name of the il-khan Abū-Sa'īd and the date of 720 (1320?). However, the era of the date is not quite certain, and recently Professor W. Kotwicz, *Collectanea Orientalia*, No. 10, Wilno, 1936, p. 18, has suggested that it may be that introduced by Ghazān in 701/1302. . . .

Although the equivalent in the Julian calendar of the day of the month is still uncertain for the reasons which Kotwicz has mentioned, Pelliot was quite correct in stating: "L'année 720 de l'hégire correspond à 1320, qui est bien une année du singe." This, according to the *Erh-shih-shih shuo-jun piao* 二十史朔閏表 of Ch'en Yüan 陳垣, was the year *keng-shen* 庚申 of the Chinese sexagenary cycle, which began on 10 February 1320 (p. 72) and ended on 28 January 1321 (p. 73). It was a "monkey year" in the duodenary cycle and an "iron-monkey year" in the sexagenary cycle. Cf., e. g., *ging bičin jil-e* "im King-Affen-Jahre (1320)" in line 10 on page 120 of the chronicle by Saγang Sečen as published by Isaac Jacob Schmidt under the title of *Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen und Ihres Fürstenhauses* (St. Petersburg, 1829). As remarked by P. Pelliot on page 657 of his article "Le cycle sexagénaire dans la chronologie tibétaine" in *JA* 1 (1913) .633-667, this is one of "les dates correctement rétablies" on page 121 of

[3] See Preface, note 1.

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SCHMIDT's work. Cf. also Baron A. VON STAËL-HOLSTEIN, "On the Sexagenary Cycle of the Tibetans," *MS* 1 (1935) .277-314 + 2 plates (p. 11).

Giving as the equivalent of *dumdadu sara-yin naiman qaγučid-ta* the "22 de la 8ème lune," PELLIOT stated: "En calendrier chinois, il s'agirait du 24 septembre 1320." The "22 de la 8ème lune" is, however, unquestionably an error for the "23 de la 8ème lune," as demonstrated by the Reverend Antoine MOSTAERT who remarked in a letter dated 11 April 1953:

> Pelliot dit 22, mais les "qaγučid" ne peuvent, à mon avis, avoir été comptés à partir du quinze, où la lune est pleine[1], mais seulement à partir du 16. De là il suit que le 24 sept. de Pelliot doit être changé en 25 sept.

[1] 望月 or | 日 "the 15th day of the lunar month—the full month" (Mathews').

For additional remarks by the Reverend Antoine MOSTAERT on the word *qaγučid* see "Document III" (Fig. 29), note 56.

On 27 April 1953, Professor Richard N. FRYE very kindly informed me that:

> According to И. Орбели, Синхронистические таблицы, Государственный Эрмитаж (Ленинград, 1940), 25 September 1320 is 20 Sha'bān 720 of the Muslim era. The Christian date, of course, is according to the Julian Calendar. The Muslim year of 720 ended 30 January 1321.

To the extent that it might be of significance as a chancellery practice, I should also draw attention to still another factor which I verified when I inspected the original document in the Musée de Téhéran: the words *bičin ǰil* are written in a much lighter ink than any other words in the document—with the exception, of course, of the words written in gold—and appear to have been added after the composition of the rest of the document. This difference in the intensity of inking is also perfectly apparent in Pelliot's reproduction ("Doc. III / Fig. 29").

Punctuation and Orthography

The three documents herein transcribed and translated, although not quite so old as those of (?) 1267 / (?) 1279, 1289, 1290, 1302, and 1305 to which reference has been made above,

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present, in general, the same distinctive features of punctuation and orthography.[4]

As for the punctuation, in the three documents, the scribes used only the simple point. Exceptionally we see in " Document III," after the final *i* of the word *bičibei*, the last in the document, the sign of punctuation consisting of five points, a variation of that consisting of four which, today, is called the *dörbelǰin čeg*, lit., " quadrangular point " or, because originally it was placed at the end of a strophe, *badaγ* (< Skr. *pādaka*), lit., " strophe " (cf. N. Poppe, Грамматика письменно-монгольского языка, p. 37; G. J. Ramstedt, *Kalmückisches Wörterbuch*, p. 425b). It is evident that the scribes of the chancelleries of the *il qan* did not conceive as we the function which punctuation is called upon to fulfill. The points appear sometimes to be placed in a very arbitrary manner.

There is no punctuation in " Document I " (Fig. 39).

In " Document II " (Fig. 28 / Page 40), we find a point only after *kembei* in line 4.

In " Document III," there is almost no punctuation. In Fig. 31 / Page 43, we find a point after *saγuǰu* in line 6. In Fig. 29, we find a point only after *kemen* in line 12.

In the *üǰig* on the reverse of " Document III " there appears to be a point after the word *üǰig* and unquestionably a point between each of the proper names, but not one after the last of the four, Taǰadin Ali Š-a. There is no punctuation in the summary of the contents of " Document III " on the reverse of the same document.

In order to facilitate the use of my transcription of the texts, I have regularly, in addition to the meagre punctuation of the originals, placed a period at the end of every sentence.

In none of the documents is the letter *n*, initial, medial, or

[4] Because of the generally similar chancellery nature of the documents in the Musée de Téhéran and those in the Archivio Segreto Vaticano, I have considered it expedient to adopt for the rest of this Introduction a pattern of exposition which essentially is the same as that employed by the Reverend Antoine Mostaert and myself in the " Remarques préliminaires " on pages 423-430 of our article " Trois documents mongols. . . ."

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final, marked with a diacritic point with the exception of the *-n* in the name Tajadin in the *üǰig* on the reverse of "Document III."

The Mongols took from the Uighur script the two points serving to distinguish the velar gutturals (cf. A. von Gabain, *Alttürkische Grammatik*, p. 16). In none of these documents, however, did the scribes use the two points to distinguish the *γ* from the *q*, except in the word *qaγas-a* in line 1 of the summary of the contents of "Document III" on the reverse of the same document.

As in the case of other documents of the period, the three documents present orthographies inherited from the Uighur writing: (1) *bölg* for the *scriptio plena* **böleg* in "Document III," Fig. 30, line 4; (2) *ǰrlγ* for *ǰarliγ* in "Document II," Fig. 28 / Page 40, line 6 ([*ǰr*]*lγ*) and line 8 ([*ǰrlγ*]), "Document III," Fig. 30 / Page 41 (A), line 1, Fig. 31 / Page 43, line 4, and Fig. 29, lines 14 and 16—we also find *ǰrlγ-ud* in "Document III," Fig. 31 / Page 43, line 1; (3) Page 43, line 1, and in line 3 of the summary of the contents of "Document III" on the reverse of the same document; (4) *kembei* for *kemebei* in "Document II," Fig. 28 / Page 40, line 4; and (5) *tngri* for *tengri* in line 1 of "Document I."

Other usual orthographies of the period in which a front vowel is written as a back vowel are: (1) *ay-e* for *ey-e* in "Document III," Fig. 30, line 3; (2) *ayin* for *eyin* in "Document II," line 5, and "Document III," line 13; (3) *ǰugiyer* for *ǰügiyer* in "Document II," Fig. 28 / Page 40, line 3, and "Document III," Fig. 30, line 7, and Fig. 29, lines 6 and 11; and (4) *mulgüd* for *mülgüd* in "Document III," Fig. 29, lines 5 and 7. The use of *a* for *e* and *u* for *ü* does not imply a pronunciation which really existed, but is due to a chancellery habit which, as Władsyław Kotwicz says on page 17 of his article "En marge des lettres des il-khans de Perse retrouvées par Abel-Rémusat" in *Collectanea Orientalia* 4 (Lwów, 1933) .1-48, reflects "d'anciens usages de l'écriture ouigoure."

Of particular interest are the hitherto unattested orthographies: (1) *asiran* for *asaran* in "Document II," Fig. 28 / Page 40, line 4, and "Document III," Fig. 29, line 11; (2) *gerige* for *gerege* in "Document III," Fig. 29, lines 1 and 15—the form *gerege* occurs,

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however, in " Document II," Fig. 28 / Page 40, line 7; and (3) *olilčaǰu* for *olulčaǰu* in " Document III," Fig. 29, line 6.

Other early orthographies elsewhere attested are: (1) *Bolad* (> *Bolod*) in " Document II," Fig. 28 / Page 40, line 1; (2) *küčüger* (~*küčü-ber*) in " Document III," Fig. 29, line 7; (3) *oraγsad* (> *oroγsad*) in " Document III," Fig. 29, line 4; (4) *oraγulǰu* (> *oroγulǰu*) in " Document III," Fig. 29, line 2; (5) *tariγad* (> *tariyad*) in " Document III," Fig. 30, line 6; and (6) *tariγan* (>*tariyan*) in " Document III," Fig. 30, line 3.

The calligraphic influence of the Musulman environment in which these documents were written is particularly evident in the highly ornamental calligraphy of " Document I " and that of the word *bičibei* in line 19 of Fig. 29 of " Document III."

Material Disposition of the Documents

The material disposition which the three documents present is the following:

In " Document I," consisting of three lines of *invocatio*, each line begins at the same elevated level, because each begins with words requiring honorific elevation: (1) *mongke tngri* (" Everlasting Heaven "), (2) *Muqamad baiγambar* (" the Prophet Muqamad "), and (3) *yeke suu ǰali* (" the Great Fortune Flame," i. e., Činggis Qan).

In " Document II," consisting of nine lines (of which the last two have been restored), lines 5, 6, and 8 begin on the same elevated level, because the words *bidan-a* (" by Us "), *[ǰr]lγ* (" Order ") and *[ǰrlγ]* (" Order ") require honorific elevation. Lines 1, 2, 3, 4, and 7 are recessed, but of the same level.

In " Document III," consisting of eight fragments with a total of forty-four lines, the following lines are elevated, because they begin with words requiring honorific elevation: Fig. 31 / Page 42 (B), l. 1: *Busayid baγatur qan üge manu* (" Word of Us, Busayid Baγatur Qan "); Fig. 30 / Page 41 (B), l. 2: *bidan-a* (" by Us "); Fig. 30 / Page 41 (A), l. 1: *ǰrlγ-iyar* (" by Edict "); Fig. 31 / Page 43, l. 1: *ǰrlγ-ud* (" Edicts ") and l. 4 *ǰrlγ* (" Edicts "); and Fig. 29, l. 13: *bidan-a* (" by Us "), l. 14: *ǰrlγ* (" Edict "), l. 16: *ǰrlγ* (" Edict "), and l. 17: *manu* (" Our ").

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The last line of Fig. 29 (line 19) is recessed. This recessing of the last line is obviously motivated by care to place the word *bičibei* " [We] have written," terminating the text of the document, in the lower right-hand corner of the piece which is the place where by rule the seal is affixed. The same recess of the last line is seen in the *Bičig* of Abaγa of (?) 1267 / (?) 1279, the *Bičig* of Arγun of 1289, and the *Bičig* of Γasan of 1302.

The initial formula:

mongke tngri-yin küčündür
qaγan-u suu-dur
" In the Might of Everlasting Heaven.
In the Fortune of the Emperor "

which we find at the beginning of the preamble of the *Bičig* of Arγun of 1289 to Philippe le Bel and in several edicts in 'Phags-pa script appears, with a new element, as

mongke tngri-yin küčündür
Muqamad baiγambar-un imadtur
yeke suu ǰali-yin ibegendür
" In the Might of Everlasting Heaven.
In the Support of the Prophet Muqamad.
In the Protection of the Great Fortune Flame." [5]

Inasmuch as we have only part of the concluding lines of " Document II," it is impossible to know with certainty how it began, but it is very probable that it began, as " Document III," with the words *Busayid baγatur qan üge manu.*

As for " Document III," it begins with the name of the *il qan* from whom it emanates, *Busayid baγatur qan*, followed by the words *üge manu* and neither Heaven nor the Fortune of the *Qaγan* is mentioned. It is, therefore, comparable to the preamble

[5] For the initial formulae of the Mongolian documents of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries cf. Władysław Kotwicz, " En marge des lettres des il-khans de Perses retrouvées par Abel-Rémusat " in *Collectanea Orientalia* 4 (Lwów, 1933) .1-48; " Formules initiales des documents mongols aux XIII-e et XIV-e ss," *Rocznik Orjentalistyczny* 10 (1934) .131-157; Paul Pelliot, " Les Mongols et la Papauté," *Revue de l'Orient chrétien* 23 (1923) .25; and N. N. Poppe, Квадратная письменность, p. 92 et seq.

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in the *Bičig* of Γasan of 1302: *Γasan üge manu* and that in the *Bičig* of Öljeitü of 1305: *Öljeitü sultan üge manu.*

As in all analogous pieces dating from the Mongolian period, after the mention of the one from whom the document emanates, we find, beginning with the words *ǰayud-un noyad* " [to] the centurions " in Fig. 31 / Page 42 (C) of " Document III," a long series of official persons to whom the document is addressed. The series terminates with the words *olan iraiyad aran-a* " to the numerous *iraiyad* people " in line 2 of Fig. 31 / Page 42 (A). In this respect, " Document III " is comparable to the *Bičig* of Abaγa of (?) 1267 / (?) 1279. Since there is obviously a lacuna between the line *Busayid bayatur qan üge manu* of Fig 31 / Page 42 (B) and the line *ǰayud-un noyad* of Fig. 31 / Page 42 (C), it is more than probable that the missing part of the document contained the titles, if not the names, of still higher officials than the *ǰayud-un noyad.*

As for " Document I " and " Document II," it is impossible to state whether they were similar to " Document III " in this respect.

As in the case of other documents in which the names of the messengers who carried the missives are mentioned (cf. the letter of Abaγa to Clement IV,[6] the *Bičig* of Aryun of 1289, and that of Öljeitü of 1305, etc.), we find in line 12 of Fig. 29 the name of the messenger: *Maqmad* (?) *Anukain.*

The date of " Document III " appears, in the prescribed manner, at the end, specifically in lines 17-18 of Fig. 29. As in the case of the *Bičig* of Γasan of 1302 and that of Öljeitü of 1305, the document is dated, in the Musulman manner, after the hegira and also, in the Mongolian manner, after the duodenary cycle.[7] Both Öljeitü and Busayid Baγatur Qan, it will be recalled, were followers of Islam. In conformity with the practice of all the Mongolian chancelleries of the period, the enunciation of the date in

[6] Card. E. TISSERANT, " Une lettre de l'Ilkhan de Perse Abaga, adressée en 1268 au Pape Clément IV," *Muséon* 59 (1946) 547-556.

[7] The cyclical date in " Document III " has been calculated after the Chinese calendar. For the problem which this system of dating presents see pages 17-19 above.

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" Document III " is followed by the designation of the place where the document was written: *Sultaniya.*

A square seal was affixed at the lower right-hand corner of Fig. 29 of " Document III," in other words, at the end of the entire document. Besides, the length of both " Document II " and " Document III " having necessitated the use of a number of sheets of paper, the seal was affixed at the junction in the manner which I have described on page 14 above. The seals are vermilion in color.

Only " Document III " has an endorsement [8] and a summary of its contents on the back.[9]

As for the texts of the seals used on " Document II " and " Document III," since they have already been discussed in " Appendice I " on pages 482-485 of " Trois documents mongols . . .", it seems unnecessary to deal with them here.

Inasmuch as reproductions of the documents are to be found in PELLIOT's article, I have included in this study only those of the two texts on the reverse of the *Bičig* of Busayid Baγatur Qan of 1320, which have not hitherto been published:

(1) " Endorsement " (Plate I)

(2) " Summary of Contents " (Plate II)

In conclusion, I should also remark that, since I consider it premature to number the forty-four extant lines of " Document III " in a consecutive sequence, I have numbered the lines of each fragment independently.

[8] For the practice of endorsing documents in the Mongolian period cf. Francis Woodman CLEAVES, " A Chancellery Practice of the Mongols in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries," *HJAS* 14 (1951) 493-526. For the chancellery of the *il qan* cf. Bertold SPULER, *Die Mongolen in Iran*, pp. 288-294, and for that of Γasan in particular, especially with reference to the expedition of official correspondence, cf. the Baron C. D'OHSSON, *Histoire des Mongols* 4.410. Cf. also MOSTAERT and CLEAVES, *op. cit.*, pp. 478-482.

[9] I. e., on the back of Fig. 29.

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Transcription and Translation of the Documents

Document I

(Fig. 27 / Page 39)

(Transcription)

[1] mongke tngri-yin küčündür
[2] Muqamad baiγambar-un imadtur
[3] yeke suu ǰali-yin ibegendür

(Translation)

In the Might of Everlasting Heaven.[1]
In the Support [2] of the Prophet [3] Muqamad.[4]
In the Protection [5] of the Great Fortune Flame.[6]

Document II

(Fig. 28 / Page 40)

(Transcription)

[1] -dur qarǰa bolγatuγai. Bolad terigüten mingγad
[2] -un ǰaγud-un noyad kenebe küčü ülü
[3] ⟨ülü⟩ kürgegülün aliber üiles-i inu ǰugiyer bütügeǰü sayitur
[4] asiran atuγai kembei.
[5] bidan-a ayin kemegülüged bürün
[6] [ǰr]lγ busi bolγaqun aran aldatuγai ükütügei kemen
[7] imada bariǰu aγai altan gerege al tamγatai
[8] [ǰrlγ soyurqaǰu ögbei. bičig
[9] manu.]

(Translation)

[We] [1] have said,[2] "Let [3] . . . cause [4] . . . to become *qarǰa* [5] in [6] . . . . Let the chiliarchs and the centurions [7] headed by [8] Bolad,[9] not [10] letting violence be done [to him] [11] by anyone,[12]

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causing his affairs, whatever they may be, to succeed in a befitting manner,[13] protect [14] [him] excellently." [15]

Saying, "After having let themselves be told thus [16] by Us,[17] the people who shall violate the Edict,[18] let them be held punishable; let them die!," [19] [We have been pleased to grant] [20] to him a golden plaque [21] and [an Edict] [22] with a vermilion seal,[23] which he may keep in his possession.[24]

[Our Writ, . . .] [25]

Document III

(Fig. 31 / Page 42)

(B)

(Transcription)

[1] Busayid baγatur qan üge manu
[2] .....

(Translation)

[1] Word of Us,[1] Busayid Baγatur Qan [2]
[2] .....

Document III

(Fig. 31 / Page 42)

(C)

(Transcription)

[1] ǰaγud-un noyad
[2] Gilan Daštawand Güštasbi

(Translation)

[1] [To] the centurions [1]
[2] Gilan,[2] Daštawand,[3] Güštasbi [4]

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Document III

(Fig. 30 / Page 41)

(B)

(Transcription)

[1] Aran Muγan[-u] . . ? . . n[-u]
deger-e
[2] bidan-a tüsigdegsed-te meligüd nayibud mutasaribud

(Translation)

[1] To those who have been appointed [1] by
[2] Us [2] over [3] the . . ? . . [4] [of] [5] Aran [6] Muγan [7]; [8] to [9] the *meligüd*,[10] the *nayibud*,[11] the *mutasaribud*,[12]

Document III

(Fig. 31 / Page 42)

(A)

(Transcription)

[1] bičigečin-e qadin šiγ-ud . . ? . . b[u]su . . ? . .
[2] ötegüs irayis-ud (?) keyenüwes-e olan iraiyad aran-a
[3] ene šiγ Badaradin Abul Maqmad Maqmud irüger ögüged
ireǰü
[4] öčigülür-ün

(Translation)

[1] and the scribes; [1] [to] [2] the *qadin*,[3] the *šiγ-ud* [4] . . ? . . ,[5] and the other [6] . . ? . . ; [7]
[2] to the elders,[8] the *irayis-ud*,[9] and the (?) *keyenüwes* [10]; to the numerous *iraiyad* [11] people:
[3] This *šiγ* Badaradin Abul Maqmad Maqmud,[12] having given prayers,[13] when, coming,
[4] he had [one] report [14] [unto Us],[15] (?) saying,[16]

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Document III

(Fig. 30 / Page 41)

(A)

(Transcription)

[1] ǰrlγ-iyar ečige-yügen šiγ Čamaladin-u or-a šiγ šaqid
[2] Ibrayim-un suǰada-dur [saγ]uǰu qaγas-a-yin w[aγ]b[-ud]-un
[3] deger-e tüsigdeǰü bügetele aqa minu Šamsadin Maqmad namayi ülü qalγan

(Translation)

"Although by Edict,[1] in the place[2] of my[3] father, the *šiγ* Čamaladin,[4] I sat[5] on[6] the *suǰada*[7] of the *šiγ šaqid*[8] Ibrayim[9] and was appointed over[10] the *w[aγ]b[-ud]*[11] of the *qaγas-a*,[12] my elder brother, Šamsadin Maqmad,[13] not letting me approach,[14]

Document III

(Fig. 31 / Page 43)

(Transcription)

[1] ǰrlγ-ud bičigüd-i manu abč[u w]aγb-udi qarab bolγaǰ[uγui] (?) kemeǰü
[2] ünen bügesü ker kiǰü öberün durabar eyimü yosu ügegüi üiledün
[3] aǰuγui edüge ber bügesü a[li-b]e
[4] ǰrlγ bičigüd-i šarti waγb-ača tasarub bolγaγsan-i ǰugiyer qariγulǰu
[5] ögtügei. šiγ Badaradin Abul M[a]q[m]ad Maqmud urǰi[-yin yosu]γar
[6] suǰada-dur saγuǰu. waγb-udi abadan-laǰu γarqui irtibi-yi šarti
[7] waγb-un yosuγar qarǰa b[olγatuγa]i kedber bolǰu üiles [üiled]čü

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(Translation)

took [1] our Edicts [2] and Writs [3] and caused [4] the *wayb-ud* [5] to be *qarab* (' ruined ') .[6] "

Saying,[7] " If it be true, how,[8] on his own volition,[9] has he thus [10] acted [11] illegally? [12]

" Now,[13] let him,[14] in a befitting manner,[15] return [16] and give [back] whatever [17] Edicts [18] and Writs [he took] and that which he misappropriated [19] from the *šarti wayb* (' terms of the foundation ') [20] [whatever it may have been]. Let the *šiγ* Badaradin Abul M[a]q[m]ad [21] Maqmud, as [22] formerly,[23] sit on the *sujada* [24] and, after he shall have put in order [25] the *wayb-ud*, let him cause [26] the outgoing [27] *irtibi* [28] to be *qarja* [29] in accord with [30] the *šarti wayb* (' terms of the foundation ') .

" Whosoever it may be,[31] let him, doing [32] deeds,

Document III

(Fig. 30)

(Transcription)

[1] ǰayur-a buu oratuγai. temečejü buu qaltuγai. tendekin murid-ud

[2] šiγ-ud aran inu ügeber [y]abuǰu üge inu busi [bu]u bolγatuγai.

[3] imadača ay-e ügegüi nigen mengü nigen badman tariγandur kürtele

[4] tasarub buu bolγatuγai. dabariqun Mongγol čerigüd ilčin bölg

[5] sibaγučin barsučin busud kedber bolǰu küčü buu kürgetügei.

[6] yaγud kedi anu buliǰu tataǰu buu abtuγai. tariγad biǰadi anu

[7] egdegültügei. qaγas-a-yin suwra-dur belen büküni ǰugiyer ögteged

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(Translation)

not enter [1] in between.[2] Let him not attack, quarreling.[3] Let the *murid-ud*,[4] the *šiγ-ud*,[5] and the people who are there,[6] acting according to his [7] word,[8] [not] [9] violate his word.[10] Let them not misappropriate,[11] without his permission,[12] up to one *mengü* [13] [or] one *badman* [14] [of] grain.[15] Let the Mongolian troops,[16] the envoys,[17] the bands [18] of those who hunt with falcons [19] and of those who hunt with cheetahs,[20] and the others who pass through,[21] whosoever they may be, not use violence.[22] Let them not take their effects [23] by robbing and expropriating.[24] Let them allow them to eat [25] their grains [26] and (?) cereals.[27] Inasmuch as [28] the things which are [29] ready for the *suwra* [30] of the *qaγas-a* [31] have been given [32] in a befitting manner,[33]

Document III

(Fig. 29)

(Transcription)

[1] bügetele ülemǰi tusqu γuyul ulaγ-a alaba sawri gerige-yin buu

[2] mör buu γuyutuγai. Aban Čub[a]n oraγulǰu yaγuba abtuγai. γučin

[3] od-tača inegsi-de busud irgen-ü toγan-dur qanun

[4] -dur es-e oraγsad iraiyad anu kendür be bügesü qari-γulǰu

[5] ögtügei. mulgüd-i anu kenber yosu ügegüi tasarub bolγaγsad bügesü

[6] ǰugiyer olilčaǰu irtibi selte šariyad-iyar qariγulǰu ögtügei.

[7] mulgüd-tür kenber küčü-ger keyid bosqaγsan bügesü šariyad-iyar

[8] qaγas bolγatuγai. melig Aqmad imadur ögügsen Kenleče Sidil Aradi

[9] sildege-yi mön yosuγar aγultuγai. Satilmiš Šamsadin Mir Usayin

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[10] Išbau-a Amidadin Maqmad Urustam imayi kenebe
küčü ülü
[11] kürgegülün aliber üiles-i inu ǰugiyer bütügeǰü sayitur
asiran atuγai
[12] kemen. Maqmad (?) Anukain-i ilebe.
[13] bidan-a ayin kemegülüged bürün
[14] ǰrlγ busi bolγaqun aran aldatuγai ükütügei kemen imada
bariǰu
[15] aγai altan gerige al tamγatai
[16] ǰrlγ soyurqaǰu ögbei. bičig
[17] manu doluγan ǰaγud qorin od-tur bičin ǰil namur-un
[18] dumdadu sara-yin naiman qaγučid-ta Sultaniya-da
[19] bükü-dür bičibei ·:·

(Translation)

let them not request in great quantity provisions,[1] loans,[2] relay animals,[3] contributions,[4] service,[5] and the usage of plaques.[6] Let them, subjugating [7] Aban Čuban,[8] not [9] take anything whatever. If their subjects,[10] who, from thirty years [11] [ago] until now,[12] have not yet entered into [13] the *qanun* [14] in the number of other peoples, be with anyone, let them return and give [them back].[15] If any have illegally [16] misappropriated [17] their properties,[18] let them, adjudicating [19] [them] in a befitting manner,[20] return and give [them back] according to the *šariyad* [21] with *irtibi*.[22] If anyone have constructed [living] quarters [23] in the properties by [24] force, let them make a decision [25] according to the *šariyad*. Let them leave [26] in the same state [27] [as they are now] the villages [28] [of] Kenleče,[29] Sidil,[30] and Aradi,[31] which the *melig* [32] Aqmad [33] gave to him. Let Satilmiš,[34] Šamsadin,[35] Mir Usayin,[36] Išbau-a,[37] Amidadin,[38] Maqmad,[39] and Urustam,[40] without letting violence be done [to him] by anyone,[41] causing his affairs, whatever they may be, to succeed in a befitting manner,[42] protect [43] him excellently," [44] [We] have sent [45] Maqmad (?) Anukain.[46]

Saying, "After having let themselves be told thus [47] by Us,[48] the people who shall violate the Edict,[49] let them be held punishable; let them die," [50] [We] have been pleased to grant to him a

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golden plaque [51] and an Edict [52] with a vermilion seal [53] which he may keep in his possession.[54]

Our [55] Writ. [We] have written [it] on the eighth *qaγučid* [56] of the middle moon of autumn, the monkey year,[57] in the year seven hundred and twenty,[58] at the moment when [We] were in Sultaniya.[59]

Document III

(Fig. 29 / Verso)

(1)

(Transcription)

üǰig inu. (?) Ükečin. Dawlaš-a. Dimiš Qoǰa. Taǰadin Ali Š-a

(Translation)

Its [1] *üǰig*.[2] (?) Ükečin,[3] Dawlaš-a,[4] Dimiš Qoǰa,[5] Taǰadin Ali Š-a [6]

(2)

(Transcription)

[1] šiγ šaqid-un qaγas-a waγb-i
[2] köbegün inu medetügei. kemegsen
[3] ǰrlγ Birus bičibe

(Translation)

An Edict in which one has said, "Let his [1] son administer the *qaγas-a* [2] *waγb* [3] of the *šiγ* [5] *šaqid*.[6]" Birus [7] has written [this].[8]

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Index Verborum Mongolicorum

[N. B. Proper names are capitalized. Words of Persian or Persian (< Arabic) origin are identified by their inclusion in Arabic script. All numbers outside of parentheses refer to lines of the texts. The latter are identified by the following abbreviations:

(I, 27 / 39) = Doc. I (Fig. 27 / Page 39)
(II, 28 / 40) = Doc. II (Fig. 28 / Page 40)
(III, 31 / 42) (B) = Doc. III (Fig. 31 / Page 42) (B)
(III, 31 / 42) (C) = Doc. III (Fig. 31 / Page 42) (C)
(III, 30 / 41) (B) = Doc. III (Fig. 30 / Page 41) (B)
(III, 31 / 42) (A) = Doc. III (Fig. 31 / Page 42) (A)
(III, 30 / 41) (A) = Doc. III (Fig. 30 / Page 41)
(III, 31 / 43) = Doc. III (Fig. 31 / Page 43) (A)
(III, 30) = Doc. III (Fig. 30)
(III, 29) = Doc. III (Fig. 29)
(III, 29v / 1) = Doc. III (Fig. 29 / Verso 1)
(III, 29v / 2) = Doc. III (Fig. 29 / Verso 2)]

a-
  aγai (II, 28/40) 7; (III, 29) 15
  aǰuγui (III, 31/43) 3
  atuγai (II, 28/40) 4; (III, 29) 11
-a (dat.-loc.) (III, 31/42) (A) 2; v. bidan-a
ab-
  abč[u] (III, 31/43) 1
  abtuγai (III, 30) 6; (III, 29) 2
abadan-la- [< Pers. آبادان (ābādān) + denom. suff. -la-]
  abadan-laǰu (III, 31/43) 6
Aban [< Pers. (< Arab.) ابان (Abān)] v. Aban Čub[a]n
Aban Čub[a]n (III, 29) 2
Abul Maqmad [< Pers. (< Arab.) ابو المحمد (Abū'l M(a)ḥm(a)d)] v. Badaradin Abul Maqmad Maqmud
-ača (abl.) (III, 31/43) 4
aγul-
  aγultuγai (III, 29) 9
al tamγatai (II, 28/40) 7; (III, 29) 15
alaba (III, 29) 1
alda-
  aldatuγai (II, 28/40) 6; (III, 29) 14
Ali [< Pers. (< Arab.) علی ('Alī)] v. Ali Š-a
Ali Š-a v. Taǰadin Ali Š-a
a[li-b]e (III, 31/43) 3
aliber (II, 28/40) 3; (III, 29) 11
altan gerege (II, 28/40) 7
altan gerige (III, 29) 15
Amidadin [< Pers. (< Arab.) امیدالدین (Amīd al-Dīn)] (III, 29) 10
anu (III, 30) 6 (2); (III, 29) 4, 5
Anukain (?) v. Maqmad Anukain
aqa (III, 30/41) (A) 3
Aqmad [< Pers. (< Arab.) احمد (Aḥm(a)d)] (III, 29) 8
Aradi (?) (III, 29) 8
aran (II, 28/40) 6; (III, 31/42 (A) 2; (III, 30) 2; (III, 29) 14
Aran [< Pers. آران (Ārān)] (III, 30/41) (B) 1
asira-
  asiran (II, 28/40) 4; (III, 29) 11
ay-e [= ey-e] ügegüi (III, 30) 3
ayin [= eyin] (II, 28/40) 5; (III, 29) 13

Badaradin [< Pers. (< Arab.) بدرالدین (B(a)dr al-Dīn)] v. Badaradin Abul Maqmad Maqmud
Badaradin Abul Maqmad Maqmud (III, 31/42) (A) 3; (III, 31/43) 5 (Badaradin Abul M[a]q[m]ad Maqmud)
badman (III, 30) 3
bayatur v. Busayid bayatur qan
baiγambar [< Pers. پیغمبر (p(a)ī-γ(a)mb(a)r)] v. Muqamad baiγambar
-bar (instr.) (III, 31/43) 2 (durabar)

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bari-
barijŭ (II, 28/40) 7; (III, 29) 14
barsučin (III, 30) 5
-be (III, 31/43) 3 (a[li-b]e); (III, 29) 4 (kendür-be); (III, 29) 10 (kenebe)
belen (III, 30) 7
ber (III, 31/43) 3, 7
-ber (instr.) (III, 30) 2 (ügeber); (III, 29) 5 (kenber); (III, 29) 7 (kenber)
-ber v. ali-ber
biči-
bičibe (III, 29v/2) 3
bičibei (III, 29) 19
bičig (II, 28/40) 8 ([bičig]); (III, 29) 16
bičigečin (III, 31/42) (A) 1
bičigüd v. jrlγ bičigüd, jrlγ-ud bičigüd
bičin jil (III, 29) 17
bidan-a (II, 28/40) 5; (III, 30/41) (B) 2; (III, 29) 13
biǰadi (acc. of biǰad?) (III, 30) 6
Birus [< Pers. پیروز (Pīrūz)] (III, 29v/2) 3
bol-
bolǰu (III, 31/43) 7; (III, 30) 5
Bolad [< Uigh. Turk. Bolad < Pers. پولاد (Pūlād)] (II, 28/40) 1
bolγa-
bolγaγsad (III, 29) 5
bolγaγsan (III, 31/43) 4
bolγaǰ[uγui] (III, 31/43) 1
bolγaqun (II, 28/40) 6; (III, 29) 14
bolγar[un] (III, 31/43) 1
bolγatuγai (II, 28/40) 1; (III, 30) 2, 4; (III, 31/43) 7 (b[olγatuγa]i); (III, 29) 8
bosqa-
bosqaγsan (III, 29) 7
bölg [= *böleg] (III, 30) 4
buli-
buliǰu (III, 30) 6
Busayid [< Pers. (< Arab.) ابو سعید (Abū S(a)'īd) (2 June 1305-30 November 1335)] v. Busayid baγatur qan
Busayid baγatur qan (III, 31/42) (B) 1
busi bolγa- (II, 28/40) 6 (ǰrlγ busi bolγaqun); (III, 30) 2 (busi [bu]u bolγatuγai); (III, 29) 14 (ǰrlγ busi bolγaqun)
b[u]su (III, 31/42) (A) 1
busud (III, 30) 5; (III, 29) 3
buu (III, 30) 1(2), 2 ([bu]u), 4, 5, 6; (III, 29) 2(2)
bü-
bügesü (III, 31/43) 2, 3; (III, 29) 4, 5, 7
bügetele (III, 30/41) (A) 3; (III, 29) 1
büküi (III, 29) 19
büküni (III, 30) 7
bürün (II, 28/40) 5; (III, 29) 13
bütü-
bütügejü (II, 28/40) 3; (III, 29) 11

Čamaladin [< Pers. (< Arab.) جمال الدین (J̌(a)māl al-Dīn)] (III, 30/41) (A) 1
čerigüd (III, 30) 4
Čub[a]n [< Pers. (< Turk.) چوپان (Čūpān)] v. Aban Čub[a]n

-da (dat.-loc.) (III, 29) 3, 18
dabari-
dabariqun (III, 30) 4
Daštawand (?) (III, 31/42) (C) 2
Dawlaš-a [< Pers. دوله شاه (D(a)ūl(a)h Šāh)] (III, 29v/1)
deger-e (III, 30/41) (B) 1; (III, 30/41) (A) 3
Dimiš [< Pers. (< Arab.) دمشق (D(a)-m(a)šq)] v. Dimiš Qoǰa
Dimiš Qoǰa (III, 29v/1)
doluγan ǰaγud qorin (III, 29) 17
dumdadu sara (III, 29) 17
-dur (dat.-loc.) (II, 28/40) 1; (III,

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30/41 (A) 2; (III, 31/43) 6; (III, 30) 3, 7; (III, 29) 3
durabar (III, 31/43) 2
-dür (dat.-loc.) (I, 27/39) 1 (küčündür), 3 (ibegendür); (III, 29) 4 (kendür-be), 19

-e (dat.-loc.) (III, 31/42) (A) 1
ečige (III, 30/41) (A) 1
edüge (III, 31/43) 3
egdegül-
egdegültügei (III, 30) 7
ene (III, 31/42) 3
es-e (III, 29) 4
eyimü (III, 31/43) 2

-ger (instr.) (III, 29) 7
gerege v. altan gerege
gerige (III, 29) 1; v. altan gerige
Gilan [< Pers. گیلان (Gīlān)] (III, 31/42) (C) 2
Güštasbi [< Pers. گشتاسفی (G(u)-štāsfī)] (III, 31/42) (C) 2

γar-
γarqui (III, 31/43) 6
γučin (III, 29) 2
γuyu-
γuyutuγai (III, 29) 2
γuyul (III, 29) 1

-i (acc.) (II, 28/40) 3; (III, 30) 6 (biγadi), 7 (büküni); (III, 31/43) 1, 4(2), 6 (waγb-udi); (III, 29) 5, 11, 12; (III, 29v/2) 1
Ibarim [< Pers. (< Arab.) ابراهم (Ibrāh(i)m)] (III, 30/41) (A) 2
ibegendür (I, 27/39) 3
ilčin (III, 30) 4
ile-
ilebe (III, 29) 12
imada (II, 28/40) 7; (III, 29) 14
imadača (III, 30) 3
imad [< Pers. (< Arab.) عماد ('(i)-mād)] v. imadtur
imadtur (II, 27/39) 2
imadur (III, 29) 8
imayi (III, 29) 10
inegsi (III, 29) 3
inu (II, 28/40) 3; (III, 30) 2(2); (III, 29) 11; (III, 29v/1); (III, 29v/2) 2
iraiyad [< Pers. (< Arab.) رعیة (r(a)'ī-y(a)t] (III, 31/42) (A) 2; (III, 29) 4
irayis-ud [pl. of irayid < Pers. (< Arab.) رئیس (r(a)'īs)] (III, 31/42) (A) 2
ire-
ireǰü (III, 31/42) 3
irgen (III, 29) 3
irtibi [< Pers. (< Arab.) ارتفاع (irt(i)fā')] (III, 31/43) 6; (III, 29) 6
irüger (III, 31/42) 3
Išbau-a (III, 29) 10
-iyar (instr.) (III, 30/41) (A) 1; (III, 29) 6, 7

