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A NEW MONGOLIAN P'AI-TZŬ FROM SIMFEROPOL

BY

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Abbreviations of the titles of periodicals and works used in this paper:

AWKR — Archiv für wissenschaftliche Kunde von Russland, Berlin
Bulletin — Bulletin de la Classe historico-philologique de L'Académie impériale des sciences de St.-Pétersbourg, St. Petersburg
FV — Финскій вѣстникъ, St. Petersburg
HHSR I — Haneda Tōru 羽田亨, *Haneda hakushi shigaku rombunshū* 羽田博士史學論文集 (*Collected Historical Articles of Doctor Haneda*) (Kyoto 1957)
IAN — Известия Академии Наук СССР, Leningrad
IIAK — Извѣстия Императорской Археологической комиссіи, St. Petersburg
I-shu — Wang Kuo-wei 王國維, *Hai-ning Wang Ching-an hsien-sheng i-shu* — 海寧王靜安先生遺書 (*Posthumous works of Mister Wang Ching-an of Hai-ning*), edited by Lo Chen-yü 羅振玉 (Commercial Press, Shanghai 1940)
MSAN — Mémoires de la Société d'archéologie et de numismatique de St. Petersbourg, St. Petersburg
MSIA — Mémoires de la Société impériale d'archéologie de St. Pétersbourg, St. Petersburg
TVOIAO — Труды Восточнаго Отдѣленія Императорскаго Археологическаго Общества, St. Petersburg
ZMVD — Журналъ Министерства внутреннихъ дѣлъ, St. Petersburg
ZIAN — Записки Императорской Академіи Наукъ, St. Petersburg
ZIAO — Записки Императорскаго Археологическаго Общества, St. Petersburg
ZSPANO — Записки Санктпетербургскаго Археологическо-нумизматическаго Общества, St. Petersburg
ZVOIRAO — Записки Восточнаго Отдѣленія Императорскаго Русскаго Археологическаго Общества, St. Petersburg

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Mongolian «tablets of authority», Chin. *p'ai-tzŭ* 牌子, or *p'ai-mien* 牌面,[1] discussed more than once in literature, as known, originate from the Chinese *fu* 符 «tally».[2] Chinese tallies consisted of two halves; one of them was retained by the person, who received this «document», and the other was held by the official, to whom the tally was produced, and it was considered valid, only when the two halves of it were fitted together. Before the rise of Chingis Khan (1206–1227), *p'ai-tzŭ* had been in use among the Khitans and Jurchens. This practice was adopted by the Mongols from them. Though Chinese political, administrative and other institutions were borrowed by the Mongolian conquerors from the Jurchens in the first half of the XIII century, it seems necessary to note that Chingis Khan originally put *p'ai-tzŭ* in use, following a Khitan model. As established by Haneda

[1] *P'ai-tzu* 牌子 or *p'ai-mien* 牌面, as is known, are common Chinese names for the Mongol «tablets of authority». Wang Kuo-wei (1877–1927) wrote that in the Yüan period (1206–1388) these plates had been called *p'ai* «tablet» in the «vulgar» (俗 *su*), i.e., colloquial language and *fu* 符 «tally» in the «elegant» (雅 *ya*) style, cf. Wang Kuo-wei, *Yüan t'ung-hu-fu pa* 元銅虎符跋 «Colophon to the bronze tiger-tally of the Yüan»: *I-shu, ts'e* 8, *Kuan-t'ang chi-lin*, chap. 18, p. 16a–b; for a translation cf. R. des Rotours, *Les insignes en deux parties* (*fou* 符) *sous la dynastie des T'ang (618–907)*: *TP* XLI (1952), pp. 1–148 (pp. 25–29). The Chinese word *p'ai-tzŭ* seems to have been widely used by the Mongols in Mongolia itself, the Golden Horde and Iran. As the result of contacts with them, this word appeared in Latin, Persian and Armenian texts in respective forms, cf. H. Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo, Third edition, revised throughout in the light of recent discoveries by Henri Cordier* (*of Paris*), vol. I (London 1903), pp. 351–352. In the 17th c. the term *altun baisa* «golden baisa» adopted the meaning «hanging seal» among the Crimean Tatars, cf. A. N. Samoilovich, *О «пайза» — «байса» в Джучиевом улусе*: *IAN*, ser. VI, vol. XX, N 12 (1926), pp. 1107–1120 (pp. 1107–1117). According to the Russian sources, the word in question is represented in the form *baisa* in a copy of the *yarligh*, given by Berdi Beg to Aleksej, the Kievan metropolitan (for this word cf. above). It seems to have sounded as *baisa* in the spoken language of the Mongols in the 14th century. In literary Mongolian *p'ai-tzŭ* were called *gerege*, cf. F. W. Cleaves, *DARUΓA and GEREGE*: *HJAS* 16 (1953), pp. 237–259 (pp. 255–256).