ǰaγud v. doluγan ǰaγud qorin
ǰaγud-un noyad (II, 28/40) 2; (III, 31/42) (C) 1
ǰaγur-a (III, 30) 1
ǰali v. yeke suu ǰali
ǰil v. bičin ǰil
ǰrlγ (II, 28/40) 6 ([ǰr]lγ), 8 ([ǰrlγ]); (III, 30/41) 1; (III, 29) 14, 16; (III, 29v/2) 3
ǰrlγ bičigüd (III, 31/43) 4
ǰrlγ-ud bičigüd (III, 31/43) 1
ǰugiyer [= ǰügiyer] (II, 28/40) 3; (III, 29) 6, 11; (III, 31/43) 4; (III, 30) 7

kedber (III, 31/43) 7; (III, 30) 5
kedi (III, 30) 6
keme-
kembei [= kemebei] (II, 28/40) 4
kemegsen (III, 29v2) 2
kemeǰü (?) (III, 31/43) 1
kemen (II, 28/40) 6; (III, 29) 12, 14

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kemegül-
kemegülüged (II, 28/40) 5; (III, 29) 13
kenber (III, 29) 5, 7
kendür-be (III, 29) 4
kenebe (II, 28/40) 2; (III, 29) 10
Kenleče (?) (III, 29) 8
ker (III, 31/43) 2
keyenüwes (?) (III, 31/42) 2
keyid (III, 29) 7
ki-
kiǰü (III, 31/43) 2
köbegün (III, 29v2) 2
küčü (II, 28/40) 2; (III, 29) 7, 10
küčündür (I, 27/39) 1
kür-
kürčü (III, 30) 5
kürge-
kürgetügei (III, 30) 5
kürgegül-
kürgegülün (II, 28/40) 3; (III, 29) 11
kürtele (III, 30) 3

manu (II, 28/49) 9 ([manu]); (III, 31/43) 1
Maqmad [< Pers. (< Arab.) محمد (M(a)ḥm(a)d)] (III, 29) 10; v. Badaradin Abul Maqmad Maqmud, Maqmad (?) Anukain, Šamsadin Maqmad
Maqmad (?) Anukain (III, 29) 12
Maqmud [< Pers. (< Arab.) محمود (M(a)ḥmūd)] v. Badaradin Abul Maqmad Maqmud
mede-
medetügei (III, 29v/2) 2
melig [< Pers. (< Arab.) ملک (m(a)-l(i)k)] (III, 29) 8
meligüd [pl. of melig] (III, 30/41) (B) 2
mengü (III, 30) 3
mingγad (II, 28/40) 1
minu (III, 30/41) (A) 3
Mir [< Pers. میر (Mīr)] v. Mir Usayin
Mir Usayin (III, 29) 9
Mongγol (III, 30) 4
mongke [= möngke] tngri (I, 27/39) 1
mön (III, 29) 9 (mön yosuγar)
mör (III, 29) 2
Muγan (III, 30/41) (B) 1
mulgüd [=mülgüd] (pl. of mulg [< Pers. (< Arab.) ملک (m(u)lk)]) (III, 29) 5, 7
Muqamad [< Pers. (< Arab.) محمّد (M(u)ḥamm(a)d)] v. Muqamad baiγambar
Muqamad baiγambar (I, 27/39) 2
murid-ud (pl. of murid [< Pers. (< Arab.) مرید (m(u)rīd)]) (III, 30) 1
mutasaribud (pl. of mutasarib [< Pers. (< Arab.) متصرف (m(u)t(a)-ṣ(a)rr(i)f)]) (III, 30/41) (B) 2

naiman qaγučid-ta (III, 29) 18
namayi (III, 30/41) (A) 3
namur (III, 29) 17
nayibud (pl. of nayib [< Pers. (< Arab.) نائب (nā'(i)b)] (III, 30/41) (B) 2
nigen (III, 30) 3 (2)
noyad v. ǰaγun-u noyad, mingγad-un ǰaγud-un noyad

od (III, 29) 3, 17
olan (III, 31/42) 2
olilča-
olilčaǰu (III, 29) 6
or-a (III, 30/41) 1
ora-
oraγsad (III, 29) 4
oratuγai (III, 30) 1
oraγul-
oraγulǰu (III, 29) 2
öberün (III, 31/43) 2
öčigül-
öčigülür-ün (III, 31/42) (A) 4
ög-
ögbei (II, 28/49) 8 ([ögbei]); (III, 29) 16

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ögtügei (III, 31/43) 5; (III, 29) 5, 6
ögüged (III, 31/42) (A) 3
ögügsen (III, 29) 8
ögte-
ögteged (III, 30) 7
ötegüs (III, 31/42) (A) 2

qadin [< Pers. (< Arab.) قاضی (qāẓī)] (III, 31/42) (A) 1
qaγas bolγa- (III, 29) 8 (qaγas bolγatuγai)
qaγas-a (III, 30/41) (A) 2; (III, 30) 7; (III, 29v/2) 1
qaγučid v. naiman qaγučid-ta
qal-
qaltuγai (III, 30) 1
qalγa-
qalγan (III, 30/41) (A) 3
qan v. Busayid baγatur qan
qanun [< Pers. (< Arab.) قانون (qānūn) (< Greek κανών)] (III, 29) 3
qarab [< Pers. (< Arab.) خراب (χ(a)rāb)] (III, 31/43) 1
qarǰa [< Pers. (< Arab.) خرجة (χ(a)rǰ(a)h)] (II, 28/40) 1; (III, 31/43) 7
qariγul-
qariγulǰu (III, 31/43) 4; (III, 29) 4, 6
Qoǰa [< Pers. خواجه Xwāǰ(a)h)] v. Dimiš Qoǰa
qorin v. doluγan ǰaγud qorin

saγu-
saγuǰu (III, 31/43) 6; (III, 31/41) (A) 2 ([saγ]uǰu)
sara v. dumdadu sara
Satilmiš [< Turk. Satïlmïš] (III, 29) 9
sawri [< Pers. سا وری (sāwrī) < (?) Turk. saγrï] (III, 29) 1
sayitur (II, 28/40) 3; (III, 29) 11
selte (III, 29) 6
sibaγučin (III, 30) 5
Sidil (?) (III, 29) 8
sildege (III, 29) 9
soyurqa-
soyurqaǰu (II, 28/49) 8 ([soyurqaǰu]); (III, 29) 16
suǰada [< Pers. (< Arab.) سجادة (s(a)ǰǰād(a)t)] (III, 30/41) (A) 2; (III, 31/43) 6
Sultaniya [< Pers. سلطانیه S(u)lṭānīy(a)h] (III, 29) 18
suwra [< Pers. سفره s(u)fr(a)h] (III, 30) 7
suu v. yeke suu ǰali

Š-a [< Pers. شاه (šāh)] v. Dawlaš-a, Taǰadin Ali Š-a
Šamsadin [< Pers. (< Arab.) شمس الدین (Š(a)ms al-Dīn)] (III, 30/41) (A) 3; (III, 29) 9
šaqid [< Pers. (< Arab.) شهید (š(a)hīd)] (III, 30/41) (A) 1; (III, 29v/2) 1
šariyad [< Pers. (< Arab.) شریعه (š(a)rī'(a)t)] (III, 29) 6, 7
šart [< Pers. (< Arab.) شرط (š(a)rṭ)] v. šarti
šarti [< Pers. [< Pers. š(a)rṭ(-i) (i.e., gen. of š(a)rṭ)] v. šarti waγb
šarti waγb [< Pers. شرط وقف (š(a)rṭ(-i) w(a)qf)] (III, 31/43) 4, 6-7 (šarti [7] waγb)
šiγ [< Pers. (< Arab.) شیخ (š(a)īχ) (III, 31/42) (A) 3; (III, 30/41) (A) 1(2); (III, 31/43) 5; (III, 29v/2) 1
šiγ-ud (pl. of šiγ) (III, 31/42) (A) 1; (III, 30) 2

-ta (dat.-loc.) (III, 29) 18
-tača (dat.-loc. + abl.) (III, 29) 3
Taǰadin [< Pers. (< Arab.) تاج الدین (Tāǰ al-Dīn)] v. Taǰadin Ali Š-a
Taǰadin Ali Š-a (III, 29v/1)
tamγatai v. al tamγatai

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tariγad (III, 30) 6
tariγan (III, 30) 3
tasarub [< Pers. (< Arab.) تصرّف (t(a)ṣ(a)rr(u)f)] v. tasarub bolγa-
tasarub bolγa- (III, 31/43) 4 (tasarub bolγaγsan); (III, 30) 4 (tasarub buu bolγatuγai); (III, 29) 5 (tasarub bolγaγsad bügesü)
tata-
tataǰu (III, 30) 6
-te (dat.-loc.) (III, 30/41) (B) 2
temeče-
temečeǰü (III, 30) 1
tendekin (III, 30) 1
terigüten (II, 28/40) 1
tngri v. mongke tngri
toγan (III, 29) 3
-tur (dat.-loc.) (I, 27/39) 2 (imadtur); (III, 29) 4, 17
tusqu (III, 29) 1
-tür (dat.-loc.) (III, 29) 7
tüsigde-
tüsigdegsed (III, 30/41) (B) 2
tüsigdeǰü (III, 30/41) (A) 3

-u (gen.) (III, 30/41) (B) 1 (2) ([-u]); (III, 30/41) (A) 1
ulaγ-a (III, 29) 1
-un (gen.) (I, 27/39) 2; (II, 28/40) 2(2); (III, 31/42) (C) 1; (III, 30/41) (A) 2; (III, 31/43) 7; (III, 29) 17; (III, 29v/2) 1
urǰi (III, 31/43) 5
Urustam [< Pers. رستم (R(u)st(a)m)] (III, 29) 10
Usayin [< Pers. (< Arab.) حسين (Ḥ(u)s(a)īn)] v. Mir Usayin
-ü (gen.) (III, 29) 3
üge (III, 31/42) (B) 1; (III, 30) 2
ügeber (III, 30) 2
ügegüi v. ay-e ügegüi, yosu ügegüi
üiled-
[üiled]čü (III, 31/43) 7
üiledün (III, 31/43) 2
üiles (II, 28/40) 3; (III, 31/43) 7; (III, 29) 11
ükü-
ükütügei (II, 28/40) 6; (III, 29) 14
ülemǰi (III, 29) 1
ülü (II, 28/40) 2, 3 (< ülü >); (III, 30/41) (A) 3; (III, 29) 10
ünen (III, 31/43) 2

waγb [< Pers. (< Arab.) وقف (w(a)qf)] (III, 29v/2) 1; v. šarti waγb
w[aγ]b[-ud] (pl. of waγb) (III, 30/41) (A) 2
waγb-udi (III, 31/43) 1 ([w]aγb-udi), 6

yabu-
[y]abuǰu (III, 30) 2
yaγuba (III, 29) 2
yaγud (III, 30) 6
yeke suu ǰali (I, 27/39) 3
-yi (acc.) (III, 31/43) 6; (III, 29) 9
-yin (gen.) (I, 27/39) 1, 3; (III, 30/41) (A) 2; (III, 31/43) 5 ([-yin]); (III, 30) 7; (III, 29) 1, 18
yosu v. yosu ügegüi
yosu ügegüi (III, 31/43) 2; (III, 29) 5
yosuγar (III, 31/43) 5 ([yosu]γar), 7; (III, 29) 9 (mön yosuγar)

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Notes to the Translation of the Documents

Document I

(Fig. 27 / Page 39)

[1] The formula *mongke tngri-yin küčündür* which Pelliot translated "Dans la force du Ciel éternel" is first attested in a Mongolian text in the Uighur script in the seal of Güyüg of 1246. Cf. Paul Pelliot, "Les Mongols et la Papauté," Extrait de la *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 3e *Série*, 3(23), Nos 1 et 2 (1922-23).3-30 (Paris, 1923).[22] and pl. 2 ("Sceau du grand khan Güyük"). As recently remarked by Professor Erich Haenisch on page 221 of his article "Zu den Briefen der mongolischen Il-khane Arġun und Öljeitü an den König Philipp den Schönen von Frankreich (1289 u. 1305)" in *Oriens* 2(1949).216-235, the formula is attested in § 275 of the *Secret History of the Mongols* (*YCPS* 12.28b8) as *müngke tenggeri-yin güčün-tür*. It is attested in Chinese translation in the *Hei Ta shih-lüeh* 黑韃事略 of 1237. Cf. Antoine Mostaert et Francis Woodman Cleaves, "Trois documents mongols des Archives secrètes vaticanes," *HJAS* 15(1952).419-506 (p. 486). For other examples of the formula, cf. Władysław Kotwicz, "Formules initiales des documents mongols aux XIII-e et XIV-e ss," in *Rocznik Orjentalistyczny* 10(1934).131-157 (especially pages 134-135 [I-re formule]) and Marjan Lewicki, "Les inscriptions mongoles inédites en écriture carrée," in *Collectanea Orientalia* 12(1937).1-72 (especially pages 17, 20, and 23).

[2] Pelliot read this word *iman-dur*(?) and translated "Dans la faveur(?)." On page 37 he observed: "Le seul mot un peu douteux est *iman*, qui n'est pas mongol; j'y ai vu l'arabe "إِمّة, 'faveur', 'bienfait'." This Arabic word, however, is read *immat*^{un}, not *imān*.

On page 16 of his article "Quelques mots encore sur les lettres des il-khans de Perse retrouvées par Abel-Rémusat" in *Collectanea Orientalia* 10(1936).1-22, Władysław Kotwicz, citing the complete text of this exordium, transcribed the second line as follows: *Muxamad bajxambar-un timandur*(?). In this citation, "*timandur*(?)" is, of course, a misprint for "*imandur*(?)." In note 2 on the same page Kotwicz stated: "Cette leçon proposée par M. Pelliot n'est pas sûre."

In his review of the first volume of *Aṯhār-é-Īrān* in *BSOS* 9(1937-1939).234-235, V. Minorsky wrote (p. 235): "The word *iman* (*Muqamad baiqambar-un iman-dur*) which puzzled the learned editor seems to be the Arabic *īmān* 'creed, belief.'" For this word in Persian, cf. F. Steingass, *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary* (London, Third impression 1947), p. 132a, where it is registered as follows: "A ايمان . . . ;—*īmān* (v. n. 4 of امن), Crediting, acknowledging as true, believing; faith, belief, religion; conscience; good faith, trustworthiness, integrity."

If the word in our text were *imandur*, Minorsky's identification would be acceptable Pelliot's reading, however, was not correct, because he mistook the letter *-d* before the dative-locative suffix for an *-n*. This fact has also been observed by Marian Lewicki, who, on page 246 of a note entitled "Mongol *imat* ~ *imäd*, arabe-persan هِمّت *himmat*" on pages 245-247 of his very interesting article "Turcica et Mongolica" in *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 15(1939-1949).239-267, wrote:

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"Le mot en question est écrit assez clairement. La photocopie permet de voir qu'*ima* est suivi d'un petit rond avec un crochet qui y adhère; pris ensemble cela indique la consonne *d* ou *t*. On peut donc reconstruire le mot *imat-tur* ou *imad-dur* (*imät-tür, imäd-dür*)."

Convinced that the word should be read *imadtur* or *nimadtur*, in the summer of 1947, I consulted my colleague and friend, Professor Richard N. Frye, who suggested, on the basis of these readings, two possible identifications. One of these was the word *himmat* which Steingass (p. 1508b) registered as follows: "A همّة *himmat*, Inclination, desire, resolution, intention, design; ambition, aspiration; mind, thought, attention, care; magnanimity; power, strength, ability; auspices, grace, favour; . . ." The same identification was also independently proposed by Marian Lewicki in his note "Mongol *imat* ~ *imäd*, arabe-persan همّت *himmat*" to which I have just referred above.

My principal objection to this identification is the fact that it disregards the consonantal gemination (*-mm-*) of the word *himmat*. That such gemination was not necessarily disregarded in transcription is clear from the orthography *Abdull-a* for *'Abd Allāh* ("Servant of God") on a silver *p'ai-tzu* from the time of that Golden Horde ruler (1362-1369). Cf., e.g., B. Grekov and A. Yakubovskiĭ, Золотая Орда [*The Golden Horde*] (Leningrad, 1937), Pl. VI.

The other identification suggested by Professor Frye was the Persian (< Arabic) *niʿmat*, a word which Steingass (p. 1412b) registered as follows: "A نعمة . . .;— *niʿmat*, The hand; graciousness, beneficence, a benefit, boon, blessing, favour; a kind, helping hand; riches, good things; delight, pleasure, joy, . . ."

The Russian scholar, M. L. S. Pučkovskiĭ, cited the complete text of the *exordium* on pages 403 and 408 of his article "Заключительная формула в письмах ильханов Аргуна (1289 г.) и Ульдзэйту (1305 г.)" ["The Concluding Formula in the Letters of the Il-Khans Arghun (A. 1289) and Uldzeïtu (A. 1305)"] in Советское Востоковедение [*Soviet Orientology*] 6 (1949) 396-422, but, for the word in question, merely followed Pelliot, translating it ("*iman-dur*") "в милости (?)" ["in the favor (?)"], observing in note 8 on the same page that the question mark is Pelliot's.

In a paper entitled "Les documents mongols du Musée de Téhéran," which I read on Friday, 21 September 1951,* at the *XXII^e Congrès International des Orientalistes* in Istanbul, Turkey, I expressed myself, with reference to Lewicki's solution, in the following terms:

"Or, bien qu'il y ait quelque chose à dire en faveur de cette explication, la solution me paraît tout autre. Tout d'abord, le mot mongol doit être lu *nimad-tur*. Il est vrai que le point diacritique pour l'*n* n'est pas marqué, mais c'est là un phénomène qui n'est nullement rare tant dans les documents anciens que dans les documents modernes. Quant au mot *nimad*, je dois à l'obligeance de mon ami M. Frye l'identification qui, à mon avis, s'impose, notamment celle de *niʿmat* نعمة "la générosité". Par conséquent, la deuxième ligne de cet exorde serait à traduire:

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* Although my paper was scheduled for Monday, 17 September 1951, on page 20 of the "Fourth Circular" (dated 14 September 1951) of the "XXII. International Congress of Orientalists," I read it on Friday so that Ahmed Temir (Ankara) could read his on Monday.

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" Dans la générosité du Prophète Muqamad."

Il faut faire remarquer, toutefois, que l'expression *niʿmat-i-Muhammat* n'est pas en usage en langue persane. Mais on trouve en usage, par exemple, l'expression *niʿmat-i-khwājah*."

[I am indebted to the late Mehdi Bahrami for the statement concerning the usage of these expressions in Persian.]

In the "P. S." of a letter dated 10 December 1951, Professor W. B. Henning, who was chairman of the session at which I read my paper,* wrote me as follows:

"I took the opportunity to look at Pelliot's *'iman'*. You are clearly right in pointing out that the last letter was *-t*—Pelliot's photograph certainly supports your claim. There is now a common Persian word that would appear as *imat*: عماد *'imād* 'support, prop, trust' (pronounced *imād* in Persian, but Turks would say *imāt*). This word (particularly frequent in the proper name *'Imād-ad-Dīn* 'Prop of the Church') is eminently suitable in the context. It seems more suitable than *niʿmat* because 1) there is no awkward assumption of *n/*; 2) *niʿmat* is not the word one would like to find in the passage; 3) the *'ain* in *niʿmat*, though not pronounced in Arabic style, is never simply omitted but replaced by a brief vowel, *niʿəmat* and the like. Persians usually say *ne'emat;* in the *Codex Cumanicus* it appears as *naamat* (*naamatlu* = 'gracioxus'); in Mongol writing this second vowel would almost certainly be expressed in some way."

The word *'imād* proposed by Professor Henning is registered in Steingass (p. 865b-866a) as follows: "A عماد *'imād*, A house; a column, pillar, [866] tent-pole; a stay, prop, support; confidence, reliance, trust; . . ." Since it seems, in every way, preferable to *niʿmat*, I have, therefore, decided to adopt it.

[3] The word *baiγambar* < *Persian p(a)īγ(a)mb(a)r*, which Steingass (p. 268b) registered as follows: "پیغمبر *paigham-bar*, A prophet." The word literally rendered means "message (*paīγam*) bearer (*bar*)." Pelliot's reading *baiqambar* is, therefore, incorrect. That of Kotwicz (*op. cit.*, p. 16) (*bajxambar*) and that of Pučkovskiĭ (*op. cit.*, pp. 403 and 408) (*baiqambar*) are also incorrect. The word is attested in N. N. Poppe's Монгольский словарь Мукаддимат ал-Адаб [*The Mongolian Dictionary Mukaddimat al-Adab*] I-II (Moscow-Leningrad, 1938), p. 283a: "*paiγambar kiksen jaruqsan* پیغمبر کیکسان جاروقسان —ч. *paiγambar qïlγan buyurγan* پیغمبر قیلغان بیورغان пророком изреченный приказ [order enunciated by the prophet] 178."

For the earlier form of this word in Turkish cf. A. von Gabain, *Alttürkische Grammatik* (1941), p. 324: "*patγamwar* < chr. sgd. *patγāmbar* (*ptγ'mbr*) Apostel || peygamber."

For Chinese transcriptions of *paīγambar* cf. note 1 on page 19 of Ed. Chavanne's "Inscriptions et pièces de chancellerie chinoises de l'époque mongole," *TP* 6 (1905).1-42.

[4] *Muqamad* < Persian (< Arabic) *M(u)ḥ(a)mm(a)d*, which Steingass (p. 1190a) registered as follows: "A محمد . . . ;—*muḥammad*, Highly praised; praiseworthy;

* Professor Henning was scheduled, on page 20 of the same circular, to take the chair at the Monday session, but he took it instead on Friday.

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a proper name, particularly that of the great founder of Islām; . . ." The transcription *Muhamad* on pages 403 and 408 of Pučkovskiĭ's article is not correct.

In Žamcarano's *Darqad. Köbsügül naγur-un Uriyangqai*, etc. (cf. Antoine Mostaert, *HJAS* 15[1952].375-376, n. 231), the form *Muqamid* is found in line 7 on page 65 in the passage concerning the Qotong, which reads (ll. 7-8): *šaǰin mörgül inu Lalo (Muqamid)-yin yosu-yi büdügülig-iyer daγamui*: "The religion follows in a primitive manner the way of the Moslems (Muqamid)."

This name is also attested in Mongolian in the form *Madumadi*. Cf. B. Ya. Vladimircov, "Арабские слова в монгольском" ["Arabic Words in Mongolian"] in Записки Коллегии Востоковедов 5(1930).73-82. (Cf. the review by Paul Pelliot in *TP* 28.[1932].510-511.) On pages 77-78 of Vladimircov's article we read:

"13. Монг.-письм. *Madumadi* 'Мохаммед' < тиб. *Ma-dhu-ma-ti* < скр. [78] *Madhumati* < араб. *Moḥammad* 'id.' Скр. форма *Madhumati* является народной этимологизацией собственного имени мусульманского пророка: 'медовый ум'. Тибетцы то транскрибируют скр. форму, то переводят ее, по обычной своей привычке, почему имя Мохаммеда является иногда в тибетской литературе в виде *sBraṅ-rji blo-gros* > монг. *Brangji-ɬoroi ~ Brangji-ɬodoi*[1]. По монгольским сказаниям *Madumadi* оказывается седьмым из восьми великих учителей (*baγši*)[2] *ɬalo*, т. е. мусульман.

[1] Тиб. *gr* > монг. *d* и *r*.

[2] См., напр. Ms. Азиатского музея sub B. II, 3, f. 7b."

["13. Writ. Mong. *Madumadi* 'Mohammet' < Tib. *Ma-dhu-ma-ti* < Skr. (78) *Madhumati* < Arab. *Moḥammad* 'id.' The Skr. form *Madhumati* is a popular etymologization of the proper name of the Musulman prophet: 'honey mind'. The Tibetans sometimes transcribe the Skr. form and sometimes translate it, in their usual way, wherefore the name of Mohammet appears sometimes in Tibetan literature in the aspect of *sBraṅ-rji blo-gros* > Mong. *Brangji-loroi ~ Brangji-lodoi*.[1] According to Mongolian tales *Madumadi* is the seventh of the eight great teachers (*baγši*) *lalo*, i.e., Musulmans.[2]

[1] Tib. *gr* > Mong. *d* and *r*.

[2] See, e.g., the Ms of the Asiatic Museum sub B. II, 3, f. 7b."]

With reference to this formula (as transcribed by Pelliot with *iman-dur*) Kotwicz wrote (*op. cit.*, pp. 16-17): "Le sentiment musulman avait fait ajouter, à l'ancienne formule, un membre nouveau (intermédiaire), en en transformant, par ce [17] moyen, la signification: réservant sans doute le premier à Allah, le second à son prophète, et appliquant le troisième, comme jadis, au fondateur de la dynastie."

[5] Pelliot's transcription *ibägä-dür* is incorrect. Kotwicz's transcription *ibegedür* (*op. cit.*, p. 16), Lewicki's transcription *ibägädür* (*op. cit.*, p. 245), and Pučkovskiĭ's transcription *ibägä-dür* (*op. cit.*, pp. 403 and 408) are also incorrect. We must read *ibegen-dür*, because the stroke at the top of the *-d* is an *-n-*, not part of the *-d* itself.

The word *ibegen* is attested in the *Secret History* as *ihe'el*. Cf. Erich Haenisch, *Wörterbuch zu Manghol un Niuca Tobca'an*, p. 81. It is attested in the 'Phags-pa script as *ihe·en*. Cf. N. N. Poppe, Квадратная письменность [*Square Script*]

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(Moscow-Leningrad, 1941), p. 151b. For remarks on these early forms of the word cf. Paul Pelliot, "Les mots à *h* initiale aujourd'hui amuie dans le mongol des xiii^{e} et xiv^{e} siècles," *JA* 206 (1925) .193-263 (p. 249, n. 2), Władysław Kotwicz, "Formules initiales . . ." (p. 152), and N. N. Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 116, n. 27 (b).

For the form *igegen* see note 6 below.

For an interesting example of *ibegel-dür* in the later literature cf. *tngri-yin ibegel-dür* "in the Protection of Heaven" in the *Manǰu-yin ünen mayad qauli* 2 (*ts'e* 2) .[76b].

[6] The formula *yeke suu ǰali-yin ibegendür*, not found in the *Secret History*, is well attested in the 'Phags-pa inscriptions. Cf. M. Lewicki, *op. cit.*, p. 20 (l. 2) and p. 23 (l. 2) and N. N. Poppe (*op. cit.*), p. 64 (l. 2), p. 67 (l. 2) and p. 68 (l. 2), where we find *yeke su ǰaliyin · ihe · endur*. (The word *ǰaliyin* is not found registered on page 151b of Poppe's "Словарь" ["Dictionary"].)

The formula is also attested as *yeke suu ǰali-in igegendür* in three *p'ai-tzu*. Cf. Władysław Kotwicz, "Formules initiales . . .," p. 135. A reproduction of the obverse of one of these ("Рис. [= Fig.] 22") is found in the new book by B. D. Grekov and A. Yu. Yakubovskiĭ, Золотая Орда и ее падение [*The Golden Horde and Its Fall*] (Moscow-Leningrad, 1950), where, however, it appears upside down and in the legend "Пайцза серебряная Абдулла-хана (1362-1366)" ["Silver païcza of Abdulla-khan (1362-1366)"] the date 1366 is an error for 1369. See also "Document II" (Fig. 28 / Page 40), note 19.

The words *yeke suu ǰali* were studied by Kotwicz in "Formules initiales . . ." (cf. pp. 142, 149, and 152). On page 152 he wrote: "Dans la deuxième formule, *yeke suu šali* désignait évidemment l'esprit protecteur, car elle s'achève par le mot *igegendür*, 'sous la garde'." On pages 152-153 he also wrote: "Le mot *yeke*, 'grand', est un complément, de même sens probablement que dans le groupe: *yeke moŋγol ułus* et désigne, d'accord avec les conjectures exprimées ci-dessus, l'âme du fon-[153]dateur de l'empire mongol, devenu son haut protecteur. Le sens du mot *šali* est moins clair. Ce doit être évidemment un synonyme de *suu*, formant avec lui une expression appariée pour désigner l'âme."

Cf. also N. N. Poppe, *op. cit.*, pp. 115-116, n. 27 (a).

Document II

(Fig. 28 / Page 40)

[1] The subject of the verb *kembei* (see note 2 below) is, without question, *bida* "We," which must have appeared in the part of the text which is now missing.

[2] The orthography *kembei* for *kemebei* is also attested in lines 12 of the *Bičig* of Abaγa of (?) 1267 / (?) 1279 and in line 17 of the *Bičig* of Arγun of 1289. Cf. Mostaert and Cleaves, *op. cit.*, p. 426, where this example is cited.

[3] The subject of the verb *bolγatuγai* must have appeared in the part of the text which is now missing.

[4] When we compare the words *-dur qarǰa bolγatuγai* of this text with the words *irtibi-yi šarti* [7] *waγb-un yosuγar qarǰa b[olγatuγa]i* in line 7 of "Document III" (Fig. 31 / Page 43) (see note 5 below), it seems reasonable to conclude that in the line which immediately preceded the first line of this fragment the object of the verb *bolγa-* may also have been the word *irtibi*. (For this word see "Document III" [Fig. 31 / Page 43], note 28.) If so, we might restore the text as follows:

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[0] . . ? . . *irtibi-yi* . . ? . .

[1] *-dur qarǰa bolγatuγai. Bolad terigüten mingγad*

[5] This word may be read *qarča* or *qarǰa*. The word *qarča* is attested in Mongolian with two meanings: (1) "swallow" and (2) "grasshopper." For a discussion of the word cf. Antoine MOSTAERT, *HJAS* 13 (1950) .322-323. It cannot be admitted, however, that either of these meanings is suitable in this context.

I am indebted to my former student, Dr. Herbert F. SCHURMANN, for what is indubitably the correct identification of this word. On 19 January 1951 he proposed the word which STEINGASS (p. 453a) registered as follows: "a خرچه *kharcha*, A marginal note; the costs of a law-suit."

Finding no examples of the word in Persian in either of the acceptations registered by STEINGASS, I turned to Professor W. B. HENNING who, in a letter dated 6 October 1952, formulated the following instructive remarks:

"To come now to *qarča*. I fear the proposed explanation is unacceptable in the form made. The use of STEINGASS is much to be deprecated. A thoroughly unreliable work, containing countless non-existing words and non-existing meanings. Any word, or any meaning for a word, has to be tested. In this case the routine test shows: (a) 'marginal note' STEINGASS < JOHNSON < RICHARDSON < MENINSKI's Turkish dictionary, which proves nothing for Persian; (b) 'costs of a law-suit' STEINGASS < VULLERS < J. SHAKESPEAR's *Hindustani-English Dict.*, which again proves nothing for Persian. In Persian such a word has not been used and is naturally absent from the numerous (and excellent) indigenous works of lexicography (not counting quite modern ones that have copied European books). In itself, خرچه is a corruption (by popular mispronunciation) of خرجه (which is Arabic, see DOZY خرجة), the 2nd (Indian) meaning being, however, derived from the simple خرج *χarǰ* 'expenditure' (popularly often pronounced *χarč*).

"One may, however, say that 'qarča' is Arabic خرجة *χarǰa(h)*, but perhaps with the meaning of خَرْج *χarǰ*; the two are often very close to each other. The normal meanings of خرجة you will find in DOZY, i, 359b; those of خرج everywhere. Of the latter, the basic meaning is 'outgoings', hence (usually) 'expenditure, expense'; in Persian *χarǰ* (popularly *χarč*) was often used for 'property that one may use for expenditure', also for various kinds of taxes. In your document the characteristic Persian meaning 'expendable private property' may seem preferable."

On page 359b of R. DOZY, *Supplément aux Dictionnaires arabes* 1 (2e. ed.) (1927), we find the following entry:

"خَرْجَة *sortie*, attaque faite par les assiégés, Bc.—*Saillie*, sortie impétueuse avec interruption, Bc.—*Sortie*, dure réprimande, brusquerie, emportement contre quelqu'un, *boutade, saillie*, Bc.—*Ressaut*, avance, *saillie, entablement*, saillie du mur sous le toit, Bc., M., خرجة شبّاك *balcon*, Bc.—*Le tribut en nature*, Descr. de l'Eg. XI, 489.—*Ce que le maître paie aux ouvriers*, Alc. (comensalia).—*Enterrement*, funérailles, pompe funèbre, 1001 N. 1, 156, 326, II, 467, Bresl. IV, 174, XII, 235."

Of these meanings, those of "*Le tribut en nature*" and "*Ce que le maître paie aux ouvriers*" obviously are related and derived from the basic concept of "outgoing," hence "expenditure."

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The preferable reading of the Mongolian form, therefore, would appear to be *qarǰa*, not *qarča*. The word, as I have just stated, is attested once again in line 7 of "Document III" (Fig. 31 / Page 43) in the passage which reads: . . . *irtibi-yi šarti* [7] *waγb-un yosuγar qarǰa b[olγatuγa]i* ". . . let him cause the *irtibi* to become *qarǰa* in accord with the *šarti* ('terms') of the *waγb* ('foundation')." (For the word *irtibi* see "Document III" [Fig. 31 / Page 43], note 28.)

Irrespective of the precise meaning which eventually may be considered appropriate for the present text and for that in line 7 of "Document III" (Fig. 31 / Page 43), it is obvious that *qarǰa* was a technical term of the time and merits special study along with a substantial number of other terms pertaining to taxation, tribute, etc.

[6] Although I have read this suffix of the *dativus-locativus -dur*, it could also be read *-tur* or *-dür/-tür*. Since we do not know with what word the preceding line terminated, it is impossible to know how this suffix should be read.

[7] The words *mingγad*[2]*-un ǰaγud-un noyad* constitute part of the technical administrative and military vocabulary of the Mongols of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. For additional examples of this vocabulary we need only to turn to §§ 191 and 224 of the *Secret History*. In § 191 we find: *minγan-u noyan ǰa'un-u noyan harban-u noyan tende tüšiba* (*YCPS* 7.18a4-5) "he (i.e., Činggis Qahan) then appointed the *noyan* of thousands, the *noyan* of hundreds, and the *noyan* of tens" and, as in the present text, *minγad-un ǰa'ud-un noyad-un* (*YCPS* 7.19a1) "of the *noyad* of thousands and of hundreds." In § 224 we find: *minγad-un ǰa'ud-un harbad-un noyad* (*YCPS* 9.30b4-5) "the *noyad* of thousands, of hundreds, and of tens"; *tümed-ün minγad-un noyad* (*YCPS* 9.31a1) "the *noyad* of ten thousands and of thousands;" *tümed-ün minγad-un ǰa'ud-un noyad-un* (*YCPS* 9.32a3-4) "of the *noyad* of ten thousands, of thousands, and of hundreds"; and *minγad-un ǰa'ud-un harbad-un noyad* (*YCPS* 9.34a2) "the *noyad* of thousands, of hundreds, and of tens."

Inasmuch as § 224 of the *Secret History* is devoted, in great part, to the institution of myriarchs, chiliarchs, centurions, and decurions as established by Činggis Qahan himself, a transcription and translation of the first few lines (*YCPS* 9.30b3-31a3) may be of pertinent interest:

[30b] *ulus bayi'ululčaγsad ǰobolduγsad-i minγad-un noyad bolγaǰu minγa minγalaǰu minγad-un ǰa'ud-un harbad-un noyad tüšiǰü tümeleǰü tümed-ün noyad* [31a] *tüšiǰü tümed-ün minγad-un noyad-ta soyurqal ögteküin metüs-e soyurqal ögčü soyurqal ǰarliγ bolqun-a bolǰu Činggis qahan ǰarliγ bolurun . . .*

"[30b] Making *noyad* of thousands those who had jointly founded the empire and who had jointly suffered, forming [units of] a thousand [men each], appointing [over them] *noyad* of thousands, of hundreds, and of tens, forming units of ten thousand [men each], [31a] appointing [over them] *noyad* of ten thousands, among the *noyad* of ten thousands and of thousands, to those to whom it seemed to be appropriate that they be granted favor, granting favor, to those for whom it was appropriate that he issue [unto them] words of favor, issuing [words of favor], when Činggis Qahan issued an order, . . ."

[8] For the word *terigüten* (lit., "having as head") which is sometimes replaced by *ekiten*, a word with the same meaning, cf. Mostaert and Cleaves, *op. cit.*, p. 440, where this example is discussed.

[9] On pages 38 of "Les documents mongols . . ." Pelliot wrote: "A la ligne I il est question des chiliarques "Bulad et autres". Il s'agit certainement d'un Pulad,

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mais on ne se serait pas attendu à voir le nom vocalisé à la façon iranienne, au lieu de la forme mongole (empruntée) Bolod."

I presume that PELLIOT based his statement on the fact that the vowel in the second syllable is *a*, not *o*. That does not indicate, however, that the name should be read *Bulad* instead of *Bolad*.

In a letter to me dated 8 May 1948 the Reverend Antoine MOSTAERT wrote: "Moi, je préférerais transcrire *Bolad* parce que le mot, bien qu'emprunté au persan, qui a la voyelle *u*, se trouve dans un document en langue mongole, langue dans laquelle le mot était prononcé avec la voyelle *o* comme le prouvent les textes chinois de l'époque. La prononciation actuelle dans les dialectes est aussi avec *o*."

For the Chinese transcription of the name cf. also pp. 159-164 of Paul PELLIOT's review of the first volume of A. J. H. CHARIGNON's *Le livre de Marco Polo, citoyen de Venise*, etc., in *TP* 25 (1927).156-169.

In note 3 on page 127 of his posthumous publication *Notes sur l'Histoire de la Horde d'Or* [= *Oeuvres posthumes de Paul Pelliot II*] (Paris, 1949), Paul PELLIOT remarked: "Bretschneider a déjà songé à corriger en بولاد Pūlād, mongol Bolod, mot-à-mot « Acier », nom d'une ville d'Asie Centrale souvent mentionnée au Moyen-Age, en particulier par Rašīd dans Blochet, II, 406, et sur laquelle cf. provisoirement Bretschneider. *Med. Res.*, I, 17, 125, 162, 169; II, 41; il y aurait pas mal à y ajouter; je crois que c'est la bonne solution. . . ." Here he correctly vocalized the Mongolian form with *o* in the first syllable.

The fact is that in this text *Bolad* is the Uighur Turkish form of the name which became *Bolad* (> *Bolod*) in Mongolian.

In note 106 on page 138 of his posthumous article "Le Ḫōja et le Sayyid Ḥusain de l'Histoire des Ming" in *TP* 38 (1948).81-292, Paul PELLIOT explained the name of a *tutuq* of the Uighurs in the following terms: "奄克孛勒 Yen-k'o-po-la; le nom est ouighouro-mongol; en mongol, *ängkä* signifie 'paix', et entre dans d'autres noms propres (Angkä-Tämür, etc.); *po-la* est le ouigour *bolad*, mongol *bolod* < pers. *pūlād*, 'acier'."

In a letter dated 31 October 1952 the Reverend Antoine MOSTAERT observed: "奄 est à *m* final dans l'ancienne langue. La transcription | 克 *ien-k'o* suppose donc plutôt un mot *emke* et non *engke*. Je ne connais pas le sens de *emke*. Pelliot s'est donc trompé."

For Mongolian *bolod* < Persian *pūlād* "steel" cf. B. LAUFER, *Sino-Iranica*, p. 575, no. 12, and B. Ya. VLADIMIRCOV, "Mongolica I," Записки Коллегии Востоковедов (*Bulletin du Collège des Orientalistes*) 1 (1925).305-341 (p. 332, no. 9).

[10] The repetition of *ülü* in line 3 is due to a scribal inadvertence.

[11] From the use of *inu* ("of him") in line 3 it is clear that the indirect object in this case, had it been expressed, would have been *imada* ("to him"). (See line 7 below.)

[12] The formula *kenebe küčü ülü kürgegülün* (lit., "not causing to bring might by anyone") is found again in lines 10-11 of "Document III" (Fig. 29). For examples of the related formula *küčü buu kürgetügei* "let one not use violence (lit., 'bring might')," cf. MOSTAERT and CLEAVES, *op. cit.*, pp. 444-445.

[13] For the word *jugiyer* [= *jügiyer*] which occurs again in "Document III" (Fig. 31 / Page 43), l. 4; (Fig. 30), l. 7; and (Fig. 29), ll. 6 and 11, cf. MOSTAERT and CLEAVES, *op. cit.*, p. 466, where this example is cited and translated ("de la manière

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qui convient"). Cf. also, Francis Woodman CLEAVES, "The Sino-Mongolian Inscription of 1362 in Memory of Prince Hindu," *HJAS* 12(1949).101, n. 34.

[14] In a letter dated 29 July 1948 the Reverend Antoine MOSTAERT wrote:

"Quant au mot *asiran* < *asaran*, on pourrait mettre cette forme en parallèle avec le mot *amiralduǰu* < *amaralduǰu* de la ligne 9 de la lettre d'Öljeitü."

In line 11 of "Document III" (Fig. 29) we find *asaran*.

[15] The formula *aliber üüles-i ǰugiyer bütügeǰü sayitur asiran atuγai* appears again in line 11 of "Document III" (Fig. 29).

[16] The orthography *ayin* for *eyin* is found again in line 13 of "Document III" (Fig. 29). It is found also in line 10 of the *Bičig* of Öljei Temür on page 843 of G. J. RAMSTEDT's "Mongolische Briefe aus Idiqut-Schähri bei Turfan" in *Sitzungsberichte d. Berl. Akad. d. Wiss.*, 1909, pp. 838-848 + Taf. VI. Cf. also line 45 of the Mongolian text of the Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1362.

[17] The letters *bidan* of *bidan-a* are written in gold, the dat.-loc. suffix *-a* being written in black. The top of the *b-* has been cut off.

The formula *bidan-a ayin kemegülüged bürün* (lit., "when they are having caused to say thus by Us") is found again in line 13 of Document III (Fig. 29).

In a letter to me dated 11 April 1948 the Reverend Antoine MOSTAERT wrote:

"Le sujet logique du verbe *kemegülüged* est *ǰrlγ busi bolγaqun aran. bidan-a* est au datif, mais ce datif est employé en fonction d'instrumental, ce qui n'est nullement rare en mongol ancien, quand le verbe est mis au causatif (p. ex. *Hist. secr.* X f. 37—Haenisch 245—*tuyal metü ulus činu ken-e mede'ülkün tede* "par qui laisseront-ils gouverner ton peuple [qui sera en confusion] comme une troupe d'oiseaux [alertés]?"—le même phénomène se rencontre en monguor. Voir *Grammaire monguor*, p. 20)."

More recently in his remarks on § 233 of the *Secret History* on pages 392-403 of his article "Sur quelques passages de l'*Histoire secrète des Mongols*" in *HJAS* 14(1951). 329-403, Antoine MOSTAERT wrote (pp. 394-395):

"*Eyin ke'e'ülü'ed*, m. à m. "s'étant laissés dire de cette façon", c'est-à-dire: "ayant reçu [de nous] un ordre conçu en de tels termes". Činggis fait allusion à l'ordonnance qu'il vient de promulguer: *Bidanu beye čerig ese γaru'asu kebte'ül bidanača anggida čerig bu γartuγai* "Si nous-même ne partons pas en expédition militaire, que les gardes de nuit ne partent pas en campagne sans nous". Cette ordonnance à l'adresse de tous les chefs militaires leur défendait d'envoyer les *kebte'ül* faire la guerre. L'expression *eyin ke'e'ülü'ed* appartient à la langue de la jurisprudence. Elle suit l'énonciation d'une défense ou d'un ordre et introduit la formulation de la sanction réservée à ceux qui y contreviendront. Elle est bien attestée dans divers monuments de l'époque mongole. Ainsi dans les documents mongols du musée de Téhéran publiés par Pelliot nous lisons (Fig. 28, Doc. II, l. 5-6 et Fig. 29, Doc. III, l. 13-14): *bidan-a ayin* (= *eyin*) *kemegülüged bürün ǰrlγ* (= *ǰarliγ*) *busi bolγaqun aran aldatuγai ükütügei* "Après qu'ils ont reçu de nous un ordre conçu en ces termes (m. à m.: "Lorsqu'ils se sont laissés dire de cette façon par nous"), les gens qui violeront l'ordre, qu'ils soient tenus pour punissables, qu'ils meurent!" (*Athār-é Īrān*, Tome I, fasc. 1 [1936], *Les documents mongols du musée de Ṭeherān*, p. 40). On rencontre aussi l'expression dans l'édit dit de la veuve de Darmabala en écriture 'phags-pa (N. Poppe, *Kvadratnaya pis'mennost'*, Moscou, Leningrad, 1941, p. 72, l. 16): *ėyin ge·e·ulu·ed burun buši bolqaqun haran ülu·u ayuqun* "Après qu'ils ont reçu une défense conçue en ces termes (m. à m.: "Lorsqu'ils se sont laissés dire de cette

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façon["]), les gens qui y contreviendront ne craindront-ils pas [d'être punis]?" (141)

"Il faut faire observer que dans le § 233 le sujet logique de *ke'e'ülü'ed* est *čerig medegü čerbin* "les *čerbi* qui commandent des soldats". La glose rend *eyin ke'e'ülü'ed* par 這被說, c'est-à-dire qu'elle rend le causatif *ke'e'ül-* non par un causatif, mais par un passif. Rappelons à ce propos qu'à une époque postérieure un verbe causatif peut exprimer non seulement une action causée ou permise, mais aussi une action subie. Voir G. J. Ramstedt, *Zur Verbstammbildungslehre der mongolische-türkischen Sprachen, Journ. de la soc. finno-ougr.*, XXVIII, 3, p. 4. (142)

"(141) Dans le document que M. Ramstedt a reproduit dans sons travail *Mongolische Briefe aus Idiqut-Schäri bei Turfan*, nous lisons à la l. 10: *ayin* (= *eyin*) *kemelügüged bür-ün*, mais il s'agit évidemment d'une faute de scribe pour *ayin kemegülüged.*

"(142) A l'exemple khalkha *ts'oχ^{i}ūl-* "schlagen lassen" od. "sich schlagen lassen", "geschlagen werden" cité par M. Ramstedt on peut ajouter ord. džodūl- "faire frapper, laisser frapper", mais aussi "être frappé": *tš'i ösöö burū k'īgēt* džodūlsā *šor-tš'in* "c'est à cause de tes propres méfaits que tu as été frappé, tu l'as mérité" (*Dict. ord.*, p. 207a)."

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[18] The word *ǰrlγ* is written in gold. The letters *ǰr-* have been cut off.

The words *ǰrlγ busi bolγaqun aran* are literally "people who cause the Order to be other [than this]." On page 103 of his article "Die Sprache der mongolischen Quadratschrift und das Yüan-ch'ao pi-shi" in *AM*, Neue Folge, 1 (1944) .97-115, N. Poppe cites the following example: "D *buši bolqaqun haran* 'die Leute, welche anders tun werden', d. h. 'welche zuwider handeln werden'." Cf. also *op. cit.*, p. 113, where we find "D *ėyin ge·e·ulu·ed burun buši bolqaqun haran* 'Leute, welche in Hinsicht des Gesagten anders handeln werden'."

[19] The formula *ǰrlγ busi bolγaqun aran aldatuγai ükütügei* is found again in line 14 of "Document III" (Fig. 29). On the reverse of the silver *p'ai-tzŭ* of Abdulla Qan of the Golden Horde (1362-1369), we read: [1] *Abdull-a-in ǰrlγ ken ülü* [2] *büsirekü kümün aldaqu ükükü.* "Order of Abdull-a. Whatever person shall not respect [this], he shall be held punishable; he shall die." For a reproduction of this *p'ai-tzu* cf., e. g., B. Grekov and A. Yakubovskiĭ, *op. cit.*, plate VI, or B. Grekov et A. Iakoubovski, *La Horde d'or* (Paris, 1939), plate IV, pp. 112-113. On page 110 of his article "Die Sprache . . .," N. Poppe cites the following example: "*k'en ulu buširegu aldaqu ük'ugu* 'derjenige, welcher keinen Respekt hat, soll sich schuldig machen und sterben!'" [Das Paidse von Minussinsk" (page 110, note 2)]. Cf. also de Smedt and Mostaert, *Le dialecte monguor, II^{e} partie, Grammaire* (Peking, 1945) [= *Monumenta Serica, Monograph* VI], p. 112 § 122:

"Cf. l'emploi du nom de futur en fonction de conditionnel dans l'inscription en 'phags-pa sur le revers d'un p'ai tseu, dans Marco Polo de Yule-Cordier (I, p. 352-353): *ken ülü büširegü aldaγu ükügü* « quiconque ne (le) respecte pas, sera tenu pour punissable, il mourra »." Cf. also *ibid.*, p. 116 § 129.

[20] The words *soyurqaǰu ögbei* are restored for this text from the same formula in line 16 of "Document III" (Fig. 29).

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[21] For the word *gerege* cf. my article "*Daruγa* and *Gerege*" in this issue of the *HJAS*, pp. 237-259.

[22] The word *ǰrlγ* is restored for this text from line 16 of "Document III" (Fig. 29).

[23] The words *al tamγatai* are literally "having a vermilion seal." The same words are found in line 15 of "Document III" (Fig. 29). On page 35 of his article "Notes sur le 'Turkestan' de M. W. Barthold" in *TP* 27 (1930) .12-56, Paul Pelliot wrote:

". . . M. B. parle de deux sceaux des souverains mongols, le *al-tamγa* ou "sceau vermeil" et le *kök-tamγa* ou "sceau bleu", mais ce sont là en réalité des termes turcs, et les formes correspondantes mongoles **al-tamaγa* et **kökö-tamaγa* n'ont pas encore été relevées [2]."

In note 2 on the same page he stated:

"Le mongol *tamaγa* est très vraisemblablement emprunté, et semble sorti du turc *tamγa*; M. Bang, *Manich. Laien-Beichtspiegel* (*Muséon*, XXXVI, 210), le tient toutefois pour un reste d'une civilisation préturque. Let mot apparaît déjà dans les inscriptions de l'Orkhon sous la form *tamqa*; l'explication de Radlov sur *tamγa* = **taγma* (*ZVOIRAO*, III, 23) ne semble pas à retenir."

Again, on page 36, he wrote:

"Le seul type de sceau des souverains mongols qui nous soit connu directement est le "sceau vermeil", apposé en vermillon sur du papier blanc; tel est le cas pour le sceau de Güyük et pour ceux des ilkhan de Perse; et le nom d'*al-tamγa* se rencontre assez fréquemment à partir du milieu du XIII[e] siècle [1]."

In note 1 on the same page he added: "M. B. le signale dans le *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, p. 1158 (où la note de Raverty est indéfendable); cf. aussi Vullers, I, 48; F. Babinger, dans *Jahrbuch der asiat. Kunst*, II, 190; aux exemples déjà relevés, ajouter par exemple J̌uwainī, II, 223, copié ensuite dans Rašīdu-'d-Dīn (éd. Blochet, II, 39); ce sont là naturellement les *bullae rubeae* ou *bolle rosse* des textes relatifs aux khans du Qïpčaq (cf. Yule-Cordier, *Marco Polo* [3], I, 352). Hammer qui, dans sa *Geschichte der goldenen Horde*, imprimée en 1840 (p. 218), avait distingué le *al-tamγa* apposé en rouge de l'*altun-tamγa* apposé à l'encre d'or, a prétendu en 1843 dans sa *Geschichte der Ilkhanen* (II, 242) qu'*al-tamγa* est simplement 'abrégé' (*abgekürzt*) d'*altun-tamγa*, "weil roth für die Farbe des Goldes gilt", et cette prétendue identité foncière des deux termes a passé dans Pavet de Courteille, *Dict. turk-oriental*, 31 (encore qu'à la p. 29 *al* seul soit rendu entre autres par "sceau . . . marqué en rouge . . ."); il n'y a, à mon avis, rien à retenir de cette théorie bizarre. Cf. aussi Samoïlovič dans *Izv. R. Ak. Nauk*, 1918, 1110; 1926, 1115."

[24] The formula *bariǰu aγai* appears again in lines 14-15 of "Document III" (Fig. 29). In note 9 on pages 34-35 of "Les inscriptions mongoles inédites en écriture carrée" in *Collectanea Orientalia* 12 (Wilno 1937) .1-72, Marian Lewicki cites the words *bariǰu aγai . . . ǰrlγ* from this text (and lines 14-15 of "Document III" [Fig. 29]) as "*barižu aγaį ǯarliγ*" and translates them "l'édit qu'on peut montrer" (p. 35).

Lewicki's note is devoted to a discussion of the formula "*ba-ri-ǯu ja-bu-'aji ǯar-lix (bi-č'ig)*" which is encountered in the 'Phags-pa texts which he published. His note reads as follows:

9. *ba-ri-ǯu ja-bu-'aji ǯar-lix (bi-č'ig)*. Cette formule reparaît dans tous les édits connus sauf l'édit de 1314 version B.

[35] Pozdnéyev et Vladimirtsov se sont occupés d'expliquer la forme *ja-bu-'aji*. Le premier y voit un participe et traduit ce passage ainsi: „мы издали указъ для врученія (въ пользу) Сяньшэн'амъ" [1]).

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Vladimirtsov est d'accord avec lui, en ce qui concerne le caractère participial de *ja-bu-'aji*, mais traduit la formule ci-mentionnée tout autrement: „ грамота, которую должны держать и по которой должны действовать ". Il relève également un passage de l'ouvrage de Saγaɲ (Sanaɲ) Setchen, où la forme en *-γaį* est employée comme le verbe final [2]).

Mais l'emploi du participe en *-γaį* ne se borne pas aux exemples cités. Il apparaît aussi dans l'*Histoire secrète* et dans d'autres monuments anciens. Dans l'*Histoire secrète* la forme en *-aį* est employée en qualité du participe et du verbe final. Ex.

balaγat irge anu abu'aį šэ bida ' nous pouvons prendre (ou nous prenons, nous prendrons) en possession leurs villes et leur peuple ' (§ 260).

Jesügeį kijan ire'eį ' Yesugueï Kiyan vient ' (§ 67) [3]).

barišu aγaį šarliγ ' l'édit qu'on peut montrer ' [4]).

La rédaction chinoise de nos édits emploie des formules analogues que Chavannes traduit soit: „ cet édit (princier, impérial) est donné pour qu'ils le gardent et pour qu'ils s'y conforment ", soit: „ cet édit est donné pour qu'ils le gardent et pour qu'ils le possèdent " [5]).

L'expression turque qui correspond à la nôtre, apparaît dans le yarlïq de Timur Qutluγ; c'est *tuta tururγa . . . jarlïq bärildi* que Radloff a compris que voici „ для того, чтобы они предъявили (кому слѣдуетъ), имъ данъ ярлыкъ " [6]).

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[1]) Лекціи II, 110, 115; cf. aussi G. J. Ramstedt, *Über die konjugation des Khalkha-mongolischen*, MSFOu XIX (Helsingfors 1903), 65—66, 86.

[2]) Монг. междун. алф., 37—38.

[3]) E. Haenisch, *Manghol un niuca tobca'an* (*Yüan-ch'ao pi-shi*), *die Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen* (Leipzig 1937), 91, 9.

[4]) Pelliot, *Les documents mongols du Musée de Ṭéhérān, Athār-é Irān, Annales du Service Archéologique de l'Irān* I (Paris 1936), fig. 28, l. 7; fig. 29, l. 15. M. le Prof. Kotwicz m'a communiqué ce passage.

[5]) V. ses remarques dans T'P V, 421, n. 3.

[6]) *Zapiski* III, 38; cf. Samoïlovitch, *op. cit.*, 1120 et 1123.

In note 12 on pages 110-111 of his Квадратная письменность, N. N. Poppe also discussed this expression in the following terms:

12. « Грамоту, которой должно придерживаться и согласно которой должно поступать »—*bariǰu yabu·ayi bič'ig*. Соответствующее в китайском тексте место Chavannes переводит: « Cet édit princier est donné pour qu'ils le gardent et pour qu'ils s'y conforment » (T'oung Pao, 1908, p. 378).

[111] Несколько иначе гласит перевод Chavannes соответствующего места китайского текста эдикта Буянту хана: « cet édit rendu est donné pour qu'ils le possèdent » (T'oung Pao, 1904, p. 424).

Сочетание слов *bariǰu yabu·ayi* встречается в эдикте вдовы Дармабала с последующим *·iǰi* (строки 12—13) и Буянту хана с последующим *jarliq* (строки 16—17).

Интересной является здесь форма *yabu·ayi*, которую Позднеев правильно отнес к категории причастных (Лекции, стр. 111). Переводит Позднеев это место словами « указ для вручения (в пользу) . . .» (Лекции, стр. 115). Правильно переводит его Б. Я. Владимирцов: « грамота, которую должны держать и по которой должны действовать » (Монгольский международный алфавит XIII века, стр. 37).

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Эта причастная форма письменному монгольскому языку и современным живым монгольским языкам чужда. Б. Я. Владимирцов отметил ее в одном месте текста истории Саган Сецена (ук. соч., стр. 38). Г. И. Рамстедт сблизил суффикс -·*ayi* этой именной формы глагола с суффиксом -*γa* причастия прошедшего времени несовершенного, так наз. nomen imperfecti (Über die Konjugation des Khalkha-Mongolischen. Helsingfors, 1903, стр. 86), и по значению наша форма действительно близка ей. Суффикс -·*ayi*, на наш взгляд, соответствует письменно-монгольскому -*γaî*, суффиксу образования отглагольных имен типа *qaǰaγaį* 'кривой' к *qaǰayi-* 'скривиться' (см. выше стр. 50).

Сочетание *bariǰu yabu·ayi* мы переводим «которой должно придерживаться и согласно которой должно поступать»: *bariǰu* дословно значит «держа», но в данном случае больше подходит «придерживаясь». Левицкий (op. cit., p. 19) переводит слова *bariǰu yabu·ayi bič'ig* как «грамота, которая может быть показана» (resp. «предъявлена»: «l'écrit qui peut être montré»). Так же переводит он выражение *bariǰu aγaį ǰarliγ* как «l'édit qu'on peut montrer», встречающееся во вновь открытых монгольских документах, хранящихся в Тегеранском музее (о них см. Pelliot. Les documents mongols du Musée de Ṭéhérān. Athār-é Īrān, Annales du Service Archéologique de l'Irān, I, Paris, 1936). Левицкий понимает это выражение как «носимая грамота» («которую держа ходят»). Перевод Владимирцова с поправкой, внесенной нами, однако, более точен, ибо здесь имеется в виду не предъявление, не показ кому-либо грамоты, но руководство ею в действиях, т. е. *yabu-* нужно брать не в его первоначальном значении «ходить», но в значении «поступать», «действовать». Хотя приводимое Левицким в качестве аналогии место ярлыка Тимур Кутлуга и гласит «для держания», «для предъявления» и т. д., в данном случае все же китайский перевод Chavannes гораздо ближе.

[12. "The writ, to which one must hold and in compliance with which one must act"—*bariǰu yabu·ayi bič'ig*. CHAVANNES translates the corresponding passage in the Chinese text: "Cet édit princier est donné pour qu'ils le gardent et pour qu'ils s'y conforment" (*T'oung Pao*, 1908, p. 378).

[111] The translation of CHAVANNES of the corresponding passage of the Chinese text of the edict of Buyantu khan is expressed somewhat otherwise: "cet édit rendu est donné pour qu'ils le possédent" (*T'oung Pao*, 1904, p. 424).

The combination of the words *bariǰu yabu·ayi* is encountered in the edict of the widow Darmabala with ·*iǰi* following (lines 12-13) and of Buyantu khan with *ǰarliq* following (lines 16-17).

Interesting here is the form *yabu·ayi*, which POZDNEEV correctly referred to the category of participles (Лекции [*Lectures*], p. 111). POZDNEEV translates this passage by the words "указ для вручения (в пользу) . . ." ["edict for transmission (in favor) . . ."] (Лекции [*Lectures*], p. 115). B. Ya. VLADIMIRCOV correctly translates it: "грамота, которую должны держать и по которой должны действовать" ["patent, which they had to hold to act"] (Монгольский международный алфавит XIII века ["The Mongolian International Alphabet of the XIIIth Century"], p. 37).

This participial form is foreign to the written Mongolian language and to the contemporary living Mongolian languages. B. Ya. VLADIMIRCOV noted it in one passage

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of the text of the history of Sagan Secen (*op. cit.*, p. 38). G. J. RAMSTEDT connected the suffix *-·ayi* of this nominal form of the verb with the suffix *-γa* of the participle of the past tense of the imperfective, the so-called *nomen imperfecti* (Über die Konjugation des Khalkha-Mongolischen. Helsingfors, 1903, p. 86), and in meaning our form in reality is near to it. The suffix *-·ayi*, in our view, corresponds to the written-Mongolian *-γaį*, a suffix of the formation of deverbal nouns of the type of *qaǰaγaį* 'crook' to *qaǰayi-* 'to be crooked' (v. supra p. 50).

We translate the combination *bariǰu yabu·ayi* "которой должно придерживаться и согласно которой должно поступать" ["to which one must hold and in compliance with which one must act"]: *bariǰu* literally means "держа" ["holding"], but in the given case is closer to "придерживаясь" ["holding (to)"]. LEVICKIĬ (*op. cit.*, p. 19) translates the words *bariǰu yabu·ayi bič'ig* as "грамота, которая может быть показана" ["writ, which can be shown"] (resp. "предъявлена" ["presented"]: "l'écrit qui peut être montré"). Likewise he translates the expression *bariǰu aγaį ǰarliγ* as "l'édit qu'on peut montrer", which is encountered in the newly discovered Mongolian documents, conserved in the Teheran museum (on them v. PELLIOT. Les documents mongols du Musée de Ṭéhérân. *Athār-é Irān, Annales du Service Archéologique de l'Irān*, I, Paris, 1936). LEVICKIĬ understands this expression as "носимая грамота" ["the carried writ"] ("которую держа ходят") ["which holding they go"]. The translation of VLADIMIRCOV with the rectification, introduced by us, however, is more accurate, for here there is had in view not a presentation, not a showing to anyone a writ, but a conducting it in actions, i. e., *yabu-* must be taken not in its primitive meaning of "ходить" ["to go"], but in the meaning of "поступать" ["to act"], "действовать" ["to act"]. Although the passage of the yarlyk of Timur Kutlug cited by LEVICKIĬ in the quality of an analogy also says "для держания" ["for holding"], "для предъявления" ["for presentation"] etc., in the given case, however, the Chinese translation of CHAVANNES is much nearer.]

In a letter to the Reverend Antoine MOSTAERT dated 25 August 1948, I proposed changing LEWICKI's translation of *ba-ri-šu ja-bu-'aji* [15] *bi-č'ig* on page 18 from "l'écrit qui peut être montré" to "un écrit à retenir (m. à m. lequel ils vont retenant) par devers eux" and of *ba-ri-šu ja-bu-'aji šar-liγ* on page 21 and *ba-ri-šu ja-bu-'aji* [17] *šar-liγ* on page 25 from "l'édit qu'on peut montrer" and "l'édit qui peut être montré" respectively to "édit à retenir (m. à m. lequel ils vont retenant) par devers eux" in both cases.

In his reply, dated 16 September 1948, the Reverend Antoine MOSTAERT wrote: "Quant à *ba-ri-ǰu ja-bu-'aji bi-čig* (*ǰar-liγ*), la traduction de M. Lewicki: "l'écrit qui peut être montré" (*Ecriture carrée*, p. 19) est trop libre. La patente est évidemment donnée pour qu'on la produise en cas de besoin, pour faire respecter le droit acquis par le privilège dont l'écrit qu'on détient fait foi, mais "écrit qui peut être montré" n'est pas une traduction satisfaisante. La manière dont vous traduisez est la bonne. Mais je dirais: "Nous avons donné un écrit à garder par devers eux (m. à m.: "écrit qu'ils pourront aller tenant")". Au fond la question revient à savoir comment il faut comprendre le verbe *yabu-*. Or ce verbe est ici une espèce d'auxiliaire indiquant la continuité de l'action exprimée par le verbe fondamental *bari-* "tenir". Lewicki (*op. cit.*, p. 35) donne les différentes manières dont l'expression **bariǰu yabuγai bičig* (*ǰarliγ*) a été comprise. La traduction de Pozdnéev est trop libre. Je viens de dire ce que je pense de celle de M. Lewicki. Quant à Vladimircov, il dit: "écrit

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qu'ils doivent garder et d'après lequel ils doivent agir". Avant de dire ce que, à mon avis, il faut penser de cette traduction, voyons comment Poppe (*Kvadratnaya pis'mennost'*, pp. 61, 110) traduit l'expression. Poppe la traduit d'une manière un peu différente (si je comprends bien le texte russe): il écrit ". . . *gramotu, kotoroï dolžno priderživatsya i soglasno kotoroï dolžno postupat'*" "un écrit auquel il faut se tenir et en conformité duquel il faut se conduire". Malgré cette légère divergence, on voit que Vladimircov et Poppe ont suivi Chavannes, qui en traduisant la formule correspondante chinoise a écrit: "cet édit princier est donné pour qu'ils le gardent et pour qu'ils s'y conforment" (*Inscript. et pièces*, etc., seconde série, *T'oung pao* IX, p. 378, édit du Ngan-si wang). Or, je ne crois pas que Chavannes ait bien traduit cette expression 收執行踏的(令旨) (p. 377) qu'on rencontre encore dans d'autres pièces de chancellerie Iuen et dont il y a d'ailleurs plusieurs variantes: p. 389 把着行踏的(聖旨); p. 389 把着行的(聖旨); pp. 402, 408, 416, 419 執把行的(聖旨). Il est évident que ces diverses expressions sont la traduction littérale du mongol **bariǰu yabuγai* (*bičig ~ ǰarliγ*). Le mot *bariǰu*, dont le sens est clair, est rendu par 收執, ou 把着, ou 執把; et *yabuγai* est traduit par 行踏的 ou tout simplement par 行的. Or, si à la rigueur on peut traduire 行踏 et 行 par "marcher (selon une règle), se conformer à", il faut avant tout voir si ce sens figuré peut-être donné à l'original mongol dont 行踏 et 行 sont la traduction littérale. A mon avis, cela ne se peut pas, et ce verbe *yabu-* est, comme je l'ai dit plus haut, une espèce de verbe auxiliaire. L'emploi de *yabu-* en fonction de verbe auxiliaire marquant la continuité de l'action exprimée par le verbe fondamental n'est pas rare. Cf. l'inscr. de 1362: l. 27 *ači-yi masi kündü-de sedkiǰü yabuγad*; l. 29 *irgen-i taγalaǰu yabubasu*. Dans ces passages, "marcher en pensant aux bienfaits", "marcher en aimant le peuple" veut évidemment dire "penser continuellement aux bienfaits", "aimer continuellement le peuple", la durée et la continuité de l'action étant exprimée par le verbe auxiliaire *yabu-* "marcher, aller".—A remarquer que ce n'est que lorsque la formule comporte le mot 踏 que Chavannes traduit par "se conformer"; lorsque le mot *t'a* est absent et que le texte porte simplement 把着(執把)行的 il dit: "donné pour qu'ils le possèdent" et il ne voit pas dans le 行 un mot, ayant le sens de "se conformer"— Je suis convaincu que **bariǰu yabuγai ǰarliγ* signifie exactement la même chose que *bariǰu aγai ǰarliγ* (Téhéran) et *bariǰu a'ai ǰarliγ* (*Houa i i iu*, IIa 12r, l. 4), à cette seule différence près, que dans la première formule on insiste sur la continuité de l'acte de "tenir". Je suis convaincu aussi que les rédacteurs ou traducteurs en écrivant 行踏的 voulaient simplement rendre littéralement le mot *yabuγai* de l'original mongol et qu'ils n'ont jamais voulu exprimer par ces mots l'idée de "se conformer", que le mot *yabu-* ne comporte pas."

On page 110 of his article "Die Sprache . . . ," N. Poppe wrote:

"d) Die Sprache der Quadratschrift besitzt eine besondere Praeteritumform mit dem Suffix -·*ayi*, welche der Schriftsprache fremd ist und welcher dort die Form auf -*γa* entspricht, z. B. B *senšhiγudde bariǰu yabu·ayi ǰarliq ögbeé* 'gab den Tao-Mönchen ein Edikt, welches sie festhalten sollen'. Ramstedt hat bereits festgestellt, daß dieses verbale Nomen dem späteren mo. -*γa*, kh. -*ā* usw. entspricht [5]. Vladimirtsov hat später festgestellt, daß eine Form mit -*γai* im Text des Geschichtswerks des Ssagan Ssetzen belegt ist [6].

"Diese Form kommt besonders häufig in der *Geheimen Geschichte* vor, z. B. *Yesügei kiyan ire'ei* 'der Yessugei vom Stamm Kiyan ist gekommen' [7]. Weitere Beispiele bei Lewicki [8]."

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[5] Ramstedt, *Über die Konjugation des Khalkha-Mongolischen*, S. 86.

[6] B. Ja. Vladimirtsov, *Mongol'skij meždunaradnyj alfavit XIII veka*, in: *Kul'tura i pis'mennost' vostoka*, Bd. X (Moskau, 1931) S. 37-38.

[7] Haenisch, *Manghol un ni'uca tobca'an*, S. 9.

[8] *op. cit.*, p. 35.

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[25] The words *bičig* [9] *manu* are restored for this text from lines 16-17 of "Document III" (Fig. 29).

Document III

(Fig. 31 / Page 42)

(B)

[1] For the words *üge manu*, which are in apposition with *Busayid baγatur qan*, cf. Mostaert and Cleaves, *op. cit.*, pp. 434-436 and p. 434, n. 15. Pelliot's translation (*op. cit.*, p. 38) "notre parole" is not quite exact.

This entire line is written in gold.

[2] In *Busayid baγatur qan* we have the name and epithet of the ninth Mongolian *il qan* in Iran. In a *p'ai-tzu* (in my possession) from the time of this ruler we find *Busayid buγatur qan* in the formula [1] *Busayid buγatur qan-u* [2] *jrlγ-yar* "By Order of Busayid Buγatur Qan," where *buγatur* is unquestionably an erroneous orthography for *baγatur*. (The suffix *-yar* of the *instrumentalis* is, of course, a variant, but not incorrect, orthography of the usual *-yar*.)

Busayid, not "*Busayit*" as Pelliot transcribed it (*op. cit.*, p. 38) and not "Busaid" as Bertold Spuler has it after Pelliot on page 197 of his masterly work *Die Mongolen in Iran, Politik, Verwaltung und Kultur der Ilchanzeit 1220-1350* (Leipzig, 1939) [= Iranische Forschungen, Band 1], is the Mongolian form of the Persian (< Arabic) *Abū S(a)'īd*. For *abū* cf. Steingass (p. 11a): "A ابو *abū*, A father; . . ." For *s(a)'īd* cf. Steingass (p. 683a): "A سعيد *sa'īd*, Fortunate, happy, august; prosperous; auspicious; Upper Egypt."

On page 24 of his *Mémoire sur les noms propres et les titres musulmans* (Deuxième édition, Paris, 1878), [Joseph Hélidore Sagesse Vertu] Garcin de Tassy remarked:

"II. Le *kunyat* كنيت est, d'après le manuscrit original que j'ai déjà cité, un surnom, composé du mot *âb* آب "père", et *umm* أمّ "mère", s'il est question d'une femme; ou du mot *ibn* ابن "fils", et *bent* بنت "fille", s'il est question d'une femme, suivis d'un nom propre. . . ."

Among the examples cited by Garcin de Tassy (p. 24) is that of "Abû Saïd ابو سعيد."

The name is of frequent occurrence in *Yüan shih* where it is regularly transcribed 不賽因 (*Pu-sai-yin* [= *Busayi(d)*]). Cf., e. g., *Yüan shih* 29 (*ts'e* 10) 8a9, 11a3, 18a8, 30b1; 30 (*ts'e* 10) 1b1, 6a6, 8a7, 9b8, 10a3, 14a1; 63 (*ts'e* 21) 23b5. From the absence of the initial *a-*, it is evident that the Chinese transcription of the name is based on the Mongolian, not the Persian, form of the name.

The Baron d'Ohsson, describing the coronation ceremony which took place in April 1317, remarked (4.603): "Le prince avait accompli sa douzième année. Il prit le

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nom *d'Alaï-ud-dunia-vé-d-din* (1) *Abou-Sa'ïd Soultan.*" In note 1 he remarked: "Ces mots arabes signifient: *la sublimité du monde et de la foi.*"

SPULER, in his discussion of "Namengebung" (*op. cit.*, pp. 193-197), remarked (p. 197):

"Einen religiösen Namen bekam auch Abū Sa'īd (auf Urkunden und Münzen in mongolischer Sprache: Busaid [3]), nämlich 'Alā' od-Dīn [4]. Von ihm kennen wir keinen mongolischen Namen mehr, und seit dieser Zeit verschwinden sie überhaupt fast völlig bei den Beherrschern Irans. . . ."

3 Pelliot, Doc. Mong. 38.

4 Ḥāfeẓ-e Abrū 22r.—Dieser Name findet sich also entgegen der Vermutung Bartholds, Ani 138, Anm. 2 doch in den Geschichtswerken, nicht nur auf der Steuertafel in Ani."

As for the epithet of *bayatur qan*, the Baron D'OHSSON remarked (4.639-640):

"Comme Abou-Saïd avait fait preuve d'une grande valeur dans la bataille, on ajouta à [640] ses titres, dans les actes publics, le surnom de *Bahadour-Khan*, ou de *Khan valeureux*. . . ."

SPULER, *op. cit.*, p. 197, also remarked:

". . . Wie weit Abū Sa'īds Ehrenname Bahādūr Ḫān, den er sich nach dem glücklichen Ausgang der Feldzüge von 1317 und 1318 [6] im Mai / Juni 1319 (Rabī' I 719H.) zulegte [7], noch mongolisch aufgefaßt war (die Worte sind im Iranischen ganz geläufig geworden), ist nicht sicher auszumachen [8].

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[6] Vgl. oben S. 118.

[7] Ḥāfeẓ-e Abrū 35v; Ḫōndämīr III 71.—Barthold, Ani 139.

[8] Vgl. dazu auch unten S. 457 ff.—Über das Wort „bahādur" vgl. Rašid od-Dīn / Quatremère I 307, Anm. 106 (S. 307 f.)."

On page 42 of his *Mémoire*, GARCIN DE TASSY remarked:

"Le titre persan de *Bahâdur* بهادر, qui signifie proprement "brave", se met non-seulement à la suite des noms des souverains, mais il était conféré officiellement à des gouverneurs de provinces et à des hommes éminents dans l'État. Actuellement il est très-prodigué dans l'Inde; il répond presque à l'expression anglaise d'*esquire*, et on le donne à des Européens, de même que les sultans mogols le donnaient à des Hindous."

The word *qan* "sovereign" is also well attested in Persian. Cf. STEINGASS (p. 443b): "خان *khān*, The title of the kings of Khata and Tartary; a prince, nobleman, lord; a Persian satrap; at present a title given to almost every officer, and no longer of much value; . . ."

For examples in Persian of the epithet *bayatur qan* in conjunction with the name of this *il qan* cf., e. g., the inscription published on page 144 of André GODARD's article "Notes complémentaires sur les tombeaux de Marāgha" in *Athār-é Īrān* 1 (1936).125-160, where we find: أبو سعيد بهادر خان (Abū Sa'īd Bahādur Xān) and, another on page 152, where we find: علاء الدولة والدين أبو سعيد بهادر خان ('Alā' al-Daūlat wa al-Dīn Abū Sa'īd Bahādur Xān).