[2] For the Chinese tallies 符 (*fu*) in ancient times cf., e.g. Yanai Watari 箭內亙, *Genchō haifu kō* 元朝牌符考 (*A Study of Tablets and Tallies of the Yüan Dynasty*): *Mōkoshi kenkyū* 蒙古史研究 (*Studies on Mongol History*) (Tokyo 1966), pp. 839–898 (pp. 842–868); A. C. Moule and Lionel Giles, *Christians at Chêng-chiang fu*: *TP* 16 (1915), pp. 627–686 (p. 636, note 23), and R. des Rotours, *Les insignes en deux parties* (*fou* 符) *sous la dynastie des T'ang (618–907)*: *TP* 41 (1952), pp. 1–148. On the Chinese tallies, dating from the Sui dynasty (581–618) and published in the *Kuo-hsüeh ts'ung-k'an* 國學叢刊 1 and 3 (1911), A. C. Moule and L. Giles wrote in their note (see above): «These are shaped like an animal and have a sunk cross on the left shoulder of the right-hand half, with a raised cross to fit it on the right shoulder of the left-hand half, and certain characters engraved on the edge (the back of the tiger) which are perfect only when the two halves are fitted together».

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Tōru 羽田亨 (1882–1956),[3] two Khitan characters corresponding to Chin. *tsou-ma* 走馬 «riding-horse», are engraved on the reverse of Chingis Khan's gilded tablet with a Chinese inscription found somewhere in Jehol, possibly, early in the thirties. Haneda Tōru assumed that Chingis had introduced the *p'ai-tzŭ* into practice, probably, on the advice of his astrologer, secretary and adviser Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai (1189–1243) who was a Khitan by origin. He wrote:[4] «On sait que Ye-lu Tch'ou-ts'ai 耶律楚材 d'origine K'i-tan obtint, en servant les Yuan, la confiance profonde du khan et élabora pour lui de nombreux projets; d'où il sera permis de supposer qu'on a créé les tablettes portant les caractères en question, en adoptant exceptionnellement une des manifestations de la civilisation K'i-tan.»

Regarding the purpose of the *p'ai-tzŭ* among the Mongols, in Chao Hung's 趙珙 *Meng-Ta pei-lu* 蒙韃備錄 (*Complete Account of the Mongolo-Tatars*) of 1221, it is stated:[5] «As to the golden tablets, which [the Mongol chiefs] wear at the girdle, noble officials of the first class bear [tablets with the figures of] two tigers confronted each other. [They] are called golden tablets 'A fight of tigers'. [In the inscription on them] it is written in Chinese characters: 'An imperial edict of the emperor Ch'eng-chi-ssu (Činggis), the Granted by Heaven. [The bearer of this tablet] should act at [his own] discretion.' The next in order after these are the plain golden tablets. [In the inscription] it is said: 'An imperial edict of the emperor Činggis, the Granted by Heaven. Urgent.' Then the next in order after these are silver tablets. The inscription [on them] is identical with the previous one.» As was demonstrated by Wang Kuo-wei 王國維 (1877–1927),[6] the expression *hu-tou chin-p'ai* «golden tablets 'a fight of tigers'» is a phonetic error for *hu-t'ou chin-p'ai* 虎頭金牌 «golden tablets (with the figure of) a tiger's head». Therefore, what is said of the «two tigers confronting each other» is also wrong. Nevertheless, the gilded *p'ai-tzŭ* discovered in Jehol, and the half of Chingis Khan's silver tablet from the former National Museum of Manchou-kuo in Mukden, also reproduced by Haneda Tōru in his article cited above,[7] confirm that the author of the «Meng-Ta pei-lu» rendered the Chinese inscriptions on the Mongolian «tablets of authority» very exactly, *verbatim*.[8] From his report it can be seen

[3] Cf. Tôru Haneda, *Une tablette du décret sacré de l'empereur Genghis*: *MTB* 8 (1936), pp. 85–91 + 1 pl. (pp. 89–90); Haneda Tōru, *Chingisu kōtei seishi hai* 成吉思皇帝聖旨牌 (*Une tablette du décret sacré de l'empereur Genghis*): *HHSR* I, pp. 130–136 (pp. 133–135).

[4] Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 90–91; *HHSR* I, pp. 134–135.