For still other examples cf. the text on page 372 and that on page 373 of the note "Bassin de cuivre au nom de Shaikh Uwais" by Y. A. G. [= Yedda A. GODARD] in *Athār-é Īrān* 1 (1936).371-373, where we find شيخ اويس بهادرخان (Šaiχ Uwais

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Bahādur Xān), name and epithet of the *il qan* Šaiχ Uwaīs. Cf. SPULER, *op. cit.*, pp. 136-137, n. 4.

For a biography of Abū Sa'īd, cf. the entry by W. BARTHOLD in *The Encyclopaedia of Islām, A Dictionary of the Geography, Ethnography and Biography of the Muhammadan Peoples* 1 (A-D) (1913) .103b-104a. Born on 2 June 1305, he ascended the throne in April-May 1317, and died on 30 November 1335. Cf. also Berthold SPULER, *op. cit.*, pp. 117-127.

The word *baγatur* "hero" was transcribed "*baqadur*" by PELLIOT (*op. cit.*, p. 38), apparently because of the Persian form *bahādur*. Cf. STEINGASS (p. 209a-b): "بهادر *bahādur*, Brave, bold, valiant, courageous, magnanimous, warlike, strong, athletic; a soldier, champion, hero, chevalier, knight, horseman; a title of honour conferred by the Great Mogul and other [209b] Eastern potentates, bearing some resemblance to the European title of military knighthood."

Cf. also the entry on *bahādur* by Cl. HUART in *The Encyclopaedia of Islām* 1 (A-D) (1913) .573b, where we read:

"BAHĀDUR, a Turkish word of Mongol origin (*bakhatur*, Eastern Turkish *bātūr*, *bātōr*) signified originally "brave", "courageous" and became a title of honour at the court of the Great Mughals. . . ."

As in the case of *Bolad* (see "Document II," note 9), we must read *baγatur*, not "*baqadur*," because, although it became *bahādur* in Persian, we have it here in a document in the Mongolian language.

[3] The abrupt transition between the only extant line of this fragment ("B") and the first line of the next ("C") leads me to believe that there was at least one, if not two or more lines in between.

Document III

(Fig. 31 / Page 42)

(C)

[1] For the words *ǰaγun-un noyad* (lit., "*noyad* of hundreds") see "Document II," note 7.

[2] For *Gilan*, the Persian *Gīlān*, cf. STEINGASS (p. 1109a): "گیلان *gīlān*, Name of a country and city between the Caspian and Euxine; also of a warlike tribe, and of a mountain." Cf. also the entry by Cl. HUART in *The Encyclopaedia of Islām* 2 (E-K) (1927) .170a-b, where we read (170a):

"GĪLĀN (properly land of the Gēls, *Gelae*, Γῆλαι), a province of Persia, south of the Caspian Sea and north of the Elburz chain. It is bounded in the east by Ṭabaristān or Māzandarān, and its northern limit is marked by the juncture of the Kur and the Araxes; its political boundary with Russia, however, is marked by the Astāra stream. . . ."

For references in SPULER's *Die Mongolen in Iran* cf. p. 525b of the "Register" ("B. Ortsnamen").

Cf. also H. L. RABINO DI BORGOMALE, "Les dynasties locales du Gîlân et du Daylam," *JA* 237 (1949) .301-350.

[3] This transcription seemed acceptable to the late Mehdi BAHRAMI at his home

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in Teheran on 11 September 1952. I have, however, found no evidence that there is or was such a place. (See note 4 below.)

[4] This is the Persian *G(u)štāsfī*. I am indebted to Professor W. B. HENNING for this identification. In a letter dated 31 October 1952 he wrote:

"Just at the time of the document that was the name of the country at the mouth of the combined Kur and Araxes. See *Nuzhat-al-Qulūb* tr. LE STRANGE 94, 205, 211."

The entry on Guštāsfī on page 94 of *The Geographical Part of the Nuzhat-al-Qulūb Composed by Ḥamd-Allāh Mustawfī of Qazwīn in 740 (1340)*, translated by G. LE STRANGE [= "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial" Series, *Vol. XXIII. 2*, Leyden—London, 1919], reads as follows:

"**Gushtāsfī.** This district lies along the coast of the Caspian, having been laid out by king Gushtāsf son of Luhrāsp. He dug a great canal from the rivers Kur and [۹۳] Aras, and from this water-channels were taken with numerous villages lying upon their banks. The crops are corn and rice, with some little cotton and fruit. Its population is fair-skinned, and follow the sect of the Imām Shāfi'ī; speaking a Pahlavī dialect that is near akin to the language of Gīlān. The revenues in former days, before the Mongol invasion, amounted to a million dīnārs of the present currency, but in these days the sum is only 118,500 dīnārs. There are here many military fiefs, which have been granted in divers parts of the district."

In note 4 on page 135 of SPULER's *Die Mongolen in Iran* we find the name written "Goštāšpī."

In another letter, dated 27 December 1952, Professor HENNING wrote:

"An addendum to Guštāsfī: this name, spelt Guštāsbī, occurs also in the *History of Öljeitü* by Abu 'lQāsim 'Abdullāh b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad alKāšānī, apud Ch. SCHEFER., *Chrestomathie Persane*, vol. ii, Notes p. 95 line 5 = 99 line 13.

"From this passage it becomes clear that in Mongol times Gilan bordered directly on Muγan and Guštāsfī. There was no intervening province. This again raises the problem of "Daštawand". Have you found anything about it? Such a form, it seems, occurs nowhere. . . ."

In still another letter, dated 7 February 1953, Professor HENNING added:

"The text was recently re-published, in a more satisfying fashion, by the late H. L. RABINO DI BORGOMALE, *J. A.*, 1950, 325 sqq. The name stands there p. 328 line 1, cf. RABINO's remarks, ibid. p. 333."

Finally, in a letter dated 10 March 1953, Professor HENNING wrote:

"The reason I am writing now is to draw your attention to a further passage for Güštasbi: in the *Risāle-yi Falakiyye*, fol. 91b, spelt گستاسفی = *Guštāsfī* (W. Hinz, *Die Resālä-ye Falakiyyä*, Wiesbaden 1952, p. 159, last line). The work is from about A. D. 1363 and contains a wealth of interesting details on Mongol administration in Persia. You may find it useful to go through the index * of personal names, which may contain the names of some of the persons mentioned in the Mongol document (I regret I have no time to do that now). The work is fresh from the press and should become available now.

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* There is also a useful index of technical terms in transcription."

I regret that I have not had the opportunity to consult Professor HINZ's book.

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Document III

(Fig. 30 / Page 41)

(B)

[1] With *tüsigdegsed-te* we have the second, if not the first, element of the introductory formula. It is difficult to determine to whom reference is made because of the lacuna in the first line of this fragment, i. e., after *Aran Muγan*[*-u*] and before . . ? . . *n*[*-u*] *deger-e*.

[2] The word *bidan-a* is in gold. In PELLIOT's reproduction of this fragment only the *-a* of the dative-locative is visible, because the paper on which the word *bidan-a* is written, being torn and tattered, was folded down in such a way that only the *-a* was exposed, when the text was photographed. From my examination of the original text in the Musée de Téhéran I found that the first two letters (*bi-*) are cut and indistinct.

[3] For another example of *-un deger-e tüsigde-* see "Document III" (Fig. 30 / Page 41) (A), where we find *-un* [2] *deger-e tüsigdeǰü* in lines 2-3.

[4] There is a lacuna at this point with space enough for at least one word.

[5] I have restored a *genitivus* in *-u*, because the words *Aran Muγan* must have stood in a genitive relationship with the word which followed them.

[6] Cf. STEINGASS (p. 33a): "آران *ārān*, Name of a province of Azarbaijān; . . ."

On page 92 of G. LE STRANGE's translation of *The Geographical Part of the Nuzhat-al-Qulūb* (see "Document III" [Fig. 31 / Page 42] [C], note 4) we read:

"The Arrān province is the land 'Between the Rivers,' namely from the bank of the Aras (Araxes) to the river Kur (Cyrus)."

Cf. also SPULER, *op. cit.*, "Register" ("B. Ortsnamen"), p. 523b.

[7] Cf. Robert P. BLAKE and Richard N. FRYE, "History of the Nation of the Archers (the Mongols) by Grigor of Akanc'" in *HJAS* 12 (1949) 269-399 (p. 386, n. 23).

On page 91 of G. LE STRANGE's translation of *The Geographical Part of the Nuzhat-al-Qulūb* (see "Document III" [Fig. 31 / Page 42] [C], note 4) we read:

"**Mūghān**. The province of Mūghān extends from the pass [؟.] called Sang-bar-Sang (Stone upon Stone), which lies over against the Pīshkīn tūmān, to the banks of the Aras river. Throughout the whole of this land, from whatsoever place it is impossible to perceive Mount Sablān, in autumn, the herbage of the hyssop (*Dirmanah*) is poisonous, and cattle which eat of it perish. In spring-time it is less poisonous, though to any hungry beast that eats the same it is somewhat more injurious than ordinary fodder. In all places from which Mount Sablān is visible, the hyssop fodder is there entirely innoxious."

Cf. also SPULER, *op. cit.*, "Register" ("B. Ortsnamen"), p. 529a.

[8] It is extremely difficult to determine whether the words *Aran Muγan* were preceded by any other words in the same line. To judge by the relative spacing of the words which do appear (*Aran Muγan*[*-u*] . . ? . . *n*[*-u*] *deger-e*), it would seem that the line began with *Aran Muγan*, because the space between the torn edge of the paper immediately above *Aran* is more than twice the width of that between *Aran* and *Muγan*. There is not the slightest trace of the end of a word before *Aran*.

[9] If there is no lacuna between this line and the first line of "Document III" (Fig. 31 / Page 42) (A), the *-e* suffix of the *dativus-locativus* attached to *bičigečin*, the first word in the first line of "Document III" (Fig. 31 / Page 42) (A), also goes with *meligüd nayibud mutasaribud* in this line.

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[10] This is a Mongolian plural in *-üd* of the word *melig* which is the Persian (< Arabic) *m(a)l(i)k*. Cf. STEINGASS (p. 1310a): "A ملك . . . *malik*, A king; . . ." For the occurrence of the word *melig* in the *Secret History* cf. Erich HAENISCH, *Wörterbuch zu Manghol un Niuca Tobca'an* (Leipzig, 1939), p. 109.

In note 4 on page 4 of the Baron D'OHSSON's *Histoire des Mongols*, Tome quatrième (1835), we read: "Le titre arabe de *Mélik*, prince, se donnait, sous la dynastie mongole, aux intendants des provinces."

Again in note 1 on page 422, *op. cit.*, D'OHSSON remarked: "Le nom arabe de *Mélik*, qui veut dire prince, était affecté, sous la domination mongole, aux chefs de l'administration civile; . . . On voit que les Sultans et les Méliks ne venaient qu'après le dernier officier mongol."

On page 381 of the same work we find "préfets (*Mélik*)" and on page 445 "préfet (*mélik*)."

It is interesting to observe that *meligüd* is the first word of what appears to be the second element in the introductory formula. It is followed by *nayibud* and *mutasaribud*. We find an identical sequence in the opening words of a *firmān* of Ṭasan on pages 256-262 of Рашид-ад-дин, Сборник летописей (Rašid-ad-din, *Collection of Chronicles*) Том III (Moscow-Leningrad, 1946), where we read (p. 256): "Да ведают баскаки, мелики, наибы, мутасаррифы . . ." ["Let know the baskak, melik, naib, mutasarrif, . . ."]

[11] This is a Mongolian plural in *-ud* of *nayib* which is the Persian (< Arabic) *nā'ib*. Cf. STEINGASS (p. 1383a): "A نائب, A lieutenant, viceroy, vicegerent, substitute, deputy; the deputy of a judge; . . ." The word is also found in line 2 of the facsimile of the Mongolian text on page 314 of the Arabic manuscript No. 1899 of the Bibliothèque Nationale, facing page X of the "Avertissement" in the *Histoire du Sultan Djelal ed-Din Mankobirti, Prince du Kharezm par Mohammed en-Nesawi*, published in Paris in 1895 by O. HOUDAS, as *nayibayin*, a *genitivus* in *-yin* of *nayiba* (error for *nayib*?).

For an example of the word in a Persian source of the period of the Mongols cf. M. MINOVI and V. MINORSKY, "Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī on Finance," *BSOAS* 10 (1940) .755-789 (p. 764 § 19, l. 13 [نائبان] and p. 777 § 19, l. 3 [nā'ibs]). In note 1 on p. 777 the authors remarked: "The term *nā'ib* is often found in the contemporary sources, see Rashīd al-Dīn, iii, 333: *nā'ib-i vazīr* 'a kind of registrar'." (Cf. also *ibid.*, p. 787[b].)

For the police functions ("polizeiliche Aufgaben") of the *nā'ib* cf. SPULER, *op. cit.*, pp. 340-342. (Cf. also *ibid.*, p. 313.)

For the relative position of *nayibud* in this introductory formula see note 10 above.

[12] This is a Mongolian plural in *-ud* of *mutasarib* which is the Persian (< Arabic) *m(u)t(a)ṣ(a)rr(i)f*. (I am indebted to Professor Richard N. FRYE for this identification.) Cf. STEINGASS (p. 1160b): "A متصرف . . . *mutaṣarrif*, fem. متصرفة *mutaṣarrifat, mutaṣarrifa*, A possessor, occupant, enjoyer, master; . . ."

The general functions of the *mutaṣarrif* are clear from the translation of the word by D'OHSSON, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 391: "fermiers généraux (*Motassarifan*)."

For the relative position of *mutasaribud* in this introductory formula see note 10 above.

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Document III

(Fig. 31 / Page 42)

(A)

[1] Since this fragment seems to be a continuation of "Document III" (Fig. 30 / Page 41) (B) the *-e* suffix of the *dativus-locativus* attached to *bičigečin* also goes with the words *meligüd nayibud mutasaribud* in the previous fragment. For this reason, in the English translation, I have placed the preposition "to" before these words. See "Document III" (Fig. 30 / Page 41) (B), note 9.

The word *bičigečin* itself, is a plural in *-n* of *bičigeči* "scribe." For other examples of the archaic plural in *-n* in this document cf. *ilčin* in line 4 and *sibaγučin barsučin* in line 5 of "Document III" (Fig. 30). See also "Document III" (Fig. 30), note 24.

A *firmān* of Γasan (Arends, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 273-275), opens with the words (p. 273: "Да ведают воеводы, мелики, битикчи и наибы, казии, . . ." ["Let know the commanders, melik, bitikči and naib, kazi, . . ."] Another (*op. cit.*, pp. 282-285) opens with the words (p. 282): "Да ведают матери, . . . мелики, битикчи . . ." ["Let know the mothers, . . . *melig, bitikči* . . ."] From this we see not only that the Persian equivalent of the Mongolian *bičigečin* was the Turkish *bitigči* (one of numerous examples of the use of Turkish words in the technical chancellery vocabulary in Persia during the period of the Mongols), but also that the relative position of the word *bitigči* in the introductory formula in each of the *firmānān* cited is approximately the same as that in the present edict.

The word *bitigči* was misread *bitketchi* by [E.] Quatremère on page 113 of his *Histoire des Mongols de la Perse, écrite en persan par Raschid eldin* I (Paris, 1836). At the beginning of note 53 (*op. cit.*, pp. 113-115) in which he erroneously identified the word as Mongolian, he stated: "Le mot *bitketchi* بیتکچی, qui appartient à la langue mongole, signifie *un écrivain, un secrétaire.*" The note further contains several interesting citations in which the word is encountered.

[2] Although there is a lacuna at the end of this line, I am inclined to believe that the suffix of the *dativus-locativus* going with *qadin* and the words which follow it appeared after the last word in the line, because it is obvious from the presence of *qadin* and *šiγ-ud* that this part of the formula consisted of words designating another category of authorities. Hence, I supply the preposition "to" at this point in my translation.

[3] The word *qadin* is unquestionably the Persian (< Arabic) *qāẓī*. Cf. Steingass (p. 948a): "A قاضی *qāẓī*, A cādi or cāzi, a judge, civil, criminal, and ecclesiastic; judicial, juridical; . . ." The presence of the final *-n*, however, is possibly by analogy with such purely Mongolian words as *mori ~ morin, oyi ~ oyin*, etc.

In a letter dated 18 November 1952, however, Professor W. B. Henning remarked: "The *-n* in *qadin* need not be due to purely Mongolian analogy. As a matter of fact, the classical Arabic full form in isolation is *qāḍin* (in all cases except the accusative), and it seems possible that the Mongols adopted this Arabic form (قَاضِی) in preference to the other."

For the relative position of this word in the formula, see note 1 above.

[4] The word *šiγ-ud* is a Mongolian plural in *-ud* of *šiγ* (attested in line 3 below),

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the Persian (< Arabic) *š(a)īχ*. Cf. STEINGASS (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; . . ."

[5] There are faint traces of a word at this point, but it is not legible.

[6] This word is proposed with reservations. The *b-* and the *-su* are, I think, quite legible on the small shred of paper which remains.

[7] Here again, there are faint traces of a word which is not legible.

[8] The word *ötegüs* (> *ötögüs*) is interesting as an example of one in which the *-e-* vowel of the second syllable became *-ö-* under the influence of the *ö-* vowel in the first syllable. Cf. Nicholas POPPE, "Remarks on the Vocalism of the Second Syllable in Mongolian," *HJAS* 14(1951).189-207 (pp. 203-206).

It is also attested in this orthography in the Mongolian text of the stele of Aruγ of 1340. Cf. B. Ya. VLADIMIRCOV, Сравительная гамматика, p. 110.

For the example in the line *ǰa[γur-]a bükün ǰamudun ötegüs-e* "Aux 'anciens' des stations de poste qui sont sur le chemin" in a safe-conduct published by RAMSTEDT cf. MOSTAERT and CLEAVES, *op. cit.*, p. 436.

In note 5 on pages 228-229 of the second article of his Надписи на скалах халхаского Цокту-тайджи ["The Inscriptions on Cliffs of the Khalkha Coktu-taïdzi"] in Известия Академии Наук СССР. 1927 (*Bulletin de l'Académie de l'URSS*), pp. 215-240, B. Ya. VLADIMIRCOV, citing examples of "some particularities in the domain of morphology and vocabulary of the translations of Gūši corǰi" (p. 228)—specifically the *Mila namtar* and the *Üliger-ün dalai*—refers, without a specific reference, to "*ötegü* = тиб. *rgan* « старый », ср. классич. *ötegüs*" ["*otegü* = Tib. *rgan* 'old', cf. classic. *ötegüs*"] (p. 229).

For another example cf. Louis LIGETI's *Le Subhāṣitaratnanidhi mongol* [= Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica VI] (Budapest, 1948), p. 100, VIII 15a, l. 23: *ötegüs ügüleldüd* "the elders say unto one another." For the plural in *-d* of the *converbum modale* in *-n* (*ügüleldün*) cf. Antoine MOSTAERT, "Sur quelques passages de l'*Histoire secrète des Mongols*," *HJAS* 15(1952).285-407 (p. 324, n. 178).

For the relative position of *ötegüs* in the opening formula cf., e. g., the *firmān* of Ґasan (ARENDS, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 256-262) which opens (p. 256): "Да ведают . . . раисы, старосты и все ра'ияты . . ." ["Let know . . . the rais, the elders and all the ra'iyat . . ."] Cf. also the *firmān* of Ґasan (ARENDS, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 238-240), which opens: "Да ведают . . . старосты и община ра'иятов в областях, . . ." ["Let know . . . the elders and the community of ra'iyat in the provinces, . . ."]

[9] The word *irayis-ud* is a Mongolian plural in *-ud* of the Persian (< Arabic) *r(a)'īs*. (I am indebted to Professor Richard N. FRYE for this identification.) Cf. STEINGASS (p. 605a): "A رئيس *ra'īs*, A head, chief; . . ."

The initial *i-* of the Mongolian form is a prothetic vowel which regularly appears in words of foreign origin with an initial *r-*, unless the vowel in the first syllable of the foreign word be labial, in which case the prothetic vowel is also labial. (See, e. g., *Urustam* < Persian *Rūstam* in line 10 of "Document III" [Fig. 29]). Cf., e. g., *Ired Barans* "Roi de France" in line 4 of the letter of Aryun to Philippe le Bel, *Iridiwarans* "Roi de France" in line 2 of the *Bičig* of Öljeitü to Philippe le Bel, *Iramadan* "Ramaḍān" in the text on the reverse of the letter of Ґasan of 1302, and *iraiyad* "subject" toward the end of this same line of the present text. Cf. also pages 522-523

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of my article "A Chancellery Practice of the Mongols in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries," *HJAS* 14(1951).493-526, where I had occasion to cite the word *irayis-ud* from this text.

In note 15 on page 352 of his extremely interesting article "Un épisode d'origine chinoise du „Geser-qan"" in *Acta Orientalia* 1(1951). 339-357, Louis LIGETI cites as an example of the prothetic *i-* the word *irinboči* (< Tib. *rin-po-che*) in line 10 on page 1b of *Le Subhāṣitaratnanidhi mongol.*

For the relative position of this word in the formula see note 8 above.

[10] I have not succeeded in satisfactorily deciphering and identifying this word which could also be read *kayanuwas* or *geyenuwes / gayanuwas.*

In his letter dated 7 February 1953 Professor W. B. HENNING wrote:

"Similar lists of officials at the opening (addresses) of such documents are found in the *Tārīkh-i Ghāzānī* (ed. JAHN) several times, see e.g. pp. 225, 257; cf. 255. Some are practically identical with the list in your document. From them it arises with absolute certainty that the "keyenüwes" must be the village-headmen, called *kadxudā* in Persian: they regularly end with *ru'asā* [pl. of *ra'īs*] *ve kadxudāyān* (*-i dīh-hā**). Therefore, it seems possible that the first part of your word *keye-* represents a vulgar shortening of this very word, *kadxudā*, which in Turkish is in fact pronounced as *kaya* (*k'aya*); the second half remains doubtful; . . .—The passage best comparable is p. 257:

basiqaqān ve mulūk ve nawwāb ve mutaṣarrifān ve quḍāt ve sādāt ve a'immah ve ṣudūr ve arbāb ve a'yān ve mu'tabarān ve ru'asā ve kadxudayān ve 'umūm-i ra'āyā ve ahālī-yi šahr-hā ve vilāyāt az āb-i Āmūye tā ḥudūd-i Šām ve Afranǰ be-dānand ke . . .

The *b.*s and *malik*-s and *nā'ib*-s and *mutaṣarrif*-s and *qāḍī*-s and *sayyid*-s and *imām*-s etc. etc. and *ra'īs*-s and *kadxudā*-s and the generality of subjects (*ra'iyyah*-s) and people of towns and provinces from the river of Āmūye to the limits of Syria and Francia shall know that . . . .

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* This in 255[3]."

For the word *k(a)d χ(u)dā* cf. STEINGASS (p. 1018b): "كد خدا *kad-ḵhudā*, Master of a family; a bridegroom, married man; anyone looked up to with reverence and respect; a magistrate; a king; an alderman, a sheriff (m. c.); . . ."

[11] The word *iraiyad* is the Persian (< Arabic) *r(a)'īy(a)t.* Cf. STEINGASS (p. 580b): "A رعية *ra'īyat*, A herd of grazing camels; people, subjects; a subject (esp. non-Muhammadan of a Muhammadan ruler), peasant, plebian, generally a husbandman and manufacturer; an under-tenant, tenant of the soil, renter, ryot; anything that requires to be taken of;—*ḥāmī'i ra'īyat*, Protector of the subjects." For the prothetic *-i* see note 9 above.

For an example of the word in a Persian source of the period of the Mongols cf. M. MINOVI and V. MINORSKY, "Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī on Finance," *BSOAS* 10(1940). 755-789 (p. 759 § 6, l. 4 [رعيّت] and p. 771 § 6, l. 1 [*ra'iyyat*]).

On page 938 of his article "A Soyūrghāl of Qāsun b. Jahāngīr Aq-qoyunlu" in *BSOS* 9(1937-1939).927-960, V. MINORSKY remarked: "In Kurdistan we have to distinguish between three different classes of population: (1) the agricultural *ra'iyat*, often representing the ancient inhabitants of the country, . . ."

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For the relative position of this word in the formula see note 8 above.

[12] This name is the Persian (< Arabic) *B(a)dr al-Dīn Abū'l M(a)ḥm(a)d M(a)ḥmūd*, i. e., Badr al-Dīn ("The Full Moon of the Religion"), Abū'l Maḥmad ("Father of Maḥmad"), Maḥmūd.

For *badr* cf. STEINGASS (p. 162b): "A بدر *badr*, The full moon." For *al* cf. STEINGASS (p. 91b): "A ال *al*, The Arabic article answering to *the*." For *dīn* cf. STEINGASS (p. 554a): "A دين . . . *dīn*, Faith, religion; the Muhammadan faith; . . ."

Cf. also the entry on *Badr* in *The Encyclopaedia of Islām* 1 (A-D) (1913) 559a:

"**BADR** (A.), Full moon. As the full moon is the very essence of beauty among Orientals, beautiful young slaves are often called Badr, and Badr is thus a common name not however limited to slaves. The word is frequently combined with *Dawla* or *Dīn*, see below."

On page 560a we find:

"BADR AL-DĪN, a title of honour of Lu'lu' [q. v.]."

As remarked by [Joseph Hélidore Sagesse Vertu] GARCIN DE TASSY, *Memoire sur les noms propres et les titres musulmans* (Deuxième édition, Paris, 1878), p. 46:

"Les surnoms honorifiques sont généralement composés de deux mots arabes; mais quelquefois d'un plus grand nombre. . . ."

On page 47 he further remarked:

"La plus grande partie de ces *lacabs* se terminent par un des mots *dîn* دين "religion", *daulat* دولت "empire", *mulk* ملك "royaume", *islâm* اسلام "mahométisme", . . ."

On page 52 we find: "*Badr uddîn* بدر الدين "la Pleine lune de la religion"; . . . ."

In the list of "laḳabs avec dīn se trouvant jusqu'au 7e siècle de l'Islām" on page 67 of his article "Les noms musulmans composés avec Dīn" in *Acta Orientalia* 5(1927). 53-67, J. H. KRAMERS included "Badr."

The Mongolian form of *Badr al-Dīn*, i. e., *Badaradin*, contains an epenthetic *-a-* in the second syllable of *Badr*, a purely Mongolian feature, and reflects the Persian pronunciation of *al-Dīn* (> *ad-Dīn*) in the transcription *adin*. We should not fail to observe, however, particularly in view of the transcription "Bedreddīn Maḥmūd" on page 66 of KRAMERS' article, that the Mongolian form could also be read *Bederedin*. Such a reading would, of course, presuppose a Persian pronunciation **Bedreddīn* at this time, i. e., 1320.

For *abū* see "Document III" (Fig. 31 / Page 42) (B), note 1.

For *'l*, the definite article, see above.

For *M(a)ḥm(a)d* cf. STEINGASS (p. 1190a): "A محمد *mahmid, maḥmad* (v. n. of حمد; Praising; . . ." The name also appears in line 3 of "Document III" (Fig. 31 / Page 43) (*M[a]q[m]ad*) and lines 10 and 12 of "Document III" (Fig. 29).

Among the examples cited by GARCIN DE TASSY (*op. cit.*, p. 24) is "*Abu Muhammad* ابو محمد." Although he read it "*Abu Muhammad*," it is obviously the same name as *Abū'l Maḥmad*, but without the definite article (*'l*).

For *M(a)ḥmūd* cf. STEINGASS (p. 1190b): "A محمود *maḥmūd*, Praised; laudable; a proper name; name of a celebrated juggler; name of an elephant mentioned in the Qur'ān."

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[13] The expression *irüger ög-* is a formula which appears constantly in the Mongolian edicts in 'Phags-pa script published by Marian Lewicki in "Les inscriptions mongols inédites en écriture carrée" in *Collectanea Orientalia* 12 (1937).1-72 and by N. N. Poppe in his Квадратная письменность. Lewicki transcribes the formula *hi-ru-'er 'eo-gun* [= *hirü'er ögün*]. (Cf. p. 18, l. 8, p. 18, l. 11, p. 18, lines 13-14, p. 20, l. 14, p. 24, l. 12 and p. 24, l. 14.) In each case he translates it: "ils expriment leurs voeux [pour Nous]." (Cf. p. 19, lines 6-9, p. 19, lines 9-15, p. 19, lines 9-15, p. 22, lines 14-19, p. 25, lines 9-12, p. 25, lines 12-17.) The meaning of "*voeu*" for the word *irüger* is, however, somewhat modern. In the old texts *irüger* has the meaning of "prayer." Both from the meaning of the word *irüger* and the context in which it is used in these texts it is clear that the expression *irüger ög-* must be interpreted in a religious sense which literally is "to give prayers," hence "to pray for the happiness of the sovereign." In note 6 on page 62 of his study Lewicki cited the form *irüger* of this text as well as that in the work of ibn al-Muhannā together with the form *hi-ru-'er* [= *hirü'er*] in the 'Phags-pa script as evidence that the dissimilation of *-r>-l* had not yet taken place giving the form *irügel* of the written language.

[14] The word *öčigülür-ün* is a *converbum praeparativum* in *-rün* of *öčigül-* (to which is added the suffix *-rün* by means of the union vowel *-ü-*), a *causativus* in *-gül-* of *öči-* "to report [to the throne]." For an example of this verb in the *Secret History* cf. § 197 (*YCPS* 7.48a2), where we find *öči'üljü'üi* "she (i. e., Qulan Qadun) had one report [unto Činggis Qahan]." Cf. also *deger-e öčigüljü* "caused the Emperor to be informed [thereof]" in line 28 of the Mongolian text of the Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1335.

[15] Although I supply the words "unto Us" for the intelligence of the translation, I do not thereby intend to imply that the word *bidan-dur* has disappeared from the original text. As a matter of fact, it obviously was not in the text. Furthermore, it was not necessary, because the verb *öči-* is used only of petitions and reports addressed to the throne. There is, therefore, no ambiguity in the original text.

[16] This is the word (?)*kemejü* found in line 1 of "Document III" (Fig. 31 / Page 43).

Document III

(Fig. 30 / Page 41)

(A)

[1] The word *ǰrlγ* is in gold.

[2] The words *ečige-yügen šiγ Čamaladin-u ora* may be compared with the words *köbegün inu Diu-a-bala-yi ečige-yügen or-a tüsibesü* "when [the Emperor (i. e., Sečen Qaγan)] appointed his (i. e., the lord's) son Diu-a-bala to the place of his father" in line 25 of the Mongolian text of the Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1335. Cf. also the words *Köden eǰen-ü or-a saγuγsan Ging ong-un baγsi Uqari-yin ökin inu aǰuγu* "she was the daughter of Uqari, preceptor of the Ging ong who had succeeded (lit., 'sat in the place of') Köden Eǰen" in line 34 of the Mongolian text of the Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1362.

For a discussion of the word *or-a* cf. note 17 on pp. 106-107 of "The Sino-Mongolian Inscription of 1335. . . ."

[3] From *minu* "of me" and *namayi* "me" in line 3 below it is clear that *-yügen*,

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gen. poss.-refl., means "of my" in this passage. (In the text cited from the Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1335 in note 2 above, however, we have an example of an instance in which *-yügen* does not function as a *poss.-refl.*, but is the equivalent of *inu.*)

[4] This name is the Persian (< Arabic) *J̌(a)māl al-Dīn* جمال الدين "Beauty of the Faith." For *ǰ(a)māl* cf. STEINGASS (p. 370a): "A جمال *jamāl* (v. n. of جمال), Being fair, comely, becoming; elegence, beauty, grace (of body or mind); . . ." For *al*, 'the Arabic article answering to *the*,' see "Document III" (Fig. 31 / Page 42), note 12. For *dīn* "faith" see "Document III" (Fig. 31 / Page 42) (A), note 12.

On page 52 of his *Mémoire* GARCIN DE TASSY registered this name as follows: "*Jamâl uddîn* جمال الدين "la Beauté de la religion [2]"." In note 2 he remarked: "C'est le surnom de plusieurs personnages marquants dans la politique ou dans la littérature. Pour abréger, on a quelquefois nommé *Jamalî* ceux qui portent ce surnom."

Cf. also J. H. KRAMERS, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

[5] The word [*saγ*]*uǰu* in the expression *sujada-dur saγuǰu* is restored on the basis of its occurrence in the identical expression *sujada-dur saγuǰu* in line 6 of "Document III" (Fig. 31 / Page 43). When I examined this word in the original document in the Musée de Téhéran, I discovered that the three extant letters *uǰu* are upside down (*nıʃn*). It would appear that the shred of paper on which they are written, having, at some time, been detached from the rest of the document, was adhesively reattached by someone (possibly Mehdi BAHRAMI) who placed it upside down in relation to the words which precede and follow.

Although I translate the expression *-dur saγuǰu* in its literal sense of "to sit in," "to sit on," the meaning, in this case, may be "to inherit." For the use of *saγu-* in the sense of "to inherit" cf. the *Secret History* § 271 (*YCPS*, Cont. 2.19b1): *Činggis qahan ečige-yü'en belen-tür sa'uba.* "I have inherited the throne of my father *Činggis qahan* (lit., 'have sat in the ready[-made situation] of my father')." Cf. also § 279 (*YCPS*, Cont. 2.47a2-3): *qahan ečige-yü'en belen-tür sa'uǰu . . .* "Inheriting the throne of my father (lit., 'sitting in the ready[-made situation] of my father'), the *qahan* . . ." (Cf. also MOSTAERT and CLEAVES, *op. cit.*, p. 475, n. 43.)

[6] Lit., "at."

[7] The word *sujada* is the Persian (< Arabic) *s(a)ǰǰād(a).* (For this identification I am indebted to Professor Richard N. FRYE.) Cf. STEINGASS (p. 657b): "A سجادة *sajjādat, sajjāda*, A carpet or mat on which the Muhammadans prostrate themselves when at prayer (construed with the verbs *uftādan, afgandan, andākhtan, kashīdan*, &c.); the place of adoration, the mosque or altar; . . ."

In a letter dated 18 November 1952 Professor W. B. HENNING made the following important observation:

"The expression 'sit on the *sajǰāda*' is very valuable in determining the nature of the circle of persons with whom the document is concerned: it is characteristic of Dervish Orders, exclusively, and shows that the quarrel which led to the issue of your document was a quarrel about the *chieftainship* of a Dervish Order, involving naturally the administration of the property of the Order. This Dervish Order claimed as its founder one 'martyred* Šaiχ Ibrāhīm'. The name *Ibrāhīm* is too common to provide much illumination, and Dervish Orders are as many as pebbles on the

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beach **; it is just possible that the famous *Ibrāhīm b. Adham* (who at least was *šahīd*) was meant, who was claimed as spiritual founder by some (later) Orders.

"In case you need detailed references, see e. g. the early pages of *Silsilatu 'n-nasab-i Ṣafawīya* (concerned with the Order from which the Safawid dynasty sprang), where such expressions are often met with, with reference to the succession to the leadership; e. g. p. 45 below 'for 38 years after his noble father he was residing (*mutamakhim*) on the *sajjāda* of Direction'; ibid. p. 45 middle 'he appointed his son . . . his successor and entrusted him with the *sajjāda* . . .'; ibid. p. 38 'after he had come to reside on the *sajjāda* of Direction and Succession'. Etc.—Cf. also Dozy, i, 633b: 'En Egypte les chefs des différents ordres de derviches portent le titre de صاحب سجّادة ou *possesseur du tapis à prier* du fondateur de l'ordre.' The *sajjāda* in a Dervish Order has the function which a *throne* has in a kingdom.

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* This surely is the translation one would prefer; the word, in any case, should not appear with a capital initial, as if it were a proper name.

** For details cf. article *Ṭarīḳa* in *Encycl. Islam* (or better in *Handwörterbuch des Islam* by Kramers and Wensinck)."

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[8] The word *šaqid* is the Persian (< Arabic) *š(a)hīd*. (For this identification I am indebted to M. Ali Bey Toptchibachy, Paris, France, who proposed it in July 1948.) Cf. Steingass (p. 771a): "A شهيد *shahīd, shihīd*, A witness; a martyr;—*shahīd shudan*, To be a martyr;—*shahīd kardan*, To martyr." The word is also registered in N. Poppe's Монгольский словарь (p. 331b): "*šehīd bolba tere kü'ün* شهيد بولبه تيره كوون—ч. *šehīd boldï ol kiši* شهيد بولدى اول كيشى тот человек стал мучеником за веру 1024" ["that man became a martyr for the faith"].

The word *šaqid* is also attested in line 1 of the second of the two texts on the reverse of "Document III" (Fig. 29). On page 523 of "A Chancellery Practice . . ." I transcribed it *Šaqid* and translated it as if it were a proper name. This, however, is incorrect, for, as remarked by Professor W. B. Henning in the first of his two notes to the passage of his letter which I have just cited in note 7 above: "the word, in any case, should not appear with a capital initial, as if it were a proper name."

[9] The name *Ibrayim* (a reading suggested by Professor W. B. Henning in his letter dated 7 February 1953) is the Persian (< Arabic) *Ibrāhim*. Cf. Steingass (p. 7a): "A ابراهم *ibrāhim, ibrāhum*, or *ibrāham*, Abraham." In the Mongolian form *Ibrayim* the group *-ayi-* = *āhi*. Inasmuch as the *h* (initial, medial, and final) was never written in the Uighur script, the intervocalic *-y-* is obviously a substitute for the intervocalic *-h-*.

For an example of the name in Chinese transcription, cf. *I-pi-lieh-chin* 亦必烈金, i. e., *Ibregim* = *Ibrehim* (< *Ibrāhim*) in *Yüan shih* 205 (*ts'e* 59) .5b4. For another example, *I-pu-la-chin* 亦卜剌金, i. e., *Ibragim* = *Ibrahim* (< *Ibrāhim*), cf. Paul Pelliot, "Le Ḫōja et le Sayyid Ḥusain de l'Histoire des Ming," *TP* 38 (1948) .81-292 (p. 236, n. 313).

For an interesting parallel cf. the "late martyr Prince SULṬAN IBRĀHĪM" whom V. Minorsky mentions on page 151 of his article "A Civil and Military Review in Fārs in 881/1476" in *BSOS* 10 (1939) .141-178.

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In note 2 on page 151 he remarked: "I fail to understand why the Tīmūrid Ibrāhīm was a 'martyr,' *vide infra*, p. 177."

On page 177 we find him called the "'late martyr Ibrāhīm mīrzā'" (25 May 1397-3 May 1438).

[10] For this use of *deger-e* with the verb *tüsigde-* "to be appointed," instead of the usual dative-locative *-tur / -tür ~ -dur / -dür*, see also "Document III" (Fig. 30 / Page 41) (B), note 3.

[11] This is a Mongolian plural in *-ud* of the word *waγb* which is the Persian (< Arabic) *waqf*. Cf. STEINGASS (p. 1477a): "A وقف *waqf* (v. n.), Standing, stopping, staying, halting, waiting; making a pause in reading; checking, stopping, pulling, or keeping back; endeavouring to understand, considering attentively; bequeathing for pious uses (as habitations for the poor, and books for the use of learned men); such bequest or legacy; . . . *waqf dāshtan*, To hold as a bequest;—*waqf kardan*, To dedicate, consecrate."

In the entry entitled "WAḲF" in *The Encyclopaedia of Islām*, Volume IV (1929). 1096a-1103a, by HEFFENING we read (1096ab):

"**2.** commonly a pious endowment, which is defined in various ways in the *Sharī'a* according to the school. Following up these definitions we may say that by *waḳf* (plur. *awḳāf*) is meant a thing which while retaining its sub-[b]stance yields a usufruct and of which the owner has surrendered his power of disposal with the stipulation that the yield is used for permitted good purposes. *Waḳf* really means however the legal process by which one creates such an endowment (synonymous with *taḥbīs*, *tasbīl* or *taḥrīm*) and in popular speech became transferred to the endowment itself, which is properly called *mawḳūf*, *maḥbūs*, *muḥabbas* or *ḥabīs*. Among the Mālikīs and therefore in Morocco, Algiers and Tunis the name *ḥubus* (plur. of *ḥabīs*) or the syncopated form *ḥubs* (pl. *aḥbās*) predominates (hence in French legal language: *habous*)."

In Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī's *Memorandum* we read (MINOVI and MINORSKY, *op. cit.*, pp. 777-778):

"§ 20. The king did not encroach upon the property of four classes: . . .(d) the vaqf property. Vaqfs have been constituted for pious purposes, and the kings did not consider it auspicious (to despoil [778] them?). So they used to ordain that a trusted person should be aware (of their functioning); (namely), that (the revenue) should be spent on pious endowments in accordance with the constitution of the vaqf, and that it should be used for due purposes in conformity with the stipulations of the founder; and whenever (the requirements for) an expenditure ceased or diminished and it was impossible to use (the money) in that way, (the amount) should be spent on the poor and destitute or for other purposes, such as construction of bridges and rabāṭs, the healing of sick and other good deeds. (The kings) prevented anyone from interfering (with the vaqfs) in an opportune way, in the hope that a recompense (in the next world) (*thavāb*) should accumulate for themselves."

Although I have restored the word with the plural suffix in *-ud*, it must be observed that the tail of the *-d* does appear in the document. In this instance *-d* was written exactly as we find it at the end of the word *murid-ud* in line 1 of "Document III" (Fig. 30), where the tail is protracted with a gradual dip to the right, because the scribe, cramped for space, was unable to use the form of *-d* which we find, for example, in the *-ud* of *murid-ud* which I have just mentioned, where the tail drops perpendicularly to terminate with a slight hook to the left.

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The word *waγb* is also attested in "Document III" (Fig. 31 / Page 43) (ll. 4 and 7) and in the second of the two texts on the reverse of "Document III" (Fig. 29), *w[aγ]b[-ud]* in "Document III" (Fig. 30 / Page 41) (A) (l. 2), and *waγb-udi*, an accusative in *-i* of the plural in *-ud* of *waγb*, in "Document III" (Fig. 31 / Page 43) (ll. 1 (*[w]aγb-udi*) and 6).

It will be observed that the letter which I transcribe *w-* is regularly written like a medial *o/u*, that is, without the *aleph*. In the *Bičig* of 1272, on the contrary, we find, in line 14, an excellent example of this word, in which *w-* is written exactly like an initial *o/u*, but in which the *-a-* vowel is not written, that is, *wγb* for *waγb*. It appears again as *wγb* in line 60 of the same document. It is also interesting to observe that, whereas in "Document III" the word is written *waγb* without the two points to mark the soft velar guttural *γ*, in the *Bičig* of 1272, in each instance, the *γ* is clearly marked by the two points.

In line 1 of the *Bičig* of 1273, however, the word appears to be written *waγb* as in "Document III." Although it is difficult to determine from the reproduction whether the *-a-* vowel is present, the *w-* is written exactly as *w-* in "Document III."

[The *Bičig* of 1272 and that of 1273 were published as a single text by Ahmed Temir (*Timur'a* in the footnote on page [122] is a misprint for *Temir'a*) on pages [119]-[122] of Cevat Hakkı Tarım's *Tarihte Kırşehri-Gülşehri* (Istanbul, 1948). That the six lines which constitute the *Bičig* of 1273 [p. 121] are not part of that of 1272 (*bičin jil* "monkey year") is clear not only from the fact that they are in a smaller handwriting, but also from the fact that in the third of the six lines we read: *edüge ba taqiγu jil-dür* "Now we, in the hen year, . . ." The *taqiγu jil* ("hen year") was the year 1273.]

The word is also registered in N. Poppe's Монгольский словарь (p. 383a): "*waqf kibe morini tengri tulada* تولاره وقف كيبه مورينى تينكرى—ч. *waqïf qïldï atnï tengri yolïda* وقف قيلدى اتنى تينكرى يوليده пожертвовал лошадь на богоугодные дела [donated a horse for pious deeds] 936 || *w. k. tündü balγasun geri* توندو بالغاسون كيرى—ч. *w. q. anqa saraïnï* انقا سراينى пожертвовал ему дворец 681" ["donated a palace to him"].

[12] The word *qaγas-a* is also found in line 7 of "Document III" (Fig. 30) and in line 1 of the "summary of the contents" of "Document III" on the reverse of the last fragment (Fig. 29) of the same document. Although I have hitherto regarded it as a place-name (cf. "A Chancellery Practice . . .," pp. 523-524), for reasons which I am about to mention, I now tentatively regard it as the Mongolian equivalent of the Persian (< Arabic) word *χāṣṣ(a)h* "personal property [of a king]," "royal domain." Cf. Steingass (p. 439b): "a خاصه *ḵẖāṣa* . . . especially, chiefly (see A خاصة)." Cf. also Steingass (p. 439a): "A خاص *ḵẖāṣṣ*, *ḵẖās*, Particular, peculiar, special, distinct; private, for private use, personal, own, proper; . . ."

In a letter dated 30 April 1952, Professor W. B. Henning, commenting on the two texts on the reverse of "Document III" (Fig. 29), of which I had published a transcription and translation on page 523 of "A Chancellery Practice . . .," remarked, with reference to *Qaγas-a*:

". . . Secondly, I don't think this need be a place-name. I should rather think it is another Persian (Arabic) word, namely *χāṣṣe* خاصّه. This means originally

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'special, particular', then 'special to the king', hence chiefly of property 'royal domain'."

Later, in his letter dated 7 February 1953, Professor HENNING further remarked:

"*Qaγas-a*: I am convinced that my first impression that this was not a place-name but *khāṣṣe* was correct. I have now come across a passage where this word, which generally refers to the private affairs (or property) of the king, is used of a *waqf*, precisely as in the Mongolian document. *Nuzhat-al-Qulūb*, 80 line 3, *waqf-i xāṣṣ-i Ghāzānī*, which words G. LE STRANGE translated (p. 82 bottom) 'pious foundations dependent on the private property of Ghāzān Khān'. That that ruler endowed many *waqf*-foundations out of his private property is indeed well known, see e. g. *Tārīkh-i Ghāzānī* 207 sqq."

It might also be observed that in Naṣir al-Dīn Ṭūsī's *Memorandum* we read (MINOVI and MINORSKY, *op. cit.*, p. 771 § 5):

"The king's property (*māl*) is of two categories: (*a*) his personal property (*khāṣṣa*), and (*b*) the property destined for the needs of the kingdom (*māl-i maṣālih-i pādshāhī*).

"(A) What the kings receive from those who have passed away, such as their fathers and brothers, becomes their *khāṣṣa*."

In the same *Memorandum* (*op. cit.*, pp. 776-777) we read:

"The King's expenditure is twofold:

"§ 18. The *khāṣṣa* expenditure, which he makes from his own *khāṣṣa*, the latter being kept separately and not confounded with the revenue (destined for) the kingdom (*māl-i pādshāhī*). This *khāṣṣa* consists of the following items: the inheritance from his ancestors (§ 5), the 'fifth' of the booty (*ghanīmat*) (§ 12), what is received by [777] the way of *kafāyat* (§ 13), or acquired through good luck and good fortune (§ 17) [f. 5r], or in (any) other way becomes his *khāṣṣ* ('personal property').

"The king spends it in four ways: (*a*) for his own household (*khāṣṣa*) and that of his children; (*b*) for grants and gifts to the persons having rendered some services; (*c*) for the making of ornaments and embellishments; (*d*) for the construction of buildings, such as are necessary (or? correspond) to his heart's desires."

Cf. also *op. cit.*, p. 779.

In reply to a letter dated 17 February 1953, in which I requested his opinion on the likelihood of this identification, in view of the fact that it would be necessary to admit that the group *-aγa-* in the Mongolian form *qaγas-a* represented the *-ā-* of the Persian form *χāṣṣ(a)h*, the Reverend Antoine MOSTAERT very kindly communicated in a letter dated 24 March 1953 the following remarks:

"Si l'identification *qaγas-a* = *χāṣṣ(a)h* proposée par M. le prof. Henning est correcte, alors il faut dire que les Mongols ont figuré ici la voyelle longue *ā* du persan par le group *-aγa-*. Je tiens cette identification comme tout à fait possible. Les Mongols modernes écrivent *begejing* le nom de la ville de 北京, nom qu'ils prononcent BĒDŽIŋ. Comme vous le dites, quelque chose d'analogue se voit aussi dans le mot *guiloγu* = 國老 ["de l'inscription sino-mongole de 1362"—F. W. C.] que vous citez. Si *laγusa* (*Hist. secr. la'usa*) est le chin. *louo tzeu* "mulet" (Pelliot n'y croyait pas beaucoup), on aurait encore un autre exemple."

In a letter dated 29 March 1953 the Reverend Antoine MOSTAERT further remarked:

"Un autre exemple d'insertion d'une gutturale dans un mot pris au chinois nous est fourni par le mot *čoγoǰi* "serrure" (< chin. 鎖子)."

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In note 21 on page 106 of his excellent article "Chinese in the Uighur Script of the T'ang-Period" in *Acta Orientalia* 2(1952).73-121, B. CSONGOR cites two examples of *vowel* + *g* + *vowel* ~ *vowel* + *γ* + *vowel* to indicate length: *bigir* "pencil" and *birbaγasun, birabaγasun* "ferry." The latter word, taken from RAMSTEDT, is entirely *ad rem*, because it contains the group *-aγa-* = *ā* < Russian stressed *-o-*. CSONGOR's note reads as follows:

"Cf. Mong *bigir, bi'ir*, 'pencil' (read *bīr*; intervocalic *g* in Mongolian script is a mere orthographical convention. Cf. G. J. Ramstedt, *Das Schriftmongolische und die Urgamundart*: *JSFOu* XXI, 2, p. 5.: "Russ. перевозъ > khalkha U. *b'arwās*, 'fahre'" written in Mongolian *birbaγasun, birabaγasun*)."

Turning to RAMSTEDT (*op. cit.*, p. 5), we find that he also gives among his examples of "hyperarchaistic" forms the word *čaγaǰung* ~ *čaγaǰun* (and still other variants) "porcelain" (< Chinese *ch'a-chung* 茶鍾 *). CSONGOR has rightly recognized, however, that this "orthographical convention" is for the purpose of indicating length. The "hyperarchaistic" aspect of the convention is, I think, only incidental.

The word *qaγas-a*, as I have already indicated, occurs three times in these documents: in two instances, "Document III" (Fig. 30 / Page 41) (A) (l. 2) and "Document III" (Fig. 30) (l. 7), it occurs in the genitive: *qaγas-a-yin*; in one instance, "Document III" (Fig. 29 / Verso) (2) (l. 1), it occurs in the absolute form, but with an attributive function: *qaγas-a*.

[13] The name *Šamsadin* is the Persian (< Arabic) *Šams al-Dīn* "Sun of the Faith." Cf. STEINGASS (p. 759b): "A شمس *shams* (v. n.), Being sun-shiny (the day); . . . ; the sun; . . . ;—*shamsu'd-dīn*, Sun of the faith, proper name of a man; . . ."

On page 52 of his *Mémoire*, GARCIN DE TASSY registered this name as follows: "*Schams uddîn* شمس الدين "le Soleil de la religion"."

Cf. also J. H. KRAMERS, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

This name is also attested in line 9 of "Document III" (Fig. 29) and in line 10 of the *Bičig* of Ṛasan of 1302. Cf. MOSTAERT and CLEAVES, *op. cit.*, p. 477.

For the name *Maqmad*, the Persian (< Arabic) *Maḥmad*, see "Document III" (Fig. 31 / Page 42) (A), note 12.

[14] There are visible, to the right of the words *aqa* and *Šamsadin*, the "tails" of two final *b*'s. They respectively belong to the words *[w]aγb-udi* and *qarab* in line 1 of "Document III" (Fig. 31 / Page 43). Thus we have not only the third of the seal to the right of *tüsigdejü bügetele* in this fragment corresponding to the other two-thirds under the words *bičigüd-i manu* in line 1 of "Document III" (Fig. 31 / Page 43) but also these two terminating flourishes of the *-b* of the words *[w]aγb-udi* and *qarab* in line 1 of "Document III" (Fig. 31 / Page 43) to assure us that there is no lacuna between the fragments, when they are placed side by side. As a matter of fact, the right-hand side of this fragment slightly overlapped the left-hand side of that of "Document III" (Fig. 31 / Page 43).

* On 3 April 1953 Professor William HUNG suggested this term as the Chinese original of the Mongolian forms cited by RAMSTEDT. Cf. also *Mathews' Chinese-English Dictionary* (Revised American edition, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1943), no. 1514 (p. 217).

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Document III

(Fig. 31 / Page 43)

[1] The *-u* of *abču*, the *converbum imperfecti* in *-ču* of *ab-* "to take," has disappeared because of a tear in the document.

[2] The first four letters of *ǰrlγ-ud*, that is, the word proper without the plural suffix in *-ud*, is written in gold.

[3] The words *ǰrlγ-ud bičig-üd* "Edicts and Writs" refer, I presume, to those royal documents in the archives of the *awqāf* which sanctioned their establishment, granted them special rights, privileges, and immunities, including exemption from taxation, and commanded respect for persons on the premises. An interesting parallel in which documents and objects of imperial origin are taken is found in the Mongolian text of the Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1335, where we read (ll. 19-21): *basa* [20] *Činggis qaγan soyurγaǰu* [= *soyurqaǰu*] *uruγ-un uruγ-a kürtele barilduγulγu* [= *barilduγulqu*] *belge bolγan ögtegsen.* [21] *ǰrlγ-i ba yaγu ked-i küčümedeǰü abču ümegši odbasu.* "Again, when he (i.e., J̌irγuγadai) took by force the *ǰrlγ* as well as the things which had been given as tokens whereby Činggis Qaγan favored [them] and which he had [them] transmit to one another unto generations of generations, . . ." Cf. "The Sino-Mongolian Inscription of 1335 . . . ," pp. 73 and 97.

[4] The last four letters (*uγui*) of the word *bolγaǰuγui*, the *praeteritum imperfecti* in *-ǰuγui* of *bolγa-*, *causativus* in *-γa-* of *bol-* "to be," have been restored.

[5] The *w-* of *waγb-udi* has disappeared because of a tear in the document.

[6] This word is the Persian (< Arabic) *χ(a)rāb*. Cf. STEINGASS (p. 451a): "A خراب *kharāb* (v. n. of خرب), Being ruined and desolate; ruin, desolation; destroyed, deserted, depopulated, spoiled; . . ." Although I render the words *qarab bolγa-* "to cause to be *qarab* ('ruined')," this expression in Mongolian is obviously a literal translation of the Persian *χ(a)rāb k(a)rd(a)n* "to make *χ(a)rāb*." Cf. STEINGASS (*ibid.*): "*kharāb kardan*, To spoil, ruin, mar, corrupt, blight, taint." For an example of the word in a Persian source of the period of the Mongols cf. M. MINOVI and V. MINORSKY, *op. cit.* (pp. 760 § 6, ll. 3 and 4, and 762, l. 9 [خراب] and pp. 772 § 6 and 775 § 13 [*kharāb*]). It is rendered "not cultivated" (p. 760 § 6), "fallow" (p. 760 § 6), and "lying fallow" (p. 775 § 13). In note 5 on page 772 it is stated, with reference to the occurrence of the word in § 13, "kharāb, 'lying fallow,' is distinguished from what in the beginning was *not* 'cultivated' (*ābādān*)."

[7] This is the word *kemen* in line 12 of "Document III" (Fig. 29).

[8] The expression *ker kiǰü* literally rendered means "how doing?" For a parallel construction cf., e.g., the *Secret History* § 56 (*YCPS* 1.37b2-3): . . . *ker ele kiǰü odumui* ". . . how doing, does he go?," i.e., ". . . how does he go?" The Chinese gloss on *ker ele kiǰü* is 怎生般 (*ker ele*) 做着 (*kiǰü*) ("how sort doing"). In this example from the *Secret History*, just as in the present text, the expression *ker kiǰü* has, in effect, the same meaning as *ker* alone.

[9] The expression *öberün durabar* "by one's own will," "on one's own volition" occurs in the *Secret History*. Cf., e.g., § 185 (*YCPS* 6.52b3) *ö'erün dura'ar* "on her own volition" and § 257 (*YCPS*, *Cont.*, 1.40a3) *ö'erün dura'ar* "on his own volition." In B. Ya. VLADIMIRCOV's edition of the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* [= Bibliotheca Buddhica. XXVIII], we find *öber-ün dura-bar* in line 3 of § 27 on page 100 and in line 4 of § 28 on page 164.

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[10] The word *eyimü*, an adjective meaning "such," appears to be used in this case as *eyin*, an adverb meaning "in this manner," "thus," "so."

[11] The words *yosu ügegüi üüledün ajuγui* constitute a formula which is a slight variant of that which is found in the 'Phags-pa inscriptions published by LEWICKI. Cf., e.g., *jo-su 'eu-ge-'uė 'euė-les bu 'euė-led-t'u-*[19]*geė* (*op. cit.*, p. 18, ll. 18-19) "[que ces taoïstes] . . . ne commettent pas d'actes illégaux" (*op. cit.*, p. 19, ll. 17-19), *jo-su 'eu-ge-'un 'euė-les bu 'euė-led-t'u-geė* (*op. cit.*, p. 21, l. 22) "[que ce Tch'en Tao-ming] . . . ne commette pas d'actes illégaux" (*op. cit.*, p. 23, ll. 21-22), and *jo-su 'eu-ge-'uė euė-les bu 'euė-led-t'u-geė* (p. 25, l. 20) "[que ces bouddhistes] . . . ne commettent pas d'actes illégaux" (*op. cit.*, p. 26, ll. 19-20).

[12] The expression *yosu ügegüi* appears again in line 5 of "Document III" (Fig. 29). It is attested twice as *yosu ügei* in the *Secret History* § 281 (*YCPS*, Cont. 2.56a4-56b3) in the passage in which Ögödei makes a sort of public confession: *nökö'e buru'u yosu ügei eme gü'ün-ü üge-tür oroju Odčigin abaγa-yin* [56b] *ulus-un ökid abčira'ulγu alji'as bolba je ulus-un ejen qahan bö'etele yosu ügei alji'as üüle-tür dölesgegü minu niken buru'u ene bolba je.* "My second fault was the error whereby I illegally complied with the word of a woman and had one fetch the maidens of the nation of [my] uncle Odčigin. Although I was lord and *qahan* of the nation, my illegally utilizing an erroneous deed, this was one fault."

In the 'Phags-pa inscriptions published by LEWICKI it appears twice as *jo-su 'eu-ge-'uė* (*op. cit.*, p. 18, l. 18 and p. 25, l. 20) and once as *jo-su 'eu-ge-'un* (p. 21, l. 22). (See note 10 above.)

[13] The words *edüge ber bügesü* constitute a formula of regular occurrence in chancellery pieces of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Literally rendered they mean "and if it be now." It is comparable to the English expression "so far as the present is concerned." They are attested in line 6 of the *Bičig* of Γasan of 1302. They are also attested as *edö'e ber bö'esü* in the *Secret History* § 265 (*YCPS*, Cont. 2.4b1-2). Cf. MOSTAERT and CLEAVES, *op. cit.*, p. 474. They are also found in the 'Phags-pa inscriptions published by LEWICKI. Cf., e.g., *ė-du-'e ber b*[*eo*]*-'e-su* (*op. cit.*, p. 18, l. 9) "quant au temps actuel" (p. 19, ll. 6-9), *ė-du-'e ber beo-'e-su* (*op. cit.*, p. 20, l. 14) "quant au temps actuel" (*op. cit.*, p. 22, ll. 14-19), and *ė-d*[*u*]*-'e ber beo-'e-su* (*op. cit.*, p. 24, l. 12) "quant au temps actuel" (*op. cit.*, p. 25, ll. 12-17).

In the later written language we find *edüge bolbasu* ("if it be now"). Cf., e.g., ŽAMCARANO, *Darqad. Köbsügül naγur-un Uriangqai*, etc., p. 26, l. 11, and p. 98, l. 6.

[14] I.e., Šamsadin Maqmad. In the original text we have only the verb in an optative form which is either singular or plural (*ögtügei*). It seems clear from the context, however, that we must translate in the singular and regard Šamsadin Maqmad as the implied subject.

[15] For the word *jugiyer* [= *jügiyer*] see "Document II," note 13.

For *jugiger* [= *jügiger*] ~ *jüg-iyer* in line 30 of the *Bičig* of Arγun of 1290 cf. MOSTAERT and CLEAVES, *op. cit.*, p. 466.

[16] The words *qariγulju* [5] *ögtügei* occur again in "Document III" (Fig. 29), l. 6. It is interesting to observe that the same verb *qariγul-* is used in line 24 of the Mongolian text of the Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1335 with reference to the return of the documents and objects taken by Jirγuγadai (see note 3 above): *jrlγ ba yaγu ked-i bügüde-yi qariγuljuγu* "he (i.e., Ying šui [Ying-jui 應瑞]) had the *jrlγ* as well as the things—everything—returned." Cf. also p. 98 of "The Sino-Mongolian Inscription of 1335 . . ."

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[17] Although only the initial *a-* and the final *-e* of this word are legible, it is more than probable that the restoration *a[li-b]e* is correct.

[18] The word *ǰrlγ* is written in gold.

[19] The expression *tasarub bolγaγsan-i*, in which *bolγaγsan-i* is an accusative in *-i* of the *nomen perfecti* in *-γsan* of *bolγa-*, *causativus* in *-γa-* of *bol-* "to be," is also attested elsewhere in "Document III" in the following forms: *tasarub buu bolγatuγai* (Fig. 30, l. 4) and *tasarub bolγaγsad bügesü* (Fig. 29, l. 5). The word *tasarub* is the Persian (< Arabic) *t(a)ṣ(a)rr(u)f*. Cf. STEINGASS (p. 305a): "A تصرف *taṣarruf* (v. n. 5 of صرف), Turning, changing, using, employing; application; possession, occupancy, sway, power, control; influence, art, cunning; supernatural power; diverting from its proper use, misapplication, misappropriation, embezzlement; . . ." It is registered in its Arabic form on page 94 of POPPE'S Монгольский словарь under the rubric *abuba* and only in the Turkish text: "*a. tüni* تونی—ч. *taṣarruf qïldï anga* تصرف قیلدی انکا завлндел им 594" ["seized it"]. The expression *tasarub bolγa-* literally rendered means "to cause to be *tasarub* ('misappropriation')." As such, it is a translation of the Persian *t(a)ṣ(a)rr(u)f k(a)rd(a)n* "to make *t(a)ṣ(a)rr(u)f*." Cf. STEINGASS (*ibid.*): "*taṣarruf kardan*, To use, to dispose of; to spend." For an example of the word in a Persian source of the period of the Mongols cf. M. MINOVI and V. MINORSKY, *op. cit.* (p. 759 § 6, l. 13 [شرّط] and p. 772 § 6 [*taṣarruf*]). It is there rendered "take possession of" (p. 772 § 6).

[20] The term *šarti waγb* is the Persian *š(a)rṭ(-i) w(a)qf* "the terms of the foundation." I am indebted to Professor W. B. HENNING for the identification in this precise form, although I am also indebted to Dr. Herbert F. SCHURMANN for having previously proposed an identification with the Persian *š(a)rṭ(-i) wāq(u)f* "the terms of the donor."

At his home in Teheran, on 11 September 1951, the late Mehdi BAHRAMI proposed *š(a)rṭī w(a)qf* "conditional *waqf*" as the Persian original of the term. For *š(a)rṭī* cf. STEINGASS (p. 741b): "a شرطی . . .—*sharṭī*, Conditional; . . ." (It is composed of *š(a)rṭ* "condition" and the adjectival suffix *-ī*.) For *š(a)rṭ* cf. STEINGASS (p. 741b): "A شرط *sharṭ* (v. n.), . . . stipulating; a condition, clause, restriction; an agreement, compact, convention; . . ."

In his letter dated 18 November 1952, Professor W. B. HENNING, however, objected to this identification in the following terms:

"As to *šarti* as *šarṭī*, I fear I cannot entirely agree. Firstly, this is not a very common word. Secondly, the meaning does not fit. If it is to mean 'containing *šarā'iṭ* = clauses, terms', then it is scarcely capable of defining *waqf*: for every *waqf*-instrument naturally contains 'clauses' or 'terms'. And if it is to mean 'conditional' (what one would normally expect), then again it is not applicable to a *waqf*; for, as Mr. J. N. D. ANDERSON, our expert in Islamic Law, kindly explained to me, a 'conditional *waqf*' (called وقف معلّق علی شرط *waqf*^{un} *mu'allaq*^{un} *'alà šarṭ*^{in}) is not permitted. In these circumstances, I would propose taking *šarti waqf* as = Persian *šarṭ-i waqf*, i. e. as Persian genitive construction; here *šarṭ* would be virtually the singular of *šarā'iṭ*, in best accord with Persian usage. Therefore, *šarṭ-i waqf* = 'clause(s), stipulation(s), term(s) of the Waqf', and *šarti waqfun yosuγar* = "in accord with the Terms of the Foundation."

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In a letter dated 22 February 1952, Dr. Herbert F. SCHURMANN had cited the passage on page 209 [٢٠٩ ll. 2-3—F. W. C.] of Karl JAHN's edition of *The History of Ghāzān Khān* in which are found the words بموجب شرط واقف غازان خان, together with the translation on page 229 of ARENDS' Рашид-ад-дин, which reads: "на основании условия жертвователя Газан-хана," to support his view that *šarti waγb* should be identified with *š(a)rṭ(i) wāq(u)f*. He remarked:

". . . The phrase شرط واقف can also be found on pp. 210 (middle-right) and 214 (bottom left). ARENDS, on pp. 230 and 233, renders this phrase more or less as he has in the first instance."

It cannot readily be admitted, however, that the Mongolian form *waγb* is *wāq(u)f*, because, in such a case, the word would, in all probability, have been written **waγub*.

In reply to a letter of mine dated 1 December 1952 in which I expressed the opinion that, although "*šarti waqfun yosuγar* = 'in accord with the Terms of the Foundation'" is satisfactory for the context in line 7 below, I found it difficult to admit that the *šarti waγb* in the present line could mean "Terms of the Foundation," because of the construction *šarti waγb-ača tasarub bolγaγsan-i*, Professor HENNING very kindly stated in a letter dated 5 December 1952:

"*Šarṭ-i waqf*: it may be difficult to understand the first passage, but the difficulty would be the same if the word were *šarṭī*; that word, however, is excluded for the reason I mentioned last time. One wonders whether 'take (out) from the terms / conditions / stipulations of W.' may not mean 'remove contrary to'?"

Further study may resolve this problem to our complete satisfaction.

[21] The restoration *M[a]q[m]ad* is absolutely certain by virtue of the fact that this name, as we have seen, also occurs in "Document III" (Fig. 31 / Page 42) (A).

[22] Although the restoration [*-yin yosu*]*γar* (lit., "by the manner of") is proposed on a tentative basis, if we compare the last three letters of [*yosu*]*γar* with the same letters at the end of the word *yosuγar* in line 7 below, it must be admitted that they are absolutely identical. For this reason and for the reason that the restoration, as proposed, perfectly meets the sense of the passage, it is highly probable that it is correct.

[23] For the identification of the word *urǰi* I am indebted to the Reverend Antoine MOSTAERT who, in a letter dated 10 January 1953, remarked:

"*Urǰi-yin yosuγar* doit vouloir dire "comme dans le passé, comme autrefois, comme auparavant". Pour *urǰi* cf. ordos *urǰi* qui se rencontre dans une série de mots donnés à la p. 739a du *Dict. ord.* Voir aussi les références données à cet endroit. Veuillez voir aussi Ramstedt, 451a, ainsi que le *Dict. mongr.-français*, p. 474. Le *Tcheu iuen i iu* a: 前月：兀里只撒剌 *urǰi sara*."

KOWALEWSKI (471a) has *urǰi edür* "jour d'avant-hier, avant-hier, le jour d'auparavant."

[24] For this word see "Document III" (Fig. 30/ Page 41), note 7.

[25] The word *abadan-laǰu* is the *converbum imperfecti* in *-ǰu* of the verb *abadanla-* "to put in order." I am indebted to the Reverend Antoine MOSTAERT for this identification. In a letter dated 29 July 1948 he wrote:

"Je pense que ce que vous lisez *abadan laǰu* ne forme qu'un seul mot. Un fractionnement analogue se remarque sporadiquement dans les anciens manuscrits. Cf. aussi

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la lettre d'Öljeitü où l'on voit *čimadul čaγsan-i* pour *čimadulčaγsan-i* (ligne 26). Ne s'agit-il pas du verbe (mot d'emprunt) *abadanla-* "mettre bien en ordre, bien arranger" donné par le *Mukaddimat al-Adab*, p. 93a?"

The word is, indeed, the Persian *ābādān* + the Mongolian suffix *-la-* used to form verbs from nouns. For *ābādān* in Persian cf. STEINGASS (p. 3b): "آبادان *ābādān*, Nearly synonymous with but more emphatic than *ābād*, and never used in forming compounds; name of a city at the mouth of the Tigris." The Mongolian *abadanla-* is obviously a translation of the Persian *ābādān k(a)rd(a)n* "to make *ābādān*." Cf. STEINGASS (*ibid.*): "*ābādān kardan*, To build, cultivate, make habitable."

As for the occurrence of *abandanla-* in POPPE's Монгольский словарь, we find it registered as follows (p. 93a-b): "*abadanlaba asbabān* اسبابان آبادان‌لابه—ч. *'imar qïldï asbabnï* عمار قيلدى اسباب‌نى сделал имущество благоустроенным ['made the property well maintained'] 585 || a. *tüni* تونى—[b] ч. *'imaret qïldï anï* عمارت قيلدى انى сделал его благоустроенным ['made it well maintained'] 1026."

For an example of *ābādān* in a Persian text of the period of the Mongols cf. M. MINOVI and V. MINORSKY, *op. cit.* (p. 762 § 13, l. 9 (2) [آبادان] and p. 775 § 13), where it is rendered "cultivation" and "cultivated."

For another example of such an orthographic fracture of a word in an early text cf. the word *siγu-udquiban* in the Mongolian translation (Yüan) of the *Hsiao ching* (3b4) in the passage which reads (3b3-4): *busu kümün-i* [4] *siγu-udquiban emigegdekü̈i* "may he fear lest other people detest [him]." Examples of words which are divided because of limitation of space are also attested. Cf., e. g., *ongγača*[7]-*čina* "to the boatmen" in ll. 6-7 of the *Bičig* of Abaγa of (?) 1267 / (?) 1279 and *γasal*[13a]-*basu* in the Mongolian translation (Yüan) of the *Hsiao ching* (37b7-38a1) "if they grieve."

[26] The restoration *b*[*olγatuγa*]*i* is proposed with every reservation.

[27] The word *γarqui*, a *nomen futuri* in *-qui* of *γar-* "to go out," "to issue" is frequently used in connection with the "outlay" or "expenditure" of monies. Cf., e. g., note 44 on page 79 of "The Sino-Mongolian Inscription of 1338 in Memory of Jigüntei" in *HJAS* 14 (1951) 1-104. Cf. also the example cited in KOWALEWSKI (3.2642a): *oroqui anu γarqui-dur ülü kürülčekü* "les dépenses surpassent les revenus, la dépense excessive."

[28] The word *irtibi*, which I formerly read *irdibi*, is the Persian (< Arabic) *irtifā'* "revenue." It occurs again in "Document III" (Fig. 29), l. 6, where we find *irtibi selte* "together with *irtibi*." Cf. STEINGASS (p. 34a): "ارتفاع *irtifā'* (v. n. 8 of رفع), Elevation, exaltation, altitude; height; ascent, grandeur, prosperity; . . ."

For the identification of the word *irtibi*, I am indebted to Dr. Herbert F. SCHURMANN who, in a letter dated 22 February 1952, wrote me as follows:

"From the context, I would assume that *irdibi* must have something to do with *mülk*, i. e., property. The primary characteristic of property is its rentability. If *irdibi* meant revenue in a general or specific sense, the two phrases in which it occurs would make eminent sense. I have found in the literature one word which might be the word in question.

"Let me cite two passages: *Rašīd ad-Dīn* (ed. JAHN), p. 267: [٢٦٧, ll. 12-13—F. W. C.]: و امّا از آن ولاياتى كه حقوق و متوجّهات ديوانى آن از ارتفاعات و

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وجوه العین است. ARENDS, p. 262, translates: "Что же касается областей, в которых диванские налоги и подати причитаются с урожая и наличными деньгами . . ." In this passage a contrast is made between *irtifā'āt* (plural of *irtifā'*), and *wujūh al-'aīn*. The latter, as ARENDS indicates, means 'cash'; the former term means 'crop,' but here it rather means '[tax] in kind,' or '[revenue] in kind.'

"The word is attested in another passage of the *Rašīd ad-Dīn* (ed. JAHN), p. 264 [٢٦٤, ll. 19-20—F. W. C.]: . . . که بوقت ارتفاعات ضیفی بدهند . . . ARENDS, p. 260: ". . . что его платят во время урожая яровых, . . ."

"In ZENKER, *Türkisch-Arabisch-Persisches Wörterbuch* (Leipzig, 1866).25a-b ,we find ارتفاع محصول *irtifā'-i-maḥsūl* defined as 'enlèvement du produit, c. à d. la récolte.'

"Now, of course, *irtifā'* clashes with *irtibi*, i. e., with the final vowel. If *irtibi* < *irtifā'*, then the final vowel may be a Persian suffix in 'i.' (This would give a form ارتقای; I have seen no such form, however.)"

In his letter dated 18 November 1952 in which, quite independently, he also made the same identification as Dr. SCHURMANN, Professor W. B. HENNING explained the apparent phonological obstacle as follows:

". . . '*irdibi*' = *irtifi* may well be = *irtifā'*; for countless Arabic words with *-ā-* came to be pronounced with *ē*, later *ī*, in Persian, and so *irtifā'* may well have been pronounced *irtifī* (the *'ain* in this case would probably disappear). ارتقای (originally 'elevation') has been widely used in Persian purely with the meaning 'revenue'."

In his letter dated 5 December 1952 he further remarked:

"As regards *irtifā'*, there are countless passages quoted in DENKHODA's *Persian Thesaurus*. The meaning is not in doubt."

[29] For the word *qarǰa* see "Document II" (Fig. 28 / Page 40), note 5.

[30] Lit., "by the manner of."

[31] In PELLIOT's reproduction (Fig. 31 / Page 43), the letters *ked* of the word *kedber* are not visible, because the tatter of paper on which they are written was folded over, when the reproduction was made. As the fragment is now exhibited in the Musée de Téhéran, the letters *ked* are visible, making it perfectly clear that the word is, indeed, *kedber*.

[32] In restoring [*üüled*]*čü*, the *converbum imperfecti* in *-čü* of *üüled-* "to do," I have been guided by the fact that the words *üüles üüled-* constitute an established expression. For examples in texts in the 'Phags-pa script see note 10 above.

Document III

(Fig. 30)

[1] In *oratuγai* we have the *optativus* in *-tuγai* of *ora-* "to enter." Although the form *ora-* was later replaced by *oro-* with the labial vowel (*o*) in the second syllable, the form *ora-* is well attested in the old written language. See, e. g., *oraγsad* in line 4 of "Document III" (Fig. 29). Cf. also *oraqu* in line 7 of the Mongolian text of the Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1338. Cf. also note 44 on page 79 of "The Sino-Mongolian Inscription of 1338 in Memory of J̌igüntei" in *HJAS* 14 (1951) .1-104.

[2] On page 60 of "Steuergerechtsame der chinesischen Klöster unter der Mongolenherrschaft" [= *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der*

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Wissenschaften zu Leipzig. Philologisch-historische Klasse 92. Band, 1940, 2 Heft, 1-74 + 4 plates] by Erich HAENISCH, we find the words *e·den u ja'ura k'ed k'ed bu orotuḥayi* in the *'Phags-pa* inscription of 1351 (pages 59-60). They are translated by HAENISCH on page 64 as "Und keine Leute, wer es auch sei, sollen bei ihnen eintreten . . ."