[5] Cf. Wang Kuo-wei, *Meng-Ta pei-lu chien-cheng* 蒙韃備錄箋證 (*Notes to the Complete Account of the Mongolo-Tatars*): *I-shu, ts'ê* 37, pp. 14b–15a.

[6] Cf. *ibid.* (Wang Kuo-wei's note).

[7] Cf. Tōru Haneda, *op. cit.*, plate, and p. 91, *Appendice*; *HHSR* I, plate VII.

[8] Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 85–87; *HHSR* I, pp. 130–132.

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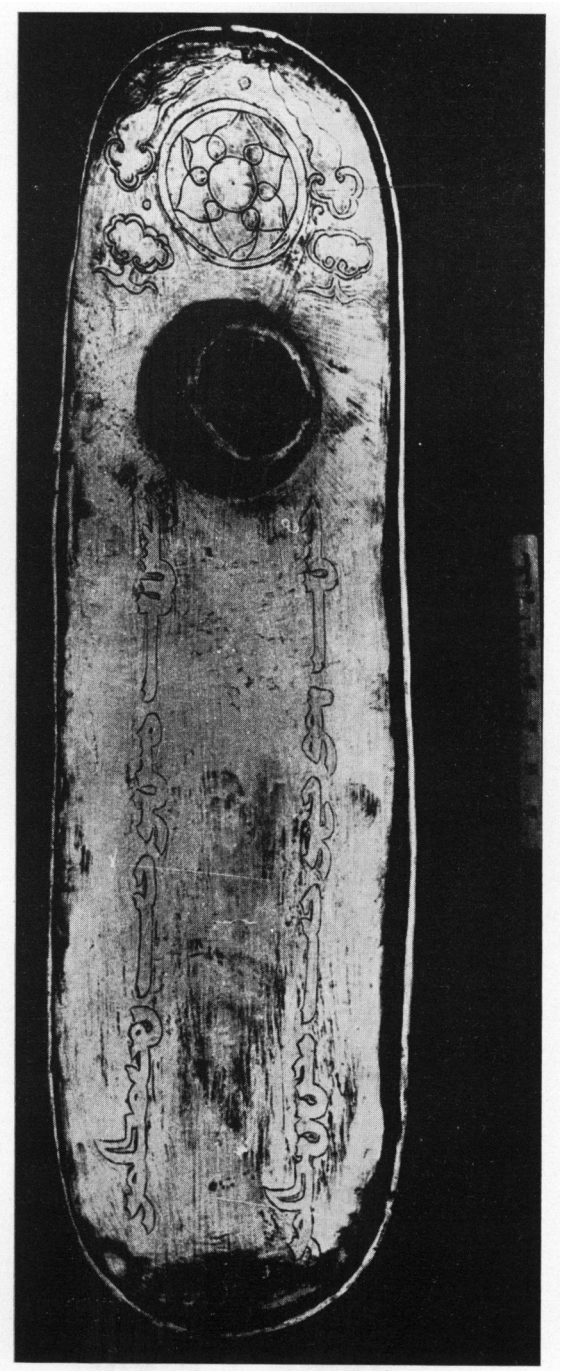


Fig. 1. The Simferopol *p'ai-tzŭ* (obverse)

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Fig. 2. The Simferopol *p'ai-tzŭ* (reverse)

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that in that period golden and silver tablets were a kind of token of dignity for high officials. It is reported that Chingis Khan even had wooden *p'ai-tzŭ*. Juvaini[9] speaks of a man who became *malik* and governor of a town and received a wooden *paiza* from him. Wooden tablets were given to officials of the lowest rank.[10]

First of all, military officers received «tablets of authority». For instance, Shih T'ien-ni (1185–1225), a myriarch (*wan-hu*) of the Chinese troops on the side of Chingis Khan, received a golden tablet in 1214 near modern Peking.[11] Mongolian generals, obviously, bore golden and silver tablets as a kind of badge of rank also just as modern military officers wear their shoulder-straps. But at that time such tablets were given simultaneously to special couriers and envoys of the khan simply as orders for relays. The local chieftains of Mongolian tribes and local authorities in the conquered countries had to furnish the bearers of these tablets with horses and provisions on their journey (as known, till the accession to the throne of Ögödei Khaghan (1229–1241), state post-relay stations had not been established yet in the Mongolian empire). E.g., Chingis Khan's special envoy Liu Chung-lu 劉仲祿, leaving Central Asia for North China to summon the Taoist monk Ch'ang-ch'un to his khan, had with him a golden *p'ai-tzŭ* with the figure of a tiger's head (*hu-t'ou chin