From this it is clear that we are in the presence of an established formula, *ǰaγur-a buu oratuγai*, which, in effect, is a prohibition of intervention.

[3] The words *temečejü buu qaltuγai* constitute a formula which appears in an affirmative form in line 12 of the letter of Öljei Temür of 1408 (RAMSTEDT, "Mongolische Briefe aus Idiqut-Schähri bei Turfan" in *Sitzungsberichte d. Berl. Akad. d. Wiss.* 1909.838-848 + Taf. VI) as *temečebesü qalbasu* ". . . [or] if you quarrel [with him] [or] attack [him]."

[4] The word *murid-ud* is a plural in *-ud* of *murid* which is the Persian (< Arabic) *m(u)rīd*, registered by STEINGASS (p. 1220b) as follows: "A مريد . . . ;—*murīd*, Desirous, willing; a scholar, disciple, the obsequious follower of another; a sūfī, santon; . . ."

[5] For *šiγ-ud*, a plural in *-ud* of *šiγ*, see "Document III" (Fig. 31 / Page 42) (A), note 4.

[6] For the word *tendekin*, a plural in *-n* of *tendeki*, cf. note 58 on page 111 of "The Sino-Mongolian Inscription of 1335. . . ." To the examples there cited we may add that of *degerekin* in the Mongolian translation of the *Hsiao ching* (Yüan) (11b2): *delekei degerekin irgen* "people who are on the earth."

[7] This position of the pronoun *inu* (referring to Badaradin Abul Maqmad Maqmud), preposed instead of postposed, is not unusual in the early texts where both *inu* and *anu* are found preposed. In line 41 of the Mongolian text of the Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1335 we find *anu medelün irgen-e* "to the people of their district." Again, in the Mongolian text of the Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1338, we find *anu ordu dotor-a* "within their *ordu*" (line 5), *anu ordu-dur* "in their *ordu*" (line 8), *anu ordu dotor-a* "within their *ordu*" (line 9), and *anu balγasun-u γadana* "outside of their city" (line 10). Many examples of these pronouns in this position are found in the *Secret History*. Cf., e. g., *inu metüs-i či'ün-tür üliba* ("We have compared [the height of] those that are like him unto [that of] a linchpin.") in § 156 (*YCPS* 5.26a5), *inu ke'esü* in § 176 (*YCPS* 6.20a2) (cf. Antoine MOSTAERT, "Sur quelques passages . . .," *HJAS* 14[1951].344-345), *bida ene anu yeke üge-tür šiqan* in § 190 (*YCPS* 7.16a4-5) (cf. Antoine MOSTAERT, "Sur quelques passages . . .," *HJAS* 14[1951].362-363), *inu beye qad-iyar* in § 224 (*YCPS* 9.33a5) and *inu emčü qubi-ača* in § 224 (2) (*YCPS* 9.33b1-2; 33b5-34a1) (cf. Antoine MOSTAERT, "Sur quelques passages . . .," *HJAS* 15[1952].387, n. 244).

[8] The expression *ügeber yabu-* "to act according to the word [of someone]" is also attested in the *Secret History* § 258 (*YCPS*, Cont. 1.42a3 and 42a4-5) and § 278 (*YCPS*, Cont. 2.43b4-5). The first two examples occur in the passage which reads (41b5-42a5): *J̌oči Ča'adai* [42a] *Ögödei γurban kö'üd öčiǰü irerün čeri'üd manu bügüdba. Ürünggeči balaγasu gürba ken-ü'en üge-'er yabuqun ba ke'en öčiǰü ire'esü Činggis qahan ǰarliγ bolurun Ögödei-yü'en üge-'er yabudqun ke'eǰü ileba.* "When the three princes, J̌oči, Ča'adai, and [42a] Ögödei, sent petitioning, when they sent petitioning, saying, 'Our armies are completely assembled. We have reached the city of Ürünggeči. According to the words of whom of us shall we act?,' when Činggis

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Qahan issued an order, he sent, saying, 'Act according to the words of your [brother] Ögödei!'" The third example occurs in the passage which reads (43b3-5): *basa qahan ǰarliγ bolurun bürin noyad Elǰigidei-yi aqalaǰu Elǰigidei-yin üge-'er yabudqun ke'e'ed* . . . "Again, when the Qahan (i.e., Ögödei) issued an order, having said, 'All [ye] *noyad*, Elǰigidei being senior, act according to the words of Elǰigidei' . . ."

In these examples from the *Secret History* the form *üge-'er* may be considered the equivalent of either *ügeger* or *ügeber*, for, in either case, the initial consonant of the instrumental suffix (*-ger*~*-ber*), becoming intervocalic when the suffix is affixed to a word terminating in a vowel, would, in the system of transcription employed by the transcribers of the *Secret History*, be represented by a hiatus.

[9] Although there is a lacuna at this point in the text, the restoration *buu* is certain because of the context which consists of a series of prohibitions.

[10] The formula *busi buu bolγatuγai* is frequently encountered in the early chancellery style. It is first attested in lines 15-16 of the *Bičig* of 1272, where we find *busi buu* [16] *bolγatuγai* "Let one not cause [it] to be otherwise!" It is again attested in lines 9-10 of the letter of Öljei Temür of 1408 (Ramstedt, "Mongolische Briefe," p. 843) in the passage which reads: *mörten yostan* [= *yosutan*] *üges-i büsi buu* [10] *bolγatuγai.* "Let one not cause to be otherwise [these] words [which are] normal and customary." It is also attested in the *Secret History* § 203 (*YCPS* 8.30a5-30b1) in the passage which reads (30a5-30b1): *ken ber činu üge busi bu* [30b] *bolγatuγai.* "Let not anyone cause thy word to be otherwise!" An example in which we find the negative *ülü* with the *converbum modale* is found in line 16 of the letter of Öljeitü to Philippe le Bel, where we read: *ǰrlγ ǰasaγ-i busi ülü bolγan* "without causing the orders and ordonnances to be otherwise." We also find it in the *Secret History* § 208 (*YCPS* 8.47a2) in the passage which reads *YCPS* 8.46b5-47a3): *mono qoyina minu uruγ bidanu* [47a] *oro sa'uǰu ene metü tusa kigsen töre sedkiǰü minu üge buši ülü bolγan uruγ-un uruγ-a gürtele Ibaqa-yin oro bu tasultuγai.* "Long hereafter, when my descendants shall sit on Our [47a] throne, being mindful of the principle whereby [Jürčedei] did service like this, not making my words to be otherwise, let them not abolish the position of Ibaqa unto the descendants of the descendants." A variant of *busi* (~*buši*) *ülü bolγa-* is *busu ülü bolγa-* which is found in the *Secret History* § 278 (*YCPS*, Cont. 2.38b4) as *busu ülü bolγaγu* in the passage which reads (38b2-5): . . . *Elǰigidei itegeltü bö'etele ǰilda kebte'ül-ün dege'ün yabuγu bolun kebte'ül-e bariγdala'a ke'en ǰarliγ busu ülü bolγaγu kebte'ül itegeltü bui je ke'en ǰarliγ bolǰu* . . . "Issuing an order, saying, '. . . Elǰigidei, although he was trustworthy, adventuring in the evening to walk at the upper side of the *kebte'ül* (i.e., between the *kebte'ül* and the imperial tent), was taken by the [same] *kebte'ül*,' saying, '*Kebte'ül* which [even as those which formerly took Elǰigidei] shall not cause the order to be otherwise are trustworthy [*kebte'ül*].' . . ." In the Mongolian translation of the *Hsiao ching* (29[a]3) we find *busu ülü bolγan* in the passage which reads (29[a]2-4): *köbegüd* [3] *boluγči ečige-yin üge-yi busu ülü bolγan* [4] *daγan yabubasu ene maγ-a taqimdaγu kemegdekü.* "If those who are sons act, following the words of [their] fathers, without causing [them] to be otherwise, could this, indeed, be called filiality?"

Cf. also Mostaert and Cleaves, *op. cit.*, p. 464.

[11] For the expression *tasarub buu bolγatuγai* see "Document III" (Fig. 31), note 19.

[12] The expression *imadača ay-e* [=*ey-e*] *ügegü* literally means "without counsel from him." The implication is "without permission from him." The construction *-ača/-eče* (~*-dača/-deče*) *eye ügei* (~*üge'ü*~*ügei'ü*) is well attested in the *Secret*

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History. In § 171 (*YCPS* 6.9a5-961) we read: *Ong Qan-nača eye ügei'ü Senggüm esergü dobtulγu bolun* . . . "Senggüm, rushing against [him] without counsel (i. e., permission) from Ong Qan, . . ." In the consecutive Chinese translation (10b9) the construction *-nača eye ügei'ü* is rendered 不教他父知 (*pu chiao t'a fu chih*) "not letting his father know," a translation which removes all doubt as to the meaning of the Mongolian. In § 207 (*YCPS* 8.42a3-5) we read: *Qorči-dača eye ügei'ü hoi-yin irgen eyin teyin bu yabutuγai. eye üge'ü yabuγu-yi ya'u sa'araγdaγu ke'en jarliγ bolba.* "He (i. e., Činggis Qahan) issued an order, saying, 'Let the People of the Forest not act (lit., "go") in this manner or in that manner without counsel (i. e., permission) from Qorči. Why [on the part of Qorči] should there be any doubt as to [the manner in which he should treat] him who acts (lit., "goes") without [his] counsel (i. e., permission)?'" In § 210 (*YCPS* 9.4a3-4) we read: . . . *Funan Kökö Čos qoyar-ača eye üge'ü bu üyiledkün.* ". . . act not without counsel (i. e., permission) from both Funan and Kökö Čos . . ." In § 227 (*YCPS* 9.43a3-5) we read: *keši'üd-ün ötögüs aqalaγdaba ele ke'en sača'un oroγsad minu kešigten-i nadača eye ügei bu hončidudqun.* "Elders of the *keši'üd* (i. e., guards), saying [to yourselves], 'They have been surpassed [by us] in seniority,' do not reprimand without counsel (i. e., permission) from me my *kešigten* who have enrolled (lit., 'entered') [in my guard] equal [to you]." In § 232 (*YCPS* 10.5a3-5) we read: *qorčin umdan ide'en tüke'erün daruγalaγsad kebte'ül-eče eye ügei bu tüketügei.* "When the quiver bearers distribute drink and food, let them not distribute [them] without counsel (i. e., permission) from the *kebte'ül* who are (lit., 'have been') *daruγa* ('chiefs') [of the distribution of drink and food]." In § 278 (*YCPS*, Cont. 2.45a5-45b3) we read: *basa* [45b] *keši'üd-ün ötögüs sača'un oroγsad minu kešigtü-yi bidan-ača eye ügei aqalaγdaba ele ke'en bu onjituγai je.* "Again, let the elders of [45b] the *keši'üd*, saying, 'They have been surpassed in seniority [by us],' not punish, without counsel (i. e., permission) from Us, My *kešigtü* which shall have enrolled (lit., 'entered') [in my guard] equal [to them]."

We also find in the *Secret History* the construction *-tur/-tür eye ügei* (~*üge'ü*) with the same meaning. In § 227 (*YCPS* 9.42a3-5) we read: *basa mün gü'ün beye qad ebečin ügei kešig-ün noyad-tur eye üge'ü basa mün kešigtü γurban-ta kešig ho'ara'asu* . . . "Again the same man, without [his] body being sick and without [prior] consultation with (i. e., permission from) the *noyad* of the *kešig*, if again the same [man] of the *kesig* thrice omit [his] tour [of duty], . . ." (Cf. Antoine Mostaert, "Sur quelques passages . . . ," *HJAS* 15[1952].372.) In § 278 (*YCPS*, Cont. 2.44a4-44b1) we read: *basa mün gü'ün ebedčin šilta'a ügei kešig-ün ötögü-tür eye ügei γuta'ar-ta kešig ho'ara'asu* [44b] *bidan-tur yabuqui-yan berkešiyen aǰu'u.* "If, again, the same man, without sickness or reason and without consultation with (i. e., permission from) the 'elder' of the *kešig*, a third time, omit [his] tour [of duty], [it is a sign that] he regards his serving [44b] Us as [too] hard." (Cf. A. Mostaert, *op. cit.*, p. 371.)

[13] For *mengü* cf. the Monguor "*miäŋgu* "argent". Cf. vocab. de Leide *mengü*, širongol (S. t. et O. i. p.), šera-yögur (Pot.) *mengu*, san tch'ouan *miengo*, dah. *meŋgu*, ma. *meŋgun*, mo. *mönggün*, ord. *muŋgu* id." (A. de Smedt and A. Mostaert, *Dictionnaire monguor français*, p. 235). In the Mongolian text of the Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1338 we find *menggü sükes* (l. 25) and *menggü süke* (ll. 26 and 29). Cf. also note 118 on page 96 of "The Sino-Mongolian Inscription of 1338. . . ." From these forms it is clear that we have *mengü* ~ *menggü* (~*mönggü*).

[14] For the word *badman* cf. the note by F. W. K. M[üller] on page 847 of

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RAMSTEDT's "Mongolische Briefe." The word appears in line 11 of the letter of Yisün Temür on page 841 in the phrase *qoyar* [11] *badman künesün* "two *badman* of *künesün*." Cf. also W. KOTWICZ, "Contributions aux études altaïques A-B" in *Collectanea Orientalia* 2 (Wilno, 1932).31. Cf. also F. W. K. MÜLLER, *OZ* 8 (1919-1920).320 and W. FUCHS, *MS* 11 (1946).55 and note 78. The words *niken batman* are attested in POPPE's Монгольский словарь, p. 251a: "*n. batman* باطمن —ч. *b. batman* بطمن один батман 248" ["one *batman*"]. Cf. also *ibid.*, p. 433b, in the "Список монгольских слов из глоссария Ибн-Муханны" ["List of Mongolian Words from the Glossary of Ibn-Muḥanna"]: "*batma[n]* بطما вес около двух фунтов 220 [weight of about two pounds]." Cf. also the Monguor "*barma* "balance, livre (poids)." Cf. *Houa i i iu* (I, f. 11 recto) *badman* "balance", turc m. *batman* "Gewicht"." (A. DE SMEDT and A. MOSTAERT, *op. cit.*, p. 22).

Cf. also MOSTAERT and CLEAVES, *op. cit.*, p. 444, n. 31.

[15] The word *tariγan*, which later becomes *tariyan* (i.e., *-iγa-* > *-iya-*), is attested again in the plural (*tariγad*) in line 6 below. For *-iγa-* / *-ige-* > *-iya-* /*-iye-* cf. N. POPPE, "Beiträge zur Kenntnis der altmongolischen Schriftsprache," *AM* 1 (1924). 670-671 (pp. 670-671).

[16] The word *čerigüd* is the plural in *-üd* of *čerig* "soldier" to which QUATREMÈRE devoted note 177 on page 380 of his *Histoire des Mongols*.

[17] For a discussion of the word *ilčin*, a plural in *-n* of *ilči* (~*elči*), the usual orthography of this word in the Mongolian documents from Iran, cf. MOSTAERT and CLEAVES, *op. cit.*, p. 461.

For the abuses and malpractices of the *ilčin* who took advantage of their official status in the time of Ṛasan cf. D'OHSSON, *op. cit.*, 4.404-409.

[18] For the orthography *bölg* (= **böleg* > *bölög*) cf. *bulγ* (= *bulaγ*) in line 50 of the Mongolian text of the Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1362. Cf. also *ǰrlγ*, the constant orthography for *ǰarliγ* in all of the early texts in the Uighur script. The word *bölög* is registered in KOWALEWSKI (2.1237a) with the meanings: "section, peloton, détachement: ²chapitre ou section (d'un livre)." For the Turkish *bölük*, cf. A. VON GABAIN, *Alttürkische Grammatik* (Leipzig, 1941), p. 304b: "*bölük* Abschnitt, Teil | kısım" and C. BROCKELMANN, *Mitteltürkischer Wortschatz* [= Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica I] (Budapest-Leipzig, 1928), p. 41: "*bölük* (R. IV, 1701) Herde I, 322, 12."

The use of *bölg* (= **böleg*) in this text is identical with that attested in the *Secret History* in the following passages: § 5 (*YCPS* 1.3b4) *niken bölög irgen* which is glossed 一叢百姓 ("a band of people") (*ibid.*) and translated the same way (*ibid.* 4a1-2); § 8 (*YCPS* 1.5a3) *tede bölög* (instead of *börög* as in The Commercial Press edition) *irgen* which is glossed 那 | | | ("that band of people") (*ibid.*) and translated the same way (*ibid.* 4b3); and § 28 (*YCPS* 1.17b1) *bölög irgen* which is glossed | | | ("band of people") (*ibid.*), but translated — | | | ("a band of people") (*ibid.* 17b5). Two of the above examples (§§ 5 and 28) are registered in HAENISCH's *Wörterbuch* (p. 17), where the entry "bolek" is, in HAENISCH's system of transcription, an error for "bolok."

From these examples it is clear that the word ***bölög*** was used as a numerary adjunct for bands or groups of people. Such a usage is also attested in the example *nigen bölög qudaldučin* "troupe de marchands, une partie de la caravane" cited by KOWALEWSKI (*ibid.*). This also is the use of the word in the present text: *bölg sibaγučin*

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barsučin "bands of those who hunt with falcons and of those who hunt with cheetahs."

[19] The word *sibaγučin* is a plural in *-n* of *sibaγuči*, a word derived from *sibaγu(n)* "bird," "falcon" by means of the suffix *-či* serving to form *nomina actoris*. Although I translate *sibaγučin* "those who hunt with falcons" the word designated, in the first instance, the "falconer." Cf., e. g., p. 262 of Paul PELLIOT's article, "Les mots mongols dans le 高麗史 *Korye să*" in *JA* 217 (1930) 253-266:

"34° 時波赤 *che-po-tch'e* = mo. *šibōči* (< *šibaγuči*) 'fauconnier'; cf. *T'oung Pao*, 1904, 431."

On page 223 of his article Монгольское *ongniγud*—феодальный термин и племенное название ("*Ongniγud*—titre mongol féodal et nom d'une tribu") in Доклады Академии Наук СССР 1930 (*Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Sciences de l'URSS*) 218-223, B. Ya. VLADIMIRCOV cites from the text of the Ordos chronicler, Saγang Sečen, the clan name:

"*Sibaγučin* (S. s. 184, 206) 'название монгольского поколения, входящего по словам историка Gombojab'a в южномонгольский аймак Auχan'; [4] < *sibaγu(n)* 'птица' + суфф. *čin*—'сокольник'.[5]

[4] *Gangga-yin urusχal*, f. 43 v.

[5] Ср. Палладий. Комментарий на путешествие Марко Поло, стр. 43.

["*Sibaγučin* (S. s. 184, 206) 'The denomination of the Mongolian line which entered, according to the words of the historian Gombojab into the South-Mongolian aïmak *Auχan*'; [4] < *sibaγu(n)* 'bird' + the suff. *čin*—'falconer'.[5]

[4] *Gangga-yin urusχal*, f. 43 v.

[5] Cf. Palladiĭ, 'Commentaries on the Journey of Marco Polo,' p. 43.'"]

On page 25 of his "Ordosica" in *Bulletin No. 9 of the Catholic University of Peking* (November 1934) 1-96 Antoine MOSTAERT listed the "*šiwǖ'tš'in*" (no. 159) as one of the Ordos clans. On pages 44-45 (no. 159) he remarked:

"*šiwǖ'tš'in*. De *šiwǖ* "oiseau", ici "faucon"; cf. mo. *sibaγun* "oiseau", *Houa i i iu*, IIb, f. 5, verso: *šiba'ud* "faucons", *Histoire secrète des Mongols*, I, f. 34, recto: *šiba'ula-* "chasser au faucon". Cet ancien nom de charge de cour est mentionné dans le *Iuan cheu*: *šiba'uči* "ceux qui s'occupent de ce qui concerne les faucons" (49). Devenu plus tard nom de clan, il [45] est mentionné par Sanang Setsen (édit. de Schmidt, p. 184) sous la forme de *sibaγučin*. *sibaγučin* est aussi le nom d'un des clans formant à présent la bannière d'Aukhan (confédération de *juu uda*). Ceci d'après l'historien Gombojab cité par B. Vladimircov dans son *Mongol'skoe ongniγud* etc. p. 223. Voir aussi No. 99."

[20] The word *barsučin* is a plural in *-n* of **barsuči*, a word derived from *bars* "cheetah" by means of the suffix *-či* serving to form *nomina actoris*. For the epenthetic *-u-* vowel, cf. MOSTAERT and CLEAVES, *op. cit.*, p. 438, where with reference to the word *jamučin* in line 6 of the *Bičig* of Abaγa of (?) 1267 / (?) 1279, it is remarked: "Le mot *jamučin* est un pluriel de *jamuči*. Ce dernier mot est dérivé de *jam* "relais de poste" au moyen du suffixe *-či* servant à former des nomina actoris. La voyelle *-u-* est une voyelle épenthétique, tout comme dans les mots *barsučin* (*bars* "tigre" +

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-čin) "chasseurs au tigre (? au guépard)" d'un des documents mongols du Musée de Téhéran (Pelliot, fig. 30, Doc. III, l. 5), *nuntuγuči* (*nuntuγ* "campement" + *-či*) "officier qui s'occupe de l'installation d'un campement" du *Bičig* de 1272, l. 39[23]. *Jamučin* est la forme même que nous lisons dans l'*Hist. secrète*, §§ 279 (12.49a3), 280 (12.53b1), où le mot est glosé "gens desservant les relais postaux"[24]. Le mot *jamuči* "quelqu'un qui est attaché au service d'un relais postal" correspond à *jamči* "guide, conducteur" (Kowalewski, 2294b) du mongol moderne, où le vocable *jam* "relais postal" a pris le sens de "route, chemin".

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[23] Pour ce dernier mot, cf. *Hist. secr.*, § 279 (12.48b1) *nuntu'učin*, glosé 管營盤的 *kouan ing p'an ti* "officers qui s'occupent de l'installation des campements".

La voyelle épenthétique *-u-* (*-ü-*) est devenue une longue dans la formation plurielle *-ų̄'tš'in*, *-ū'tš'in* qu'on entend en quelques mots ordos. P. ex. *χorimų̄'tš'in* "gens invités à une noce", de *χorim* "noce" (Mostaert, *Dict. ord.*, 359a); *nūɒelū'tš'in* "gens qui avec tout leur avoir sont en route pour aller s'établir à un autre endroit", de *nūɒel* "action de déménager" (*op. cit.*, 503a).

[24] Le mot *jamuči* a aussi servi de nom individuel. Voir l'inscription de 1362, l. 38 (F. W. Cleaves, *Sino-Mongolian inscr.* of 1362, pp. 66; 122, n. 185).

Dans les sources chinoises le service des relais postaux lui-même est désigné par le terme 站赤 *tchan tch'eu* (< *jamči* = *jamuči* "gens desservant les relais postaux"). De même dans le *Korye să*. Voir Pelliot, *op. cit.*, p. 264."

The Turkish form *barsči* is registered on page 402b of Poppe's Монгольское словарь. In note 31 on page 163 of his *Histoire des Mongols de la Perse écrite en persan par Raschid-eldin*, Quatremère cites the following examples of this Turkish loan-word in Persian: "On lit dans le *Tarikhi-Wassaf* (fol. 320*v*): رسوع قو شجیان و پارسجیان « Les gages des fauconniers et des gardiens des panthères.» Dans l'Histoire de Raschid-eldin (fol. 441 *recto*) on trouve ces mots: قو شجیان و پارسجیان در و لایت جانور کرفتند « Les fauconniers et les gardiens des panthères s'occupaient dans cette contrée a chasser les animaux sauvages.» Les mêmes renseignements se trouvent dans le *Habib-alsiiar* de Khondémir, t. III, f. 56 *v*."

It is interesting to find the two words *qūšǰīān* [= *qūščīān*] (i. e., the Turkish *quščі* + the Persian plural suffix *-ān*) "fauconniers" and *pārsǰīān* [= *bārsčīān*] (i. e., the Turkish *barsči* + the Persian plural suffix *-ān*) "gardiens des panthères" in juxtaposition in these texts just as we find the words *sibaγučin barsučin* in juxtaposition in this fragment.

For the abuses and malpractices of the *qūščīān* and *bārsčīān* who took advantage of their official status in the time of Ṛasan cf. d'Ohsson, *op. cit.* 4.440-445.

[21] The word *dabariqun* is a *nomen futuri* in *-qun* (plural of *-qu*) of *dabari-* "to pass, to pass by, to pass through." The word is attested in the *Secret History* as *da'ari-*. Cf. E. Haenisch, *Wörterbuch zu Monghol un Niuca Tobca'an*, p. 30.

In the commentary on the word *dabariγdaγsad* in line 8 of the *Bičig* of Abaγa of (?) 1267 / (?) 1279, Mostaert and Cleaves, *op. cit.*, p. 400, remarked:

"*Dabariγda-* "être rencontré". Passif de *dabari-* "passer par", mot que nos dictionnaires ignorent, mais qui se lit dans un des documents mongols du Musée de Téhéran publiés par Pelliot: *dabariqun mongγol čerigüd* "les soldats mongols qui

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sont de passage" (fig. 30, Doc. III, l. 4). Cf. Kalm. *däwɣχə* "vorbei od. durch etwas (akk.) gehen, vorbeiziehen" (Ramstedt, *Kalm. Wörterb.*, 82b). Dans son article *Zur Verbstammbildungslehre der mong.-türk. Sprachen*, p. 25, Ramstedt cite le mot *dabari-* "über etwas fahren, auf etwas stossen, überfallen". Le mot *dabariγda-* se rencontre à plusieurs reprises dans le manuscrit sur écorce de bouleau découvert en Russie en 1931, et déchiffré et traduit par M. N. Poppe dans *Zolotoordynskaya rukopis' na bereste.* P. ex., p. 102, l. 1-2, *emgeg jobalang-dur bu[u]* [2] *dabariγda* "ne sois pas atteint (m. à m. "rencontré") par la maladie ou la souffrance!". *Dabari-* est un doublet de *daγari-* "donner contre; passer, traverser, rencontrer, entrer en passant, passer chez" (Kowalewski, 1582b). Pour ce dernier mot, cf. ord. DĀRI- "passer par, entrer en passant, atteindre ou heurter en passant, frapper (maladie, malheur)" (Mostaert, *Dict. ord.*, 122a); kalm. *dārχə* "treffen, anstossen; eintreffen" (Ramstedt, *Kalm. Wörterb.*, 83ab). Pour *dabari-~daγari-*, cf. mo. *debel~degel* "touloupe", *kebeli~kegeli* "ventre", etc. Voir G. J. Ramstedt, *Zur Geschichte des labialen Spiranten im Mongolischen.*"

[22] For the expression *küčü buu kürgetügei* see "Document II," note 12.

[23] For the expression *yaγud kedi*, accusative in *-i* of *yaγud ked* "effects," cf. "The Sino-Mongolian Inscription of 1335 . . . ," pp. 116-117, n. 107. Cf. also MOSTAERT and CLEAVES, *op. cit.*, pp. 444-445.

[24] The sentence *yaγud kedi anu buliǰu tataǰu buu abtuγai* was first cited and translated "Let them not take their effects by robbing and expropriating" in note 107 on page 116 of "The Sino-Mongolian Inscription of 1335. . . ." MOSTAERT and CLEAVES, *op. cit.*, p. 444, however, rendered it "qu'on n'enlève de force ni ne confisque leurs effets," with reference to the words *yaγud kedtür anu küčü buu kürgetügei* in lines 11-12 of the *Bičig* of Abaγa of (?)1267/(?)1279, in the commentary which reads:

"*Yaγud kedtür anu küčü buu kürgetügei* "Qu'on n'use pas de violence en ce qui concerne leurs effets [pour s'en emparer]", c'est-à-dire "Qu'on n'enlève pas de force leurs effets". Pour l'expression *yaγud ked* "effets", voir F. W. Cleaves, *Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1335*, p. 116, n. 107. On peut rapprocher la formule *yaγud kedtür anu küčü buu kürgetügei* d'une autre qui, familière aux chancelleries mongoles, tant de Perse que de Chine, se retrouve plus ou moins littéralement dans nombre de textes de l'époque. En voici quelques exemples (dont nous donnons notre propre traduction): *kedber bolǰu küčü buu kürgetügei; yaγud kedi anu buliǰu tataǰu buu abtuγai* "Que n'importe qui ne [les] violente, qu'on n'enlève de force ni ne confisque leurs effets" (Pelliot, *Doc. mongols*, fig. 30, Doc. III, l. 5-6); *ya·u k'e anu buliǰu t'at'aǰu bu abt'uqayi* "qu'on n'enlève de force, ni ne confisque leurs effets" (Poppe, *Kvadratnaya pis'mennost'*, p. 60, l. 16-17; Lewicki, *Inscriptions mongoles*, p. 18);[32] *k'ed k'ed ber bolǰu k'ucu bu k'urgetugei; ya'ud k'ed i 'anu buliǰu tataǰu bu 'abtuhayi* "que n'importe qui ne les violente; qu'on n'enlève de force ni ne confisque leurs effets". E. Haenisch, *Steuergerechtsame*, inscr. II, p. 60, l. 28);[33] *ya'ud khäǰi* (= *khädi*) *anu khäd bär bolǰu buliǰu thathaǰu bu abthukhayi* "que n'importe qui n'enlève de force ni ne confisque leurs effets" (Pelliot, *Un rescrit mongol en écriture* "'phags-pa", l. 26-27)."

[25] The word *egdegültügei* is an *optativus* in *-tügei* (third person) of a verb *egdegül-*, which unquestionably is the *causativus* in *-gül-* of a verb *egde-* (*?egte-*) not registered in any of our dictionaries.

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This, however, is not the only text in which the word is attested. It is also found in one of the Turfan documents discovered by the von Le Coq Mission to Central Asia. Professor Erich Haenisch, who plans to publish these documents in the near future, has very kindly granted me permission to cite from that which is designated as T II D33. In a letter dated 10 April 1953 he wrote: "Ihre Zitierung nehmen Sie ruhig vor (*egdegültügei*). Ich habe mit Prof. H. korrespondiert. Es steht nichts im Wege." I shall do so by quoting a paragraph from a letter of the Reverend Antoine Mostaert dated 6 March 1952 in which, in reply to a letter from me, he very kindly communicated the following remarks on the word *egde-* and *egdegül-* in the T II D33 text:

"Pour ce qui regarde le mot *egde-*, je ne saurais dire quelle en est la signification précise, . . . mais ce qui est certain c'est que les expressions, recto l. 7 et 13, *činada egdegüljüi* . . . et, verso l. 5, *čina egdejü* signifient respectivement: "on a laissé manger par les loups" et "les loups ont mangé", donc la même chose que *činada idegüljüi* et *čina idejü*. On voit que *egde-* (*?egte-*) est un verbe transitif . . ."

In another letter dated 5 February 1953, the Reverend Antoine Mostaert further remarked:

". . . Ce mot *egde-* (*?egte-*), bien que le sens doive en être "manger", est peut-être une espèce de mot du style élevé, plus poli que *ide-*. Les *aduγučin* ont une crainte superstitieuse du loup, qui dévore souvent les poulains, et il est possible qu'au lieu de dire *ide-*, ils se soient servis d'un terme plus relevé: *egde-* (*?egte-*). Mais ceci, évidemment, n'est qu'une supposition."

It seems entirely reasonable, therefore, to assume that the word *egdegültügei* in our text means "let them cause (i. e., allow) them to eat." In other words, let the people in question have their cereals for their own consumption instead of handing them over to those passing through on government business.

[26] The word *tariγad* is a plural in *-d* of *tariγan* (see line 3 above). With the word (*?*) *bijadi* which follows, it forms a compound *tariγad* (*?*) *bijadi*, the *-i* being the accusative suffix. For a comparable example (not registered in Kowalewski) of *tariyan* (< *tariγan*) compounded with another word cf. *tariyan tömösün* in lines 6 and 17 on page 26 of Saγang Sečen's chronicle (I. J. Schmidt, *Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen und ihres Fürstenhauses*). Schmidt rendered the compound "Getreide und Früchte" (*op. cit.*, p. 27, ll. 6 and 16). Cf. also *tariy-a tömösü* "cereals" (lit., "grain-crops") in line 4 on page 6 and in line 2 on page 18 of Žamcarano's *Darqad. Köbsügül naγur-un Uriyangqai*, etc. Cf. also the Ordos "*tömösш* céréales, grains | *t'arā t'ömösш* les moissons, les céréales; . . ." (Antoine Mostaert, *Dict. ordos* 2.674b). Cf. also the compound *t'ariyan t'o·*[*o*]*su*[*n*] in line 12 of "Text XIII" on pages 87 and 89 of N. N. Poppe's Квадратная письменность. In note 187 on pages 140-141 he observed:

187. «Хлеба»—*t'ariyan t'o·*[*o*]*sun*. Место это прежними исследователями было совершенно не понято. Перевод этого места у Huth'a и у Левицкого неправилен. Последний переводит эти слова как «зерна и пыль» (op. cit., p. 59). Между тем смысл здесь не позволяет так переводить: «да исполнятся во время ветер, дождь, хлеба и пыль!» Это выглядит несколько странно. В самом деле здесь речь идет не о пыли. В языке монгольской письменности существует *toγosun* как парное к *tariyan* 'хлеб': напр., оно встречается на стр. 1 уланбаторского издания Бигармиджида (1923), где сказано: *tariyan toγosun elbeg γarču* 'хлеба произрастали в изобилии'. У алар-

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[141]ских бурят словом *tōhŏŋ* называется особый род сорняков, растущих среди хлеба. Итак, *t'ariyan t'o·osun* означает « хлеба ».

[187. "Cereals"—*t'ariyan t'o·*[*o*]*sun* [*sic*]. This passage was completely misunderstood by previous investigators. The translation of this passage by Huth and by Lewicki is incorrect. The latter translates these words as "grains and dust" (*op. cit.*, p. 59). Meanwhile the thought here does not allow [us] so to translate: "Let be fulfilled in time wind, rain, cereals and dust!" This looks somewhat strange. In very fact it is not a question of dust here. In the language of the Mongolian literature *toγosun* exists as one of a pair with *tariyan* 'cereal': e. g., it is found on p. 1 of the Ulān Bātur edition of Bigarmidžid (1923), where it is said: *tariyan toγosun elbeg γarču* 'the cereals have grown and have become abundant.' Among the Alar [141] Buriats a particular kind of weeds growing among cereals is called by the word *tōhŏŋ*. And so, *t'ariyan t'o·osun* designates "cereals."]

[27] This is one of the most perplexing words in "Document III." Although it is quite legible, it is, in the first place, difficult to determine whether it should be read *biǰadi* or *biradi*, the *-ǰ-* and *-r-* being written very much alike in these documents. In the second place, it is difficult to find a word with which it might be identified.

Having found nothing in Mongolian or Turkish which seemed to satisfy, I turned to Professor W. B. Henning in a letter dated 1 December 1952 in which I requested his opinion on the Persian word *biǰasāk* "farrier; corn-dealer" (Steingass, p. 156a) as a possible clue to the identification.

In his kind reply, dated 5 December 1952, Professor Henning wrote, in part:

"What we need, I should think, is a word meaning more or less the same as *tariγan*, something like seed corn or perhaps seedlings. It is a pity, now, that the reading itself is in doubt. The word one would expect is *bazr* (originally *baδr*): can one read *bzr'ty*? If so, one would still have the trouble of the omission of the vowel; and the further trouble of an analogical Mongolian plural ending, created to make a perfect pair with *tariγad*; but on the other hand we should have the comfort of securing precisely the right word: for *bazr* is both seed corn and seedling (growing corn). [N. B. No recourse should be had to *bazra(h)*, which means 'a single seed corn' and has no plural other than *bazr*.]—If however you cannot agree to *bz-*, and prefer *by-*, there is no word beginning with *byr-* of suitable meaning, but there is, in a manner of speaking, one beginning with *byč-*, namely *bīǰe* "seedling', see Wollaston, *Engl. Pers. Dict.*, s. v. One might think that it would be eminently suitable. But unfortunately it is very doubtful if that word existed at so early a date. Its existence in modern times is guaranteed by Wollaston, who is eminently reliable (but whether it is merely a local word is not clear); plainly it is based on a loan word from Hindustani *bīǰ* 'seed' (= Skt. *bīja*). Although the word as far as I know is never mentioned in literature, it *may* have existed in popular speech; I doubt it.—I hope you will be able to decide the question: everything depends on the actual letters.—بجساک, as already stated by Vullers, is a misreading of بجشک; it derives from the worst-ever Persian dictionary, the *Farhang-i Šu'ūrī*, which is unhappily incorporated in Steingass's horror."

Although I believe that it is impossible to read *bzrad*, I do think that, whatever the word may be, *biǰad* or *birad*, and whatever its origin, it unquestionably stands in the same relationship to *tariγad* as *tömösü* and *toγosun* to *tariy-a* in the examples cited in note 26 above.

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[28] This is the word *bügetele* in line 1 of "Document III" (Fig. 29). (See note 32 below.)

[29] The word *büküni* seems to be the accusative in *-i* of the plural form of the *nomen futuri* in *-kün* of the verb *bü-* "to be." It is, at the same time, the subject of *ögteged* (see note 32 below). For the subject of a verb which is not finite to be in the accusative is by no means extraordinary, even when this verb is in the passive. Cf., e. g., the words *J̌oči Darmala adu'u-ban de'ermedčü odtaǰu* . . . in § 128 of the *Secret History*. Literally rendered they mean: "J̌oči Darmala, his herd, one stealing [it], suffering the action of going away, . . ." In a more readable translation we may say: "J̌oči Darmala's herd being stolen . . ." For another example cf. § 246: *ami-yan beye selte abču oddaba* "et sa vie, ensemble avec son corps, a été emportée" (Antoine MOSTAERT, "Sur quelques passages . . . ," *HJAS* 15[1952].304).

Examples of this form are attested in the *Secret History*. Cf. e. g., § 124 (*YCPS* 3.47b1), where we read:

qara keri'e bolǰu
γada'un bügün-i
qarmaldusu
"Becoming a black crow,
I shall collect
Those that are outside."

Cf. also § 154 (*YCPS* 5.21a3), where we read: *eye baratala γadana bügün-i ǰasatuγai.* "Let him marshall those that are outside until we finish counsel."

[30] The word *suwra* is the Persian *s(u)fr(a)h*. For this identification I am indebted to Professor W. B. HENNING who, in a letter dated 5 December 1952, remarked:

"To come now to . . . *suwra*. The latter is certainly Persian *sufre*, originally and properly 'the leather cloth from which one eats', but also (and so here) the 'free table' which a king or rich man offers to his subjects or travellers: such a free table is customarily offered also by pious institutions of the kind with which your document is concerned. ('Mense' with the capital letter may be suitable for the translation.)"

Cf. also STEINGASS (p. 685a): "سفره *sufra*, Anything on or in which victuals are placed; the wallet of a religious mendicant; provisions prepared by men of hospitality for strangers, travellers, and the poor; . . ."

[31] For *qaγas-a* see "Document III" (Fig. 30 / Page 41) (A), note 11.

[32] The word *ögteged* is the *converbum perfecti* in *-ged* of the *passivus* in *-te-* of *ög-* "to give."

The use of the auxiliary verb *bü-* in conjunction with a verb of which the form is a *converbum perfecti* is by no means unusual. We have, for example, already encountered the words *kemegülüged bürün* in line 5 of "Document II" (Fig. 28 / Page 40) and we shall encounter them again in line 13 of "Document III" (Fig. 29). For another good example cf. the *Secret History* § 203 (*YCPS* 8.27b2) in the passage which reads (27a5-27b2): *güreged-lu'a niken-e—basa Činggis qahan ǰarliγ* [27b] *bolurun—ede neredügsed yeren tabun minγad-un noyad-i minγan tüši'ed bürün* . . . "When, together with the *güreged* ('sons-in-law'),—when again Činggis Qahan [27b] issued an order—he had appointed (lit., 'when he was having appointed') to a chiliarchy [each of] these ninety-five thousand chiliarchs which he had named, . . ."

[33] For *ǰugiyer* see "Document II," note 13.

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Document III

(Fig. 29)

[1] The word *tusqu* is registered in KOWALEWSKI (3.1832b) with the definitions "une coupe, un gobelet que l'on présente à ceux qui viennent visiter les nouveaux mariés." No example of its occurrence in a text is cited. The word is attested, however, in at least two living dialects. On page 68 of their *Dictionnaire monguor-français* A. DE SMEDT and A. MOSTAERT registered the word "DUSQU "coupe qu'on présente aux invités à un festin nuptial". Cf. mo. *tusqu* id. *dusqu wari-* "présenter la coupe aux invités"." On page 403b of his *Kalmückisches Wörterbuch* G. J. RAMSTEDT registered the word as follows: "[2]*tosχ^{b}* willkommsbecher, willkommstrunk, toast; becher, schale. [**tos-qa** gl. tü. *tostaγan* > r. стаканъ; mo. > ma. *tusχu*]." (RAMSTEDT's "**tos-qa**" appears to be a theoretical restitution to explain the Kalmuck form *tosχ^{b}* instead of which one would expect **tusχ^{u}*.)

The Mongolian *tusqu*, in my opinion, is the Turkish *tuzγu*, which C. BROCKELMANN registered on page 221 of his *Mitteltürkischer Wortschatz* as follows: "*tuzγu* Gastgeschenk I, 351, 2 (AM I, 39, 6); 355, 5."

For the form *tuska* in the First Novgorodian Chronicle cf. George VERNADSKY, *The Mongols and Russia* (New Haven, 1953) [= A History of Russia: Volume III], pp. 220 and 221.

This word is attested in both Persian and Armenian sources of the Mongolian Period. In note 24 on pages 144-145 of his *Histoire des Mongols de la Perse*, [E.] QUATREMÈRE commented on the word ترتيب ([?]*t(u)rtīb*) in line 15 on page 144 as follows:

[24] Je crois devoir lire تزقو ou plutôt تُزْغو, quoique dans ce passage et dans beaucoup d'autres le mot soit écrit تـرغـو; mais je m'en rapporte principalement au manuscrit du *Zafer-nameh* qui m'appartient, et qui est en général fort exact. Dans un passage du *Tarikhi-Wassaf*, on lit تُرغو ou plutôt تزغو. La signification de ce mot ne saurait être douteuse. Le passage que je viens d'indiquer (manuscrit, fol. 57 *recto*) est ainsi conçu: از بخارا ترغوي ونزلی لشکر پادشاهرا مدد میتوانـد داد « On peut, de la ville de Bokhara, secourir l'armée du roi, en lui fournissant des vivres et des provisions.» Dans le *Djihan-kuschaï* (fol. 32 *v.*): ترغوی و نزلی بداد « Il donna des vivres et des provisions.» Plus bas (fol. 47 *verso*): نرل آرندکه آنرا ترغو گویند « Ils apporteront des provisions que l'on désigne par le mot de تزغو.» Et enfin (fol. 148 *recto*): ترغو داشتند و جشن کردند « Ils avaient des vivres et célébrèrent une fête.» Dans l'Histoire de Raschid-eldin (f. 140): بـا ترغو و نزول باستقبال فرستادند « Ils les envoyèrent à la rencontre avec des provisions et des vivres.» Fol. 296 *recto* et 306 *recto*: باستقبال بیرون آمد با ترغو و پیشـکش « Il sortit à sa rencontre avec des vivres et des présents.» Ailleurs (fol. 296 *v.*): ترغو بخورد « Il mangea les vivres.» Fol. 344: ساوری و علوفه و ترغو ترتیب نکرده بودند « Ils n'avaient point disposé les présents, le fourrage et les vivres.»

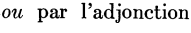
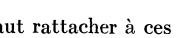
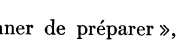
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Dans le *Zafer-nameh* (fol. 119 et 203 *verso*): بترتیب تزغو و ساوری قیام نمود « Il s'occupa de disposer les vivres et les présents.» Plus bas (*ibid.* f. 209 *v.*): مهیّا شده تزغو و ساوری « Les vivres et les dons étaient préparés.» Enfin Abou'lfaradj (*Hist. dynast.* t. I, p. 447) s'exprime ainsi: الترغو ای الماکل و المشرب « Le *turgou*, c'est-à-dire la nourriture et la boisson.»

From the Turkish and Mongolian forms, *tuzγu* and *tusqu* respectively, it is clear that the orthography ترغو (*t[u]rγū*) in these citations is an error for تزغو (*t[u]zγū*). (The same correction must be made elsewhere in the Persian text of QUATREMÈRE's *Histoire*. Thus, for example, the orthography in line 3 on page 182 must be corrected to تزغو.)

The word تزغو (*t[u]zγū*) appears twice in line 1 on page 50 (٥٠) of E. BLOCHET's edition of the *Djami el-Tévarikh, Histoire générale du monde par Fadl Allah Rashid ed-Din, Tarikh-i Moubarek-i Ghazani, Histoire des Mongols,* Tome II, *Contenant l'histoire des empereurs mongols successeurs de Tchinkkiz Khaghan* (Leyden-London 1911).

On page 27 of his "Appendice" BLOCHET commented on *t(u)zγū bālīq* as follows:

Page ٥٠, ligne 1. تزغو بالیق; la glose indique assez que c'était une habitation où le khaghan allait se livrer aux divertissements de la table; تزغو désigne tout ce qui se mange, et les meilleurs manuscrits ponctuent تزغو avec ذ. Telle est la vraie leçon, qui a été adoptée par Quatremère, et qu'on trouve dans la chronique de Wassaf, dont le lexique l'interprète par نزل « les mets que l'on sert à un hôte qui arrive ». تزغو est sans aucun doute le mongol  *touskhou*, qui a été emprunté sous cette même forme par le mandchou, et qui est expliqué dans les dictionnaires par « la coupe, la tasse que l'on présente aux personnes qui viennent rendre une visite à de nouveaux mariés ».  *toskhoughour* et  *toskhour*, dérivé de *touskhou* par l'adjonction du suffixe *-ghour*, signifient « un plateau, une soucoupe », et il faut rattacher à ces mots le dénominatif  *toskho-ghoulkhou* « ordonner de préparer », qui renvoie à un verbe primitif *toskhokhou* « préparer », dénominatif de *touskhou*, qui se trouve transcrit en lettres arabes sous la forme تزغو.

We must suppress the concluding statement of BLOCHET's note, i.e., the words "et il faut rattacher . . . sous la forme تزغو," because the Mongolian verbs *tosqo-* and *tosqoγul-* are not denominal verbs and they are absolutely unrelated to the word *tusqu*.

In his review of BLOCHET's *Histoire des Mongols* in *JA* 4(1914).458-462, Cl. HUART remarked (p. 459):

"La seconde [des impressions diverses—F. W. C.], c'est qu'il semblerait qu'il n'a jamais existé de pionnier, du nom d'Etienne Quatremère, pour tailler des sentiers dans la forêt vierge de Rachîd-eddîn, car on ne voit son nom cité nullepart, même pour

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des mots dont il a déjà donné l'explication, comme *touzghou* (*Mongols*, p. 144, note 24), . . ."

In citing these words of Cl. HUART on page 442 of my note "The Mongolian Names and Terms in the *History of the Nation of the Archers*" in *HJAS* 12(1949).400-443, I neglected to remark that HUART must have read BLOCHET too rapidly, for, as we have seen, BLOCHET stated, with reference to the word تزغو: "Telle est la vraie leçon qui a été adoptée par Quatremère, . . ."

In line 45 of the Armenian text on page 300 of the "History of the Nation of the Archers (The Mongols) by Grigor of Akanc'," edited and translated by Robert P. BLAKE and Richard N. FRYE in *HJAS* 12(1949).269-399, we find մզգու (*tzγu*). It appears in conjunction with the words մալ (*mal*), թաւարը (*t'aγar*), and գիշուրը (*γp'č'ur*).

In his entry entitled "ḲARAḲORUM" in *The Encyclopaedia of Islām* 2 (E-K) (1927).740b, W. BARTHOLD stated: "Two *farsakh* east of Ḳaraḳorum lay, according to Djuwainī, the palace of Targhū-baliḳ ("city of precious stuffs, brought as presents")." That "Targhū" is an error for "Tuzghū" is evident from the fact that this name is also attested in *Yüan shih* in the "Pen-chi" of which we read (2[*ts'e* 1].7a1): 築圖蘇湖城作迎駕殿. "[In the summer . . . (the cyclical year) *wu-hsü* 戊戌, the tenth year of T'ai-tsung 太宗 (= Ögödei) (1238)] there was constructed (lit., 'pounded') the T'u-su-hu ch'eng ('Tusqu City') and there was made the Ying-chia-tien ('Welcome [Imperial] Carriage Hall')." (Cf. F. W. CLEAVES, "The Sino-Mongolian Inscription of 1346," *HJAS* 15[1952].27-28, note 33). From this passage it is also indisputably clear that T'u-su-hu ch'eng ("Tusqu City") is an exact equivalent of "Tuzghū baliḳ." In the "Ti-li chih" of the same work we read (58[*ts'e* 19].38b7): 戊戌營圖蘇胡迎駕殿去和林城三十餘里. "In [the cyclical year] *wu-hsü* [1238] there was laid out the Ying-chia-tien ('Welcome Carriage Hall') in [the] T'u-su-hu [ch'eng] ('Tusqu [City]'), 30-odd *li* away from Ho-lin ch'eng ('Qorum City')." (Cf., also, F. W. CLEAVES, *op. cit.*, p. 25. It will be observed, however, that my present translation is a slight revision of that which I previously published.)

On pages 112-113 of his *Notes sur l'Histoire de la Horde d'Or* (Paris, 1949) [= Oeuvres Posthumes de Paul Pelliot II] we read: "Au contraire, si le nom est bien lu, comme je le crois, le تزغو بالیق *Tuzγu Balïq de Rašīdu-'d-Dīn (Blochet, II, 50, et App., 27) doit être un nouvel exemple d'hybride turco-mongol. Le nom de cette résidence créée par [113] Mongka semble représenter ce qui est appelé la « ville (*tch'eng*) de 圖蘇湖 T'ou-sou-hou dans le *Yuan Che*, ch. 2, *s. a.* 1238, et la ville de T'ou-sou-hou [胡] », *ibid.*, 58, 18*a*, soit en principe la ville de *Tusuqu; *Tuzγu-Balïq ne peut en être qu'une forme turcisée, et le nom mongol devait être *Tusuqu-Balaqasun (> *Tusuγu-Balγasun)."

From the evidence now available, however, it is clear that, whereas the Turkish form was *tuzγu*, the Mongolian form was *tusqu*, not **tusuqu*.

On page 442 of "The Mongolian Names and Terms . . .," I devoted two paragraphs to the Armenian form *tzγu* without, it is true, suggesting a meaning for the word as used by Grigor of Akanc'. From its occurrence in the present text at the head of a list of related terms and from the texts cited by QUATREMÈRE it would seem to have had in the usage of the time the meaning of "supplies" or "provisions."

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Until we know more about the institutional and economic history of the period, it will be difficult to make a more precise definition.

[2] The word *γuyul*, a *nomen deverbale* in *-l* from the verb *γuyu-* "to request," is defined by KOWALEWSKI (2.1037b) as "prière, demande, pétition, supplique."

I have preferred, however, to translate *γuyul* in this text as "loan," because this is the meaning which the word has in the *Mukaddimat al-Adab*. Cf. N. N. POPPE, *op. cit.*, p. 180b: "*γuyuldu ögbe tündü* تونده او كبه غيولدو—ч. *ariyet berdi anqa* عاريت بيردى انقه дал ему ссуду 974" ["gave to him a loan"].

On page 104 of his article "Zur mittelmongolischen Kasuslehre" in *ZDMG* 103 (1953).92-125, Nikolaus POPPE cited this example as follows: "*γuyuldu ögbe tündü* = č. *ariyät berdi angqa* 180 „er lieh ihm aus" (wörtl. „er gab ihm als Anleihe")."

[3] The word *ulaγa* < Turkish *ulaγ*. Cf. Paul PELLIOT, "Deux mots turcs chez Hiuan-tsang," on pp. 219-221 of his article "Neuf notes sur des questions d'Asie centrale" in *TP* 26(1929).201-266. Cf. also note 1 on page 194 of his article "Sur *yam* ou *ǰam*, "relais postal"" in *TP* 27(1930).192-195. Cf. also Władysław KOTWICZ, "Turc *ulaγ*, mo. *ułaγa*, ma. *ułxa*," on pp. 19-30 of his article "Contributions aux études altaïques A-B" in *Collectanea Orientalia* 2(1932).1-54.

For an example of the word in a Persian source of the Mongolian period cf. M. MINOVI and V. MINORSKY, *op. cit.* (p. 765 § 19, l. 5 [الاغ] and p. 777 § 19 [*olagh*]). For the modern Persian form of the word cf. STEINGASS (p. 121b): "T اولاغ *ūlāgh*, Ass, donkey (m. c.)."

Cf. also "chevaux de poste (*oulagh*)" apud D'OHSSON, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 444.

[4] The word *alaba*, with an epenthetic *a* in the second syllable, is the same as *alban* ~*alba* registered in KOWALEWSKI (1.83a-84a) with the following definitions (83a): "tribut, impôt, contributions: [2]devoir, service: [3]trésor de l'empire."

Commenting on the words *'al-ba* and *xub-č'i-ri* (acc.) in lines 11 and 13 of the Edict of Buyantu Qaγan of 1318 on pages 23-25 of "Les inscriptions mongols inédites . . . ," LEWICKI remarked on page 33:

"Il est probable que les termes *al-ban* (mo. *ałban*) et *xubč'ir* (mo. *xubčiγur*, chez les écrivains musulmans *qopčur*) désignent: le premier, les impôts en général, et le second, l'impôt personnel payé par tête. Ils se rapportent tous les deux à la population nomade et à la population agricole."

Cf. also POPPE, *op. cit.*, pp. 108-109, n. 10:

"в) Термин *alba* обозначает повинности, которые нес подданный по отношению к своему феодалу. Эта *alba* состояла из натуральных повинностей скотом и продуктами скотоводства, службы при ставке, воинской повинности и участия в облавах, подводной повинности и т. д. (Владимирцов. Общественный строй монголов, стр. 164)."

["в) The term *alba* designates obligations, which a subject discharged in his relation to his feudal. This *alba* consisted of natural obligations in cattle and products of cattle-breeding, service at the headquarters, military obligations and participation in the beats, transport obligations, etc. (Vladimircov, *Social Organization of the Mongols*, p. 164)."]

[5] For the identification of this word I am indebted to Professor Nicholas POPPE, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington, who kindly communicated in a letter dated 14 June 1950 that "it is Persian *sāwari* (ساورى). . . ." STEINGASS (p. 644b)

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registered the word as follows: "T ساوری *sāwarī*, Service, homage; salutation; a gift offered in homage or salutation, tax, tribute (pl. *sāwariyāt*)."

On 5 January 1951, Dr. Herbert F. SCHURMANN drew my attention to the fact that, since the word is registered by STEINGASS as "T," i. e., "Turkish," it could also be read *sāūrī*. This convinced me that the word in the text is unquestionably *sawri*, not *sawari*. For other examples of the *-w-* in this position, that is after a vowel and before a consonant, cf. *Mar Bar* [6] *Sawm-a saγora* in lines 5-6 of the *Bičig* of Arγun of 1289 and the word *suwra* in line 7 of "Document III" (Fig. 30).

In a letter dated 27 December 1952, Professor W. B. HENNING confirmed the reading *sawri* in the following terms:

". . . A full discussion was given by QUATREMÈRE, *Notices et Extraits*, xiv/1, p. 27 n. 1. The word is very common in historical literature, see e. g. *History of Ghāzān Khān* ed. JAHN, 30 line 7 and the further passages given in his index 385b. It is true that both Persian (see VULLERS ii 196) and Turkish (see ZENKER 494a) dictionaries give *sāvarī* as pronunciation, but that *sāvrī* also existed and perhaps was even the better form is sufficiently shown by your document (cf. also Kurdish *savri*, Jaba-Justi 234a); and moreover this form is in agreement with the etymology which V. MINORSKY once proposed (as from *saγrï*), see his *Materiyalï dl'a izučeni'a persidskoy sektï 'L'udi Istinï' ili Ali-Ilaxi, čast'* i, Moscow 1911, pp. 105 sqq., where, I believe, a full discussion of the word is given."

[6] For the word *gerige* cf. my article "*Daruγa* and *Gerege*" in this issue of the *HJAS*, pp. 237-259.

The translation "usage of plaques" for *gerige-yin mör* was proposed by Professor Nicholas POPPE in his letter dated 14 June 1950.

[7] The proper translation of the word *oraγulǰu* depends, of course, on the identification of the words *Aban Čuban* (see note 8 below). In *oraγulǰu* we have the *converbum imperfecti* in *-ǰu* of *oraγul-*, a causativus in *-γul-* of *ora-* "to enter." Hence, *oraγul-* literally means "to cause to enter." (For *ora-*, the older form of *oro-* with the labial vowel in the second syllable, see "Document III" [Fig. 30], note 1.) A common acception of the causative form *oraγul-* is "to subjugate." For examples cf. HAENISCH, *Wörterbuch*, p. 127. I have, therefore, provisionally so translated it here.

[8] It is difficult to say whether *Aban Čuban* is the name of one person or two. If it were two, however, we would expect to find the word *qoyar* ("two," "both") after the names, i. e., *Aban Čuban qoyar* ("both Aban and Čuban"). In the absence of *qoyar*, I prefer provisionally to regard *Aban Čuban* as the name of a single person.

For the word *ābān* in Persian cf. STEINGASS (p. 4a): آبان *ābān* (pl. of *āb*, water), Name of the eighth month of the Persian year, during which the sun continues in Scorpio; name of the tenth day of any Persian month; name of a certain angel, whom the Pagan Persians supposed to preside over iron, and over the actions performed during the month or on the day above mentioned; . . ."

In his letter dated 27 December 1952, Professor W. B. HENNING remarked:

"Abān (not Ābān) is an Arabic personal name, but the combination with Čupan seems a little odd. . . ."

The name *Čuban* 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."

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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).

SPULER, *op. cit.*, p .197, cites, with reference to the Turkish designations used by the Mongols in Iran "Čoban (der Name des Hausmeiers)[5] = Hirt." (Note 5 refers the reader to page 117 above, where there is mention of "Čoban.")

[9] The negative *buu* is illegible in PELLIOT's reproduction of this document. That it does, in fact, appear in the document was confirmed by my examination of the original in the Musée de Téhéran. Written in a very small hand, it was placed slightly to the left after the word *yaγuba* and before the word *abtuγai*. It is, therefore, obvious that its omission from the line proper was due to a scribal inadvertence.

[10] For this word see "Document III" (Fig. 31 / Page 42) (A), note 11.

[11] We find constant reference to a limitation of "thirty years" in the historical sources of this period. I shall mention only a few.

On page 380 of the fourth volume of the Baron D'OHSSON's *Histoire des Mongols*, we read in connection with the registration, by an edict of Tasan Qan, of real estate held without litigation for thirty years:

". . . Il devait être dressé un état particulier des propriétés du domaine privé (*indjou*) et des fondations pieuses (*avcaf*), ainsi qu'une liste des personnes qui avaient, depuis trente ans, la jouissance non contestée de ces biens."

Cf. also ARENDS, *op. cit.*, p. 253 (line 3 from bottom).

On page 446 (*op. cit.*), in another edict of Tasan, we read:

". . . Lorsqu'il sera dressé un nouveau contrat, il faudra que les anciens soient produits et jetés dans le bassin (*thass*) de justice, pour que l'écriture en soit effacée par l'eau; des prétentions qu'on n'aura pas fait revivre depuis trente ans, des contrats dont la date est antérieure à trente ans, ne seront pas admis, ni présentés aux défendeurs; on les lavera dans le bassin de justice."

On page 451 (*op. cit.*) we read:

"Des procès semblables ayant jadis fixé l'attention du sultan Seldjoucide Mélikschah et de son vézir Nizam-ul-mulk, ce sultan avait rendu une ordonnance qui défendait de recevoir en justice des réclamations fondées sur d'anciens titres qu'on n'ayait pas fait valoir depuis trente ans. . . ."

On pages 455-456 (*op. cit.*) we read:

"Les vézirs taziks de Houlagou lui avaient cité l'ordonnance de Mélikschah, statuant qu'aucune réclamation de trente ans ne serait reçue en justice, et Houlagou avait rendu un édit de la même teneur, qui fut renouvelé sous les règnes d'Abaca, d'Argoun, d'Ahmed et de Gaïkhatou; mais cet édit ne remédia à rien, et cela pour

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deux raisons; la première, parce qu'on n'y trouvait exposé aucun des principes rationnels, aucune des autorités légales, qui existent sur cette matière; il était simplement défendu de recevoir en justice des réclamations de trente ans, fondées sur d'anciens titres; . . .

" [456] . . . Aussi, lorsque Gazan voulut rendre un édit pour arrêter le cours de ces iniquités, il ordonna que le projet en fut rédigé avec le concours des cadhis les plus doctes et les plus considérés, et qu'il contint les différentes règles et dispositions légales établies sur cette matière; ce qui fut exécuté.

" Cet édit, portant défense de recevoir en justice des prétensions qui datent de plus de trente ans, est daté de Keschaf, près de Moussoul, le 3 de rédjeb 699 (26 mars 1300). . . ."

[For another example see note 15 below.]

From the texts cited from pages 451 and 455-456, we clearly see that the limitation of " thirty years " dated, in effect, from Seljuk times and was first adopted by the Mongols during the reign of Hülegü.

[12] The reading of this word presents a problem which is not immediately easy of solution. We may read it: *ayangsi*, *nayangsi*, *'eyengsi*, *neyengsi*, and *"inegsi*. None of these words, however, is elsewhere attested. From the speech pattern in which it is here found it is obvious that the word in question must have been a synonym of *inaγsi* (" hither ") which, of course, is well attested. (See below.)

In considering *ayangsi* as a possibility, we may cite the expression *ene ayan* which is found in lines 16, 17, 25, and 35 of the Mongolian text of the Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1362. As stated in note 67 on page 108 of " The Sino-Mongolian Inscription of 1362 . . ." the translation " cette fois-ci, à la même occasion " was proposed by the Reverend Antoine Mostaert in a letter dated 24 February 1946. I neglected, in that note, to mention that there is also a word *ayantala* registered in Kowalewski (1.126b) with the definitions: " à l'occasion, à propos." (The connection between this *ayan* and the *ayan* meaning " military campaign " is still uncertain.) It is, therefore, entirely possible that in *ayangsi* we have *ayan* (*~ayang*) (" occasion ") and the directional suffix *-si* (" -ward "). Cf., e. g., *qoyisi* (" backward "). In which case, *ayangsi* might mean " occasionward," i. e., " toward the present time."

As for *nayangsi*, it does not seem likely that it could be supported by reference to the Ordos " *nāši* vers ce coté-ci, vers ici; à moins de | . . ." (Antoine Mostaert, *Dictionnaire ordos* 2.485a) or " *nāši* vers ici, vers ce côté-ci, à moins de | . . ." (Antoine Mostaert, *op. cit.* 2.487a), since each of these Ordos forms, *nāši~nāši* is almost certainly derived from *inaγsi* (" hither "), not from a word beginning with *n-*.

In the case of *'eyengsi* and that of *neyengsi*, there is nothing which can be adduced to support such readings.

It will be observed, if we read *inegsi*, that the initial *i* of the word is written *"i*, instead of *'i*. Such an orthographic idiosyncrasy may be compared with that of *'e* for *e* of which we have numerous examples. See, e. g., " Document II " (Fig. 28 / Page 40), note 16. An advantage in adopting such a reading is that *inegsi* could be regarded as an alternate form of *inaγsi*. For examples of such pairs of words of which those constituting any given pair differ phonologically from each other only by virtue of the fact that one belongs to the back-guttural class and the other to the front-palatal, each having for the most part the same meaning, or, at least, one which is semantically related to the other, cf. note 10 on pages 443-444 of my article " The

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Sino-Mongolian Edict of 1453 in the Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi" in *HJAS* 13(1950). 431-446.

I have, therefore, provisionally adopted the last reading (*inegsi*), but do so with every reservation.

The words *γučin* [3] *od-tača inegsi-de* may be compared with the words *döčin tabun od-ača inaγsi*[26]*-da* in lines 25-26 of the *Bičig* of Öljeitü of 1305.

For a parallel, although not identical usage, cf. the words of Oliver's servant Adam in William SHAKESPEARE's *As You Like It,* Act II, Scene 3:

"From seventeen years till now almost fourscore
Here lived I, but now live here no more."

[13] I. e., "have not yet been registered or listed in."

The word *oraγsad* is the plural in *-d* of the *nomen perfecti* (*-γsad*) of *ora-* "to enter." For *ora-*, the older form of *oro-* with the labial vowel (*o*) in the second syllable, see note 7 above.

[14] This is the Persian (< Arabic) *qānūn.* Cf. STEINGASS (p. 949b): "*a* قانون *qānūn*, . . . ; a canon, rule, regulation; law; mode, manner; usage, custom; . . ." None of these definitions is, however, applicable in the present instance. As a matter of fact, the word has in this text still another meaning which is well attested in the Persian sources of the period, "register," "cadastre." Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī (MINOVI and MINORSKY, *op. cit.*, p. 773) tells us:

"§ 8. For the provincial *kharāj*, special registers (*qānūn*) are kept in each province, and in accordance with them action is taken. At each place (the *qānūn*) is such as to suit (the local conditions of) the province. These taxes (*māl*) are considered (as destined) for the needs of the kingdom (*jihat-i maṣālih-i pādshāhī*)."

Cf. also MINOVI and MINORSKY, *op. cit.*, p. 781. Cf. also note 3 on page 142 of V. MINORSKY's "A Civil and Military Review in Fārs in 881/1476" in *BSOS* 10(1939). 141-178.

On page 38 of the fourth volume of the Baron D'OHSSON's *Histoire des Mongols*, we read:

"Les *Bitiktchis* allèrent dans les provinces, levèrent le cadastre de chaque commune, et en fixèrent les impositions. Quoiqu'il soit impossible d'atteindre, dans un pareil travail, une perfection telle que chacun soit exactement taxé selon ses moyens, ils tâchèrent du moins d'en approcher, et lorsque tous les rôles eurent été remis à Gazan, il fut permis aux particuliers qui croyaient avoir à se plaindre d'erreurs considérables, de porter leur réclamations au grand Divan. On forma de tous ces registres une matrice (*Canoun*), qui fut déposée au grand Divan, et d'après laquelle devait être dressé, au commencement de l'année, le rôle des impositions de chaque [381] commune, lequel était muni du sceau des officiers du grand Divan, et de l'*altamga* d'or. . . ."

[15] On page 425 of the fourth volume of the Baron D'OHSSON's *Histoire des Mongols*, we read the following passage in an edict of Ṭasan of 1303:

"4°. Les individus qui ont été absents, depuis moins de trente ans, des villages ruinés ou donnés à des militaires, sans avoir été inscrits sur le rôle d'un autre canton, doivent retourner à leur ancienne demeure, n'importe chez qui ils se trouvent; . . ."

From this it is perfectly clear that we are in the presence of a formula dating at least from the time of Ṭasan. It is, perhaps, reasonable to believe that it was one of those of which we read on pages 411-412 of the fourth volume of the same work:

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"La multiplicité des affaires ne permettant pas à Gazan de lire toutes les ordonnances qui s'expédiaient en son nom, il fit dresser, avec le plus grand soin, des formules sur chaque matière, des réponses aux différentes [412] espèces de requêtes qui pouvaient être présentées. Par ce moyen les affaires des particuliers traînèrent moins en longueur, et des résolutions sur la même matière ne différèrent plus de termes et de sens, ce qui perpétuait les contestations. Lorsque toutes ces pièces furent rédigées, Gazan assembla ses grand officiers et leur dit: " *Nous allons les lire avec attention, et chacun indiquera les corrections qu'il jugera nécessaires. Lorsqu'elles seront entièrement approuvées par vous et par moi, elles serviront de modèles pour tous mes décrets; il y aura plus d'uniformité dans les affaires.*" Toutes les formules sanctionnées furent transcrites dans un registre qui reçut le nom de *canon des affaires.* Se présentait-il un cas imprévu, on dressait une formule nouvelle, qui était soumise à l'approbation du prince. On n'avait à y changer ou ajouter que peu de mots pour l'adapter aux personnes, aux lieux, aux circonstances."

[16] For the expression *yosu ügegüi* see "Document III" (Fig. 31 / Page 43), note 12.

[17] For the expression *tasarub bolγa-* "to cause to be *tasarub* ('misappropriation')" see "Document III" (Fig. 31 / Page 43), note 19.

[18] The word *mulgüd* [= *mülgüd*] is the Mongolian plural in *-üd* of *mulg* [= *mülg*] < Persian (< Arabic) *m(u)lk* "property." (I am indebted to M. Nikita Elisséeff, Institut Français d'Etudes Arabes, Damascus, for this identification which he made in Paris, in July of 1948.) Cf. Steingass (p. 1310a): "A ملك . . . *milk* (v. n.), Possessing, having dominion; reigning; a kingdom, dominion, possession; property, right;—*mulk* (v. n.), Possessing, having dominion; a kingdom; royalty; power, dominion; . . ." The word is registered in Poppe's Монгольский словарь, p. 244b: "*mülk ögbe tündü* ملك اوكبه توندو —ч. *mülk berdi anqa* انقه بيردى ملک дал ему недвижимое имущество [gave him real estate] 475."

[19] The word *olilčaǰu* is the *converbum imperfecti* in *-ǰu* of *olilča-*, a variant orthography of *olulča-*, a verb well attested in the *Secret History of the Mongols.* Cf. Haenisch, *Wörterbuch*, p. 124. With reference to the intercalary or union vowel *-i-* between the stem *ol-* "to find" and the comitative suffix *-lča-*, the Reverend Antoine Mostaert remarked in a letter dated 7 April 1953:

". . . Cette voyelle de liaison est en mongol écrit *-u* (*-ü-*) et *olilča-* doit être une forme dialectale. La voyelle de liaison *-i-* que nous voyons dans le mot *olilča-*, et qui correspond à *-u-* du mongol écrit, se retrouve en Monguor après les liquides et *-d.* P. ex. *t'ɛ̌lidzan* "délié", en regard de mo. *tayiluγsan* (de *tayil-*); *t'š'iädiwa* "est rassasié", en regard de mo. *čaduba* (de *čad-*)."

In commenting on the form *olulčan* encountered in § 256 of the *Secret History* as well as the forms *olulčaǰu* in §§ 164 and 177 and *olulčasu* in § 265, Antoine Mostaert remarked on page 340 of the third part of his article "Sur quelques passages de l'*Histoire secrète des Mongols* in *HJAS* 15 (1952) 285-407: "Le verbe *olulča-* est proprement le coopératif en *-lča-* de *ol-* "trouver". Il s'entend en ordos sous la forme *ololtš'i-* au sens de "tomber d'accord" (proprement: "trouver un terrain commun d'entente"). Voir *Dict. ord.*, p. 510a. On le lit aussi dans l'*Altan tobči* (Ming), où il a la même signification que dans l'*Hist. secr.*: *üge olulčaqu-yin tulada qoyar elči ilegegsen aǰuγu* "il envoya deux messagers pour demander une explication" (*Čadig*, p. 97, l. 10). Pour l'expression *üge olulča-*, cf. *Hist. secr.*, § 265."

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[20] For the word *ǰugiyer* [= *ǰügiyer*] see "Document II," note 13.

[21] The word *šariyad* < Persian (< Arabic) *š(a)rī'(a)t*. (For this identification I am indebted to M. Ali Bey Toptchibachy who proposed it in Paris, in July of 1948.) Cf. Steingass (p. 743b): "A شريعة *sharī'at*, A plain, straight road; law, justice, equity; the law of God; the supplementary laws given by Muhammad; . . ."

On page 80 of his article, Арабские слова . . . ["Arabic Words . . ."], B. Ya. Vladimircov cited the Mongolian form *šarid*:

"24. Монг-письм. *šarid* 'пост, соблюдение поста' < < араб. *šarī'at* 'священный закон божий.'"

["24. Writ. Mong. *šarid* 'fast, observance of the fast' << Arab. *šarī'at* 'the holy law of God.'"]

[22] For *irtibi* see "Document III" (Fig. 31 / Page 43), note 26.

[23] The expression *keyid bosqa-* is also attested in the causative form in the Mongolian text of the Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1346: *keyid-i bosγaγulγu* [= *bosqaγulqu*] (l. 3), *keyid[-i bosγ]aγuluγad* [= *(bosq)aγuluγad*] (l. 6), and *keyid . . . bo[sγaγulbai]* [= *bo(sqaγulbai)*] (l. 24).

[24] For the instrumental form *küčü-ger ~ küčü-ber cf. üneger ~ üneber* ("truly"). Cf. also *bügüdeger* ("all"), instrumental of *bügüde*, *γaγčaγar* ("alone"), instrumental of *γaγča*, and *yosuγar* ("in accordance with the rule"), instrumental of *yosu(n)*, etc. For other examples of *b ~ g/γ* cf. *-yuban* (*~ -yuγan*) in line 16 of the *Bičig* of *Öljeitü* of 1305 and *ibegen* (*~ igegen*) in the examples cited in "Document I" (Fig. 27 / Page 39), note 5.

For *-ber ~ -ger ~ -iyer* cf. also Vladimircov, Сравнительная грамматика [*Comparative Grammar*], p. 204, and N. Poppe, "Stand und Aufgaben der Mongolistik," p. 55.

[25] The expression *qaγas bolγatuγai* literally means "let one cause to be clear." For a thorough discussion of the word *qaγas* as used in the *Secret History* and the *Hua-i i-yü* cf. pp. 396-403 of the second part of Antoine Mostaert's article "Sur quelques passages de l'*Histoire secrète des Mongols*" in *HJAS* 14 (1951) .329-403.

[26] Lit., "let them cause to be."

[27] Lit., "by the same manner."

[28] The form *sildege* without final *-n* alternates with *sildegen* attested, e. g., in line 52 of the Mongolian text of the Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1362.

The word *sildegen* is registered with the reading "chilteghen" in Kowalewski (2.1501b) and the definitions: "contrée, les alentours, district, canton, endroit habité." On page 59 of his Квадратная письменность Poppe gives the transliteration of the edict of Mangala (of 1276). The word *sildegen* appears in line 4 in the genitive plural (*šil-d·[e]-dun*). On page 60 Poppe gives the transcription of the same edict and the word in question is transcribed *šilde·[e]dun*. On page 157a of his словарь containing all the words encountered in the texts included in his book he writes: "*šilde·[e]d(un)* селения [villages] I 4 || монг. *sildegen* селение [village]." Cf. also Marjan Lewicki, "Les inscriptions mongoles inédites . . . ," p. 17 (line 4): *šil-d'a-dun*. His translation "de provinces" on p. 19 is incorrect.

The word *šilde'en* appears also in the *Hua-i i-yü* 1.2a, where it is translated 村 (*ts'un*) "village."

[29] I have not succeeded in identifying the village *Kenleče*. It is, of course, possible to read the name in still other ways: *Genleče* or *Kenleje / Genleje* or *Kanlača / Ganlača* or *Kanlaja / Ganlaja*.

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In a letter dated 7 February 1953 Professor W. B. HENNING drew up, in the form of a "geographical note," the results of his research on this and the other two names (*Sidil* and *Aradi*) which immediately follow. His note reads:

"It is almost impossible to identify the three villages named in the document, *Kenleče*, *Sidil*, and *Aradi*, and therefore the precise district with which it is concerned. Local nomenclature has thoroughly changed in Northern Persia since the 14th century, particularly in the regions now occupied by speakers of Turkish; and where ancient names survived, they have often been changed out of recognition. The modern map is thus of only restricted usefulness. Names of villages are not often mentioned in sources contemporary with the Mongol document; except solely in Hamdullāh Mustaufī's *Nuzhat-al-Qulūb* (edited and translated by G. LE STRANGE), which gives strings of names, often disfigured by the copyists.

"In LE STRANGE's translation of the *Nuzhat* two comparable names occur for Tārom (essentially the valley of the Safīdrūd for about a hundred miles upwards from its junction with the Shāhrūd), namely *Kalach* and *Arad* (p. 70; the latter is a "garden"). The former belonged to the villages of Lower Tārom, the district centering around Shamīrān, the ancient fortress situated three *farsaxs* above the confluence of Safīdrūd and Shāhrūd on the left bank of the former. The village, whose name should be transcribed as *Kallaǰ*, still exists even now, on the right bank of the Safīdrūd (see Minorsky, *E.I.* art. Tārom); according to the *Mir'ātu'lBuldān*, vol. i (Tehran, 1876), p. 335, it is one of the seven principal villages of Tārom; locally, its name is pronounced *Kalle*. The name of the "garden" *Arad*, however, as reference to the text (p. 65 line 15) shows, is almost certainly deceptive; the reading is so doubtful as to provide no safe basis for argument.

"In any case, it is not likely that the document was concerned with Tārom. It is addressed to the local potentates of Gīlān, Mūqān, Arrān, Guštāsbī, etc., therefore the three villages probably lay in these provinces or in an area adjacent to them. We would thus come to the region of Tālish-Mūqān. Taking into account the awkwardness of operating with purely modern names as well as the corruption of ancient names, we might provisionally and quite tentatively consider the valleys of the *Vilash* and its principal right affluent: here we find the villages *Khalijali*, *Issi*, and *Arta*, which might represent the names in the document (*Khalija-li* from **Qallaǰa* from *Kanlaǰa*; *Issi* from **Issil* from **Istil* from *Sitil*; and *Arta* from **Artï* from *Aratï*). The area in question, which formed part of the *Gāvbārī* plain, had received some care from the side of the Mongol rulers: the nearest town of any importance, Maḥmūdābād, which is the modern *Mahmudova* (long. 48° 39′ E., lat. 38° 53′ N.), had been built by Ghazan Khan (acc. to *Nuzhat*, transl. p. 92). Administratively, it belonged to Mūqān."

[30] I have not succeeded in identifying the village *Sidil*. The name could also be read *Šidil* or *Sitil*/*Šitil*.

[31] Although I provisionally read this name *Aradi*, I should observe that, in a letter dated 19 January 1953, the Reverend Antoine MOSTAERT remarked:

"l. 8. On peut douter qu'il faille lire *Aradi*. On pourrait lire *Anadi* ou *Nanadi*."

In his geographical note (see note 30 above) Professor W. B. HENNING has suggested the name *Arad* on the basis of my transcription *Aradi* and assuming that the *-i* of *Aradi* is a Mongolian accusative suffix. If we read the word *Anadi*, one of the two readings proposed by the Reverend Antoine MOSTAERT, and abstract the *-i* as a Mongolian accusative suffix, we might suggest the name *Anād* found on page 85

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of LE STRANGE's translation of *The Geographical Part*, etc. It was a provincial town in "Ādharbāyjān."

It is highly unlikely, however, that the *-i* of either *Aradi* or *Anadi* (or even *Nanadi*) is an accusative suffix, because the suffix (*-yi*) appears after *sildege* with which the names *Kenleče*, *Sidil*, and *Aradi* are in apposition.

Only a conclusive identification will resolve this problem.

[32] For the word *melig* < Persian (< Arabic) cf. "Document III" (Fig. 30 / Page 41) (B), note 10.

[33] The name *Aqmad* < Persian (< Arabic) *Aḥm(a)d*. Cf. STEINGASS (p. 22b): "A احمد *aḥmad*, More or most laudable; one of the names of Muhammad; . . ."

[34] The name *Satilmiš* < Turkish *Satïlmïš*, a participial form in *-miš* of the verb *satïl-* "to sell." *Satïlmïš* is literally, "He who has been sold." In line 2 of the *Bičig* of Yisün Temür of 1326 (cf. G. J. RAMSTEDT, "Mongolische Briefe . . . ," p. 841) we find the name *Temür Satilmiš*. RAMSTEDT remarked (page 842): "*Satilmiš* ist jedenfalls ein türkischer Name." The name *Satilmiš* also seems to occur in line 5 of the *Bičig* of 1273.

The name appears frequently in Chinese sources. Cf., e.g., *Yüan shih* 122 (*ts'e* 38).18b5, where it is transcribed 撒的迷失 (*Sa-ti-mi-shih*). Commenting on this specific example in note 2 on page 267 of his article "Une ville musulmane dans la Chine du Nord" in *JA* 211 (1927).261-279, Paul PELLIOT remarked: "Le nom, ainsi écrit, a été porté par plusieurs personnages de l'histoire mongole; dans son *San che t'ong ming lou* (29, 7-8), Wang Houei-tsou croit pouvoir en distinguer sept dans le seul *Yuan che*. La forme originale, évidemment un participe turc en *-miš*, semblerait, d'après la transcription, devoir être à *-d-* au début de la seconde syllabe, mais il n'est pas douteux que nous avons affaire à un dérivé de *sat-*, "vendre"; en fait, des formes en *-d-* sont attestées dans certains dialectes turcs pour *sadïγ*, "commerce", au lieu de *satïγ*, et c'est par *sadïγči* au lieu de *satïγči* que le mot "commerçant" est transcrit dans le vocabulaire sino-ouigour des Ming. Il me paraît pratiquement sûr que tous les Sa-ti-mi-che sont des Sadïlmïš, *alias* Satïlmïš (cf aussi HOUTSMA, *Ein türkisch-arabisches Glossar*, p. 31), et ce doit être là aussi la forme correcte du nom du Barġut "Sātālmīš" qui se trouvait en Perse au temps de Rašīdu-'d-Dīn (cf. BEREZIN, *Trudy V.O.I.R.A.O.*, V, 86); *satïlmiš* signifie "celui qui a été vendu"."

For other examples cf. *Yüan shih* 29 (*ts'e* 10).3a9, 32 (*ts'e* 11).23b2, 122 (*ts'e* 38).18b5, and 205 (*ts'e* 59).9b4.

On page 2 of his article "Türkische Namen und Titel in Indien" on pages 1-7 of *Aus Indiens Kultur: Festgabe Richard von Garbe* (Erlangen, 1927) A. VON LE COQ observed: "Bei den ägyptischen Mameluken treten ähnliche Namen auf, so . . . ; Satilmiš der Verkaufte (Lane-Poole)."

[35] For *Šamsadin* see "Document III" (Fig. 30 / Page 41) (A), note 13.

[36] *Mir Usayin* < Persian (< Arabic) *Mīr Ḥ(u)s(a)īn*.

For the Persian *Mīr* (< *Amīr*) cf. STEINGASS (p. 1360b): "*a* امير (for A حمد), An emperor, prince, lord, governor, chief, leader; the head of family; a title by which the Saiyids or descendants of the family of Muhammad are called; . . ."

For the Persian *Ḥ(u)s(a)īn* cf. STEINGASS (p. 420b): "A حسين . . . *ḥusain* (dim. of *ḥasan*), Beautiful; name of the martyrized son of the Caliph Alī." The Mongolian form of *Ḥusain* is deaspirated. In note 45 on page 111 of his posthumous

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article "Le Ḫōja et le Sayyid Ḥusain de l'Histoire des Ming" in *TP* 38 (1948) 81-292, PELLIOT wrote: "Cette désaspiration se rencontre à l'époque mongole dans le nom du Musulman Asan que nous connaissons par l'*Histoire secrète des Mongols* et qui fut en rapports avec Gengis-khan; son vrai nom est sûrement Ḥasan, mais les Mongols, qui n'avaient pas de *ḥ* l'ont désaspiré en Asan. D'autres alternances entre Asan et Ḥasan, provenant de la même cause, peuvent être relevées dans le *Yuan che* (cf. *San che t'ong-ming lou* 17, 8*b*-10*a*). De même, chez Marco Polo, alors que les simples *h*-initiaux se durcissent souvent en *c-* (= *k-*), les *ḥ-* initiaux de l'arabe sont en règle générale amuis."

In note 3 on page 782 of their "Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī on Finance," MINOVI and MINORSKY cited, with reference to the Arabic term *kafāyat*, "competence," the following passage from JUWAINI, in which the name *Amīr H(u)s(a)īn* is attested:

"*Ibid.*, ii, 260: Amīr Ḥusayn 'was clever both in Mongolian language and in Uyghur writing, and at the present time these constitute learning and competence (*faḍl va-kafāyat*).'"

Cf. also the name "Amīr Ḥusayn-beg Bāyandur" on page 163 of MINORSKY's article "A Civil and Military Review . . ." (see note 35 above).

[37] Although I read this name *Išbau-a*, it is possible that it should be read *Išbab-a*. In a letter dated 14 June 1950, Professor Nicholas POPPE wrote:

". . . The first word is a Turkic name: *iš* 'work' or 'comrade', *baba* 'daddy'; there is such a Turkish proper name."

[38] This is the Persian (< Arabic) *'Amīd al-Dīn*. (For this identification I am indebted to Professor W. B. HENNING who proposed "either 'Imāda'ddin or 'Amīda'ddīn" in his letter dated 27 December 1952.)

For *'amīd* cf. STEINGASS (p. 868b): "A عميد *'amīd*, A chief, a great man; . . ."

On page 67 of his article "Les noms musulmans . . . ," KRAMERS listed 'Amīd as one of the "laḳabs" which may be used with *dīn*.

[39] For this name see "Document III" (Fig. 31 / Page 42) (A), note 12.

[40] *Urustam* < Persian *R(u)st(a)m*. (I am indebted to Professor Richard N. FRYE for this identification.) Cf. STEINGASS (p. 575b): "رستم *rustam*, Rustam the son of Zāl, the most renowned hero among the Persians." The name is also found on page 19 of the GARCIN DE TASSY's *Mémoire*, where we read:

". . . Il y a même des musulmans qui ont pris des noms d'anciens personnages célèbres de leur pays, tels que *Rustam* [1]), . . ."

[1]) Il y a même une dynastie de princes africains appelée *Rustamiya*, du nom de son fondateur. On sait aussi que *Rustam* était le nom du mamlûk favori de Napoléon."

For the prothetic *u-* vowel in the Mongolian form, see "Document III" (Fig. 31 / Page 42) (A), note 9.

[41] For the formula *kenebe küčü ülü kürgegülün* see "Document II," note 12.

[42] For the word *ǰugiyer* see "Document II," note 13.

[43] For the orthography *asiran* (~ *asaran*) see "Document II," note 14.

[44] For the formula *aliber üüles-i ǰugiyer bütügeǰü sayitur asiran atuγai* see "Document II," note 15.

[45] The word *ilebe* is the *praeteritum perfecti* in *-be* of *ile-* "to send." Although the verb *ile-* was later replaced by *ilege-*, a *causativus* in *-ge* without any change in meaning, the simple form *ile-* is well attested in the old written language. Cf., e. g.,

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ilebei (line 31), *ilebesü* (line 28), *ilegsen* (line 12), *ileǰü* (line 19) and *iler-ün* (line 8) in the *Bičig* of Arγun of 1289; cf. also *ilebei* (line 35) in the *Bičig* of Öljeitü of 1305.

[46] It is difficult to say whether *Maqmad* (?) *Anukain* is the name of one person or two. If it were two, however, we would expect to find the word *qoyar* ("two," "both") after the names, i. e., *Maqmad* (?) *Anukain qoyar* ("both Maqmad and [?] Anukain). In the absence of *qoyar*, I prefer provisionally to regard *Maqmad* (?) *Anukain* as the name of a single person.

For *Maqmad* see "Document III" (Fig. 31 / Page 42) (A), note 12.

As for (?) *Anukain*, my reading of this name is tentative, because I have not succeeded in identifying it.

[47] For the orthography *ayin* for *eyin* see "Document II," note 16.

[48] The word *bidan-a* is written in gold.

For the formula *bidan-a ayin kemegülüged bürün* see "Document II," note 17.

[49] The word *ǰrlγ* is written in gold.

For the words *ǰrlγ busi bolγaqun aran* see "Document II," note 18.

[50] For the formula *ǰrlγ busi bolγaqun aran aldatuγai ükütügei* see "Document II," note 19.

[51] For the word *gerige* cf. my article "*Daruγa* and *Gerege*" in this issue of the *HJAS*, pp. 237-259.

[52] The word *ǰrlγ* is written in gold.

[53] For the words *al tamγatai* see "Document II," note 23.

[54] For the formula *barilu aγai* see "Document II," note 24.

[55] The word *manu* is written in gold.

[56] In a letter dated 24 October 1952 the Reverend Antoine Mostaert very kindly communicated the following valuable remarks on the word *qaγučid*:

"Je viens de retrouver parmi mes papiers une note que j'ai écrite en Mongolie et qui s'étant égarée n'a malheureusement pas trouvé place dans le dict. ordos. Je n'ai, dans ce dernier, rien écrit de mémoire, mais seulement ce que je trouvais dans mes notes. La note retrouvée peut être d'une certaine utilité dans l'identification des dates où on lit le mot *qaγučid*. Quand on est arrivé au 16 de la première lune, les Ordos disent: *odō χūʻtšʻit urgulā* "maintenant les *χūʻtšʻit* sont arrivés" (m. à m. "ont cru"). Le sens de cette expression doit avoir été autrefois: "A partir d'aujourd'hui on commence à compter par *χūʻtšʻit*". De fait, à présent, on ne compte plus jamais par *χūʻtšʻit*. L'expression *odō χūʻtšʻit urgulā* est une relique du passé; de nos jours elle constitue une manière de parler dont on se sert seulement le 16 de la première lune et elle veut dire simplement: "nous sommes aujourd'hui le 16 de la première lune; la première partie de la première lune, qui ouvre le nouvel an, est passée et la seconde partie en vient de commencer". Il est manifeste que ce qui se dit à la première lune valait autrefois pour le 16 de n'importe lequel des onze autres mois et que le 16 du mois était considéré comme le *nigen qaγučid*, le 17 comme le *qoyar qaγučid*, etc. Cette expression *χūʻtšʻit urgulā* s'opposait autrefois à l'expression *šine urgulā* "les *šine* sont arrivés (= la nouvelle lunaison a commencé)" (*Dict. ord.*, 619a). Cette dernière expression est encore d'un emploi courant pour tous les mois, et les premiers jours de n'importe quel mois s'appellent: *šinīī nėgen* (ou *nėgē šine*) "le premier", *šinīī χoyor* "le deux", etc. . . . , jusqu'à *arwan* "le dix" inclusivement.

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Ceci ne veut pas dire que, lorsqu'on lit dans une ancienne date (p. ex. dans celle des lettres d'Arγun et d'Öljeitü au roi de France) le mot *qaγučid*, il soit absolument certain qu'on doit traduire ce mot par "lune décroissante", comme l'a fait Pelliot dans la date de l'édit d'Abū Sa'īd (*Doc. mong. du Musée de Ṭeherān*, p. 38), mais la manière de parler des Ordos est en faveur de cette interprétation. Pelliot a traduit comme Schmidt (voir *Zugabe*), mais Kotwicz et, après lui, Kozin et Haenisch, traduisent *qaγučid* par "troisième décade de la lunaison". Kotwicz s'est inspiré de la manière de compter des Bouriates actuels (Voir son article *O chronologji mongolskiej*), mais il n'est nullement démontré que ce soit là la manière dont comptaient, par exemple, les Mongols de Perse. Quant à mon opinion personnelle, jusqu'à preuve du contraire, je continuerai de penser qu'à l'origine on commençait à compter les *qaγučid* "les vieux" à parter du 16 de la lune, c'est-à-dire à partir du jour où la lune commence effectivement à "vieillir" (*qaγučira-*), c'est-à-dire à décroître. C'était aussi l'opinion de Ramstedt. Voir sa traduction des trois premiers documents qu'il a publiés dans *Mongolische Briefe aus Idiqut-Schähri*.

Il y aurait encore beaucoup à dire sur cette manière de compter d'après les *qaγučid* Chez les Ordos le mot *χᾱ'tš'it*, employé seul, se dit aussi des derniers jours de la XII[e] lune, et, dans les différents dialectes, il doit y avoir encore d'autres restes de cette ancienne manière de compter les jours du mois."

[57] Although the ink of the words *bičin jil* ("monkey year") is considerably lighter than that of the words which precede and follow them, they appear to have been written by the same hand.

[58] For a discussion of the dating of this document see "Introduction," pp. 17-19.

The words *bičig manu. doluγan jaγud qorin od-tur . . . Sultaniya-da bükü-dür bičibei* were transcribed and translated on page 38 of PELLIOT's article.

For the use of the plural (*jaγud, od*) cf. MOSTAERT and CLEAVES, *op. cit.*, p. 478.

[59] This is the Mongolian form of the Persian *S(u)lṭānīy(a)h*, a name composed of the word *s(u)lṭān* "ruler"—cf. STEINGASS (p. 693b): "A سلطان *sulṭān*, A ruler, monarch, sovereign; a potentate, emperor, king; . . ."—and the Arabic suffix *-īy(a)h*.

On pages 61 to 62 of LE STRANGE's translation of *The Geographical Part of the Nuzhat-al-Qulūb* we find the following entry on this Mongolian capital in Iran:

"*Sulṭāniyyah*. Of the Fourth Clime, and a city built under Islam: its longitude from the Fortunate Isles is 84°, and its latitude north of the equator is 39°. The city was founded by Arghūn Khān, grandson of Hūlāgū the Mongol, and his son Uljaytū Sulṭān completed it, naming it Sulṭāniyyah after himself (he being the first of his family to call himself Sulṭān). It was built under the influence of the Sign of Leo. The walls which Arghūn built were 12,000 paces in circuit, while those which Uljaytū Sulṭān planned, but because of his early death did not live to complete, were to have been 30,000 paces round. In the centre stands a Castle built of cut stone, which is the tomb of Uljaytū Sulṭān; and there are many other buildings near by here, and the circuit of the Castle measures 2000 paces. The climate of Sulṭāniyyah is rather cold: its water is taken from wells and underground channels, and is of a digestive quality. The wells are from two or three, up to ten, ells in depth. Districts, of both the hot region, and the cold region, surround the town for the distance of a day's journey; and everything that a man may need is found present here and in abundance, the pastures being extremely rich and numerous, also the hunting-grounds are well stocked. There are at the present time so many great buildings in Sul-

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ṭāniyyah, that, except for Tabrīz, the like thereof is seen in no other city. People also have migrated hither from many other provinces, to settle in the (new) capital, being [ٵ٥] of all nations and sects, whereby the language spoken at present here is not uniform, though it is mainly a mixed dialect of Persian. The revenues of the district belong to the Treasury, and of late years when the royal camps were here, the sum amounted to 300,000 (currency dīnārs), but at other times it is only 200,000. . . ."

For some extremely interesting remarks on this city cf. André GODARD, "Notes complémentaires . . ." (see "Document III," [Fig. 31 / Page 42] [B], note 2), pp. 149-150.

The name is also attested in Chinese transcription in *Yüan shih* 63 (*ts'e* 21) .23b9: 孫丹尼牙 (*Sun-tan-ni-ya* = *Suldaniya* ~ *Sultaniya* [< *S(u)lṭānīy(a)h*]).

Document III

(Reverse)

(1)

[1] The pronoun *inu* unquestionably refers to the *Bičig* itself, not to the names which follow. Cf. "A Chancellery Practice . . . ," p. 511 and p. 512.

[2] The remarks on this word on pages 509-512 of "A Chancellery Practice . . ." must now be read in conjunction with those on pages 478-482 of "Trois documents mongols . . ."

[3] I propose the name (?) *Ükečin* with every reservation, although the letters *Üke-* seem to be perfectly clear. (See Plate I.) What I take to be *-čin* is badly smudged. The word *ükečin* "ox-drover" is derived from *üker* "ox" by means of the suffix *-čin* which forms *nomina agentis*. It is attested as *hükečin* with the initial *h-* in the *Secret History* (§§ 232, 234). Cf. HAENISCH, *Wörterbuch*, p. 78, where the word is registered as follows: "hukerci(n) (im Text beide Male hukecin) 放牛的 Rinderhirt 232, 234." Although the later form is, indeed, *ükerčin*. *ükerči* (cf. KOWALEWSKI 1.566a), that it is not only unnecessary but incorrect to "emend" the orthography *hükečin* to *hükerči* is clear from the fact that the word is also attested as *hügeči* in the *Hua-i i-yü* 上 15b6b: 牧牛人:忽格赤. Cf. also Paul PELLIOT, "Les mots à *h* initiale, aujourd'hui amuie, dans le mongol des XIII^e^ et XIV^e^ siècles" in *JA* 206 (1925) .193-263 (p. 240, 77°). For a discussion of the name *Hügeči* cf Paul PELLIOT, *Notes sur l'histoire de la Horde d'Or*, pp. 35-36.

I have not succeeded in identifying this person.

[4] I have already commented on the name *Dawlaš-a* on pages 524-525 of "A Chancellery Practice. . . ." In the light of correspondence which I have had with Professor W. B. HENNING, I shall take this opportunity to reformulate my previous remarks, because my tentative identification of the name now seems certain. I regard *Dawlaš-a* as the Persian name *D(a)ūl(a)t Šāh* "Prince of the State."

For *d(a)ūl(a)t* cf. STEINGASS (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 *šāh* cf. STEINGASS (p. 726a): "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; . . ."

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The Persian word *šāh* is now attested as *š-a* in Mongolian in the following names: *Qutluγ Š-a* (in the text on the reverse of the *Bičig* of Γasan of 1302 and in that on the reverse of the *Bičig* of Öljeitü of 1305), *Dawlaš-a* (in the present text) and *Tajadin Ali Š-a* (in the present text).

It now seems certain that the Mongolian form *Dawlaš-a* < **Dawladš-a*, with the assimilation of the *-d* (< Persian *-t*) of *Dawlad* to the *š-* (< Persian *š-*) of *š-a*, is based on a current pronunciation **Daula Šāh* (~ **Daule Šāh*). In a letter dated 10 December 1951 Professor W. B. HENNING wrote:

"'*Dawlaš-a*' means nothing to me. *Daula* (*Daule*) in itself is merely a pronunciation variant of *daulat* and common in use, but not in the name *Daulat-šāh*, which, as far as I know, is always pronounced with the *-t-*; still, I should not like to be dogmatic about it. But in any case, *Daulat-šāh* would be merely another personal name, and that would mean another *person* (the minister 'Alī-šāh was not, and indeed could not be, called Daulat-šāh at the same time!); does another person's name fit there? If indeed you want another person, then I should agree with the identification with the (quite common) name *Daulat-šāh* and simply assume that there existed the pronunciation *Daula-šāh* beside the normal one (as in the simplex)."

In another letter dated 30 April 1952 he further wrote:

"Incidentally, I feel reasonably sure now that there is no reason to worry so much about the spelling *Daule-Šāh*. I believe I mentioned before that this appears to be as good a pronunciation as the commonly supposed one. One would rather be inclined to infer from the Mongol transcription that the normal pronunciation at the time was *Daule-Šāh*, and not *Daulat-Š*."

For examples of the name *D(a)ul(a)t Šāh* cf. SPULER, *op. cit.*, "Register" of "Personen," p. 507b, where it is written "Doulätšāh." It is, perhaps, not unreasonable to suggest that the Dawladš-a of this document is, in effect, the "Emir Doulätšāh" whom SPULER includes in his list of "Die Statthalter und Befehlshaber in Kleinasien (Rūm)" (pp. 353-355) as follows (p. 355):

"1330/31 Emir Doulätšāh ernannt, stirbt unterwegs (Ḥāfeẓ-e Abrū 51v; Mīrḫōnd V 158)."

The name is well attested in the Chinese sources for Yüan history as *Tao-la Sha* 倒剌沙. Cf., e. g., *Yüan shih* 29 (*ts'e* 10).12b1, 13a3, etc. The Chinese form is, of course, based on the Mongolian *Dawlaš-a* < Persian **Daula Šāh* ~ **Daule Šāh* < *D(a)ul(a)t Šāh*.

[5] *Dimiš Qoǰa* is a syncopated form of the Persian *D(a)m(a)šq Xwāǰ(a)h* "Lord of Damascus." (For the first element of this name I am indebted to Professor W. B. HENNING, who tentatively proposed it in a letter dated 23 December 1951.) A careful examination of the reproduction of this text (Plate I) will reveal that the *-š* of *Dimiš* is written in exactly the same manner as the *-š* of *Dawlaš-a* and *Ali Š-a* in this same text. What appears to be a stroke connecting the *-š* of *Dimiš* and the *Q-* of *Qoǰa* is, in reality, nothing but an ink smudge.

For *D(a)m(a)šq* cf. STEINGASS (p. 535b): "A دمشق . . . ;—*dimashq, dimishq*, Damascus." For *χwāǰ(a)h* cf. STEINGASS (p. 479a-b): "خواجه *khwāja*, A man of distinction; a rich merchant; a doctor, professor, teacher, preceptor, school-master; a pedant; a venerable old man; lord, master, owner; . . ."

Although its component elements are written separately in the Mongolian text, i. e., *Dimiš Qoǰa*, from the absence of the *-γ* (= Persian *q*) at the end of *Dimiš*, it

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is clear that *Dimiš Qoǰa* was phonologically regarded as a single word: **Dimišqoǰa* (< **Dimišγqoǰa*). (Cf. *Dawlaš-a* < **Dawladš-a* above.) It is, therefore, easy to understand the syncopation of *-γq-* > *q-*.

The name of Damascus is also attested in line 17 of the *Bičig* of Arγun of 1289 to Philippe le Bel, where it is written *Dimišγi*. On page 77 of his article "Арабские слова . . ." (see "Document III," note 4), Vladimircov remarked:

"10. Стар. монг.-письм. *Dïmïsgï* ~ *Dïmïsqï* 'Дамаск' < араб. *Dimišk* (*aš-Šām*) 'id.' В монгольском это название встречается в грамоте иль-хана *Arγun*'а 1289 г. (см. Атлас Бонапарата, табл, XIV, l. 17). Наличие буквы ḫēth () в монгольской форме заставляет относить все слово к разряду слов заднего ~гуттурального ряда,[5] чем и объясняется транскрипция буквы yod при помощи *ï*, т. е. заднего *i*.[6]"

["10. Old Mong. Writ. *Dïmïsgï* ~ *Dïmïsqï* 'Damascus' < Arab. *Dimišk* (*aš-Šām*) 'id.' In Mongolian this designation is encountered in the letter of the il'-khan *Arγun* of the y[ear] 1289 (v. the *Atlas* of Bonaparte, tabl. XIV, l. 17). The presence of the letter ḫēth () in the Mongolian form compels [us] to assign the whole word to the category of words of the back-guttural series,[5] by which also is explained the transcription of the letter yod with the help of *ï*, i. e., of the back *i*.[6]"]

Later, on page 119 of his Сравнительная грамматика монгольского письменного языка халхаского наречия [*Comparative Grammar of the Mongolian Written Language and the Khalkha Dialect*] (Leningrad, 1929), Vladimircov cited the name as follows: "*Dïmïsgï* « Дамаск »."

From each of these references it is clear that Vladimircov, just as his predecessors, regarded *Dimišγi* as the Mongolian form of the Arabic *Dimišq*.

Professor Haenisch apparently is of the same opinion, for, in his commentary on line 17 of the *Bičig* on page 226 of his article "Zu den Briefen . . ." (see page 6 above), he remarked with reference to the words *Dimišγi baγuya kemebei*: "Bei *baġuḫu* ist zu bermerken, dass der Ort als direktes Objekt erscheint, ohne Postposition, NT 272 *śira dektur bao'uḫu* bei Śira dektur (Lung-hu t'ai) lagern."

For my part, I regard the *-i* of *Dimišγi* as the accusative suffix, not as part of the word *Dimišγ* as such. In reply to a letter of mine dated 24 February 1953, in which I requested his opinion on this matter, the Reverend Antoine Mostaert very kindly stated in a letter dated 24 March 1953:

"Il est très possible que *-i* de *Dimišγi* de la lettre d'Arγun de 1289 soit le suffixe de l'accusatif, puisque comme vous le dites l'arabe est *Dimišq*. L'acc., au lieu du cas absolu ou du dat.-loc., est certes rare avec le verbe *ba'u-*. Mais, dans l'*Hist. secr.*, il y a au moins deux endroits où cet emploi de l'acc. est attesté: § 250 (11.11a2) *Sa'ari ke'er-i ba'uba*; § 252 (11.14b1) *Ho-si-wou-yi ba'u'ad*."

The name *Qoǰa* is also attested in line 6 of the *Bičig* of 1273. It is the "Coja" of Marco Polo. For a discussion of the name cf., e. g., Paul Pelliot, "Le Ḫōǰa et le Sayyid Ḥusain de l'Histoire des Ming," *TP* 38 (1948) .81-292 (pp. 109-111).

This Dimiš Qoǰa was the son of the famous Čuban. For references cf. Spuler, *op. cit.*, pp. 124, 287, 278, n. 2, 379, n. 5, and 393, where the name is written "Demašq Ḫōǧa." In his "Liste der ersten Minister" on pages 285-288 of *Die Mongolen in Iran*, Spuler has the following entry (p. 287):

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" 1325-1327: Rokn od-Dīn Ṣā'in (auch: Noṣrät od-Dīn 'Ādel), Verwalter der Finanzen („omūr-e dīwānī"), früher „Nā'eb" des Günstlings und Oberbefehlshabers Čoban (Ḥāfeẓ-e Abrū 40vf.; Mīrḫōnd V 151f.; Ḫōndämīr III 72).—Zusammen mit Čobans Sohne Demašq Ḫōga hingerichtet, obwohl ohne Verbindungen mit diesem Ḥāfeẓ-e Abrū 46r)."

[6] I have already commented on the name *Taǰadin Ali Š-a* on page 525 of "A Chancellery Practice. . . ." It is that of the well-known minister of Busayid (Abū Sa'īd) Baγatur Qan. *Taǰadin* is the Persian-Arabic *Tāǰ al-Dīn* "Crown of the Faith."

For *tāǰ* cf. STEINGASS (p. 273a): "تاج *tāj* (O.P. *taka*), A crown, diadem; . . ." For *al-Dīn* see "Document III" (Fig. 31 / Page 42) (A), note 12.

GARCIN DE TASSY, *op. cit.*, p. 12, translated *Tāǰ al-Dīn* "la Couronne de la religion." On page 67 of his article "Les noms musulmans . . . ," KRAMERS listed "Tādj" as one of the "laḳabs" which may be used with *dīn*.

In his letter of 10 December 1951, Professor W. B. HENNING, commenting on the name "Tāǰ-ad-Dīn 'Alī-sāh," remarked:

". . . Of this, *Tāǰ-ad-Dīn* is the usual kind of title, the familiar abbreviation of *Tāǰ-ad-Daula wad-Dīn* ('crown of state and faith') which is given in full in the *Tārīkh-e Waṣṣāf* 540[6]: "تاج الدوله و الدين عليشاه•

For the example of *Taǰadin* in line 26 of the *Bičig* of 1272 cf. MOSTAERT and CLEAVES, *op. cit.*, p. 437.

As for the personal name *Ali Š-a*, it is the Persian *'Alī Sāh*. For *'alī* cf. STEINGASS (pp. 864b-865b): "A علىٰ . . . [865]—*'alī*, High, eminent, noble, sublime; strong, powerful; name of the son-in-law and fourth successor of Muhammad; . . ." For *šāh* see note 4 above.

Document III

(Fig. 29 / Verso)

(2)

[1] In my translation of this text (Plate II) on page 523 of "A Chancellery Practice . . . ," I inserted after the word "his" the parenthetical remark: "(i.e., *šiγ* Šaqid's)." On the basis of the immediate context such an interpretation is grammatically and logically valid. When we consider these three lines, however, in terms of the context of "Document III" as a whole, we can only conclude, that, if *inu* refers to the *šiγ šaqid*, then we are in the presence of a serious contradiction, for, in line 1 of "Document III" (Fig. 30 / Page 41) (A), we find the words *ečige-yügen šiγ Čamaladin-u or-a* "in the place of my father, the *šiγ* Čamaladin." The son of Čamaladin, we clearly see from the preceding fragment, "Document III" (Fig. 31 / Page 42) (A), was Badaradin Abul Maqmad Maqmud.

Thoroughly convinced of the inaccuracy of my previous interpretation, I wrote to the Reverend Antoine MOSTAERT on 26 January 1953, requesting his opinion on the possibility of *inu* referring to Čamaladin. In a letter dated 9 February 1953 he very graciously replied as follows:

"Quant à la note inscrite au revers du doc. III, puisque d'après les termes mêmes de l'édit les *waγb* doivent être rendus à Badaradin Abul Maqmad Maqmud, qui avait succédé à son père, mais avait été dépossédé par son frère aîné, les mots *köbegün*

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PLATE I

Endorsement

Bičig of Busayid Baγatur Qan of 1320

(*Verso*)

(Musée de Téhéran)

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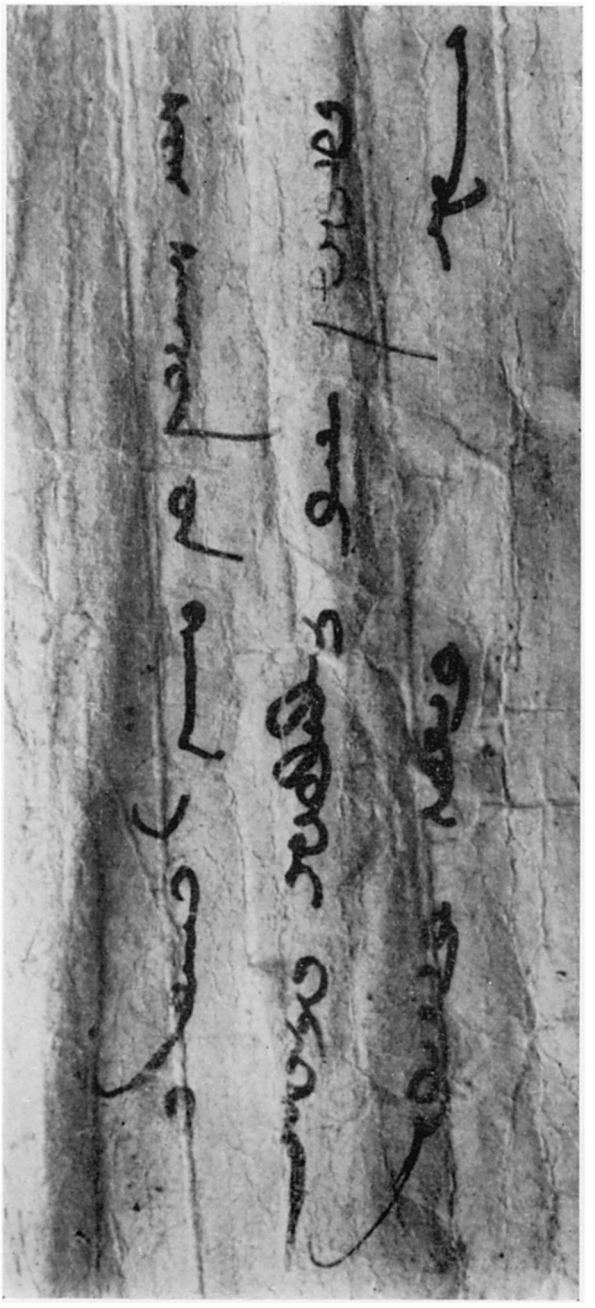


PLATE II

Summary of Contents

Bičig of Busayid Baγatur Qan of 1320

(*Verso*)

(Musée de Téhéran)

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inu ne peuvent désigner que le fils de Čamaladin et *inu* doit se rapporter à ce dernier. La note que le scribe a écrite au dos de la pièce n'est pas supposée contenir une description détaillée du procès à propos duquel la décision royale a été donnée. Ce n'en est pas même un résumé succint, mais elle suffit à identifier la pièce. Le scribe n'a pas écrit *Čamaladin-u köbegün*, mais simplement *köbegün inu*, comme si nous écrivions: "le présent acte réinstalle dans ses droits le fils qui avait légitimement succédé à son père comme administrateur du *qaγas-a waγb* du *šiγ šaqid*". Cette phrase, supposé que nous l'écrivions au dos de la pièce, suffirait certainement pour en décrire sommairement le contenu. Et le scribe n'a eu que ce but là en écrivant la phrase que nous lisons au revers du document. Quiconque en voulait savoir davantage n'avait qu'à lire la pièce d'un bout à l'autre. Il me semble que l'omission du nom de Čamaladin ne constitue pas une difficulté et s'explique assez naturellement. Une note pareille devait toujours être très brève; il suffisait que grâce à elle on pût retrouver aisément la pièce qu'on cherchait."

[2] For *qaγas-a* see "Document III" (Fig. 30 / Page 41) (A), note 12.

[3] For *waγb* see "Document III" (Fig. 30 / Page 41) (A), note 11.

[4] For *šiγ* see "Document III" (Fig. 31 / Page 42) (A), note 4.

[5] For *šaqid* see "Document III" (Fig. 30 / Page 41) (A), note 8.

This refers, as we know from line 2 of "Document III" (Fig. 30 / Page 41) (A), to Ibrayim. Cf. also "Document III" (Fig. 30 / Page 41) (A), note 9.

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

On page 75 of G. LE STRANGE's translation of *The Geographical Part of the Nuzhat-al-Qulūb Composed by Ḥamd-Allāh Mustawfī of Qazwīn in 740 (1340)* Pīrūz appears as the name of a village.

[8] For another example of this formula, i. e., the name of the scribe and the verb *bičibe*, cf. (?) *Tačm-a bičibe* on the reverse of the *Bičig* of Öljeitü of 1305. Cf. pages 508-509 of "A Chancellery Practice . . ."

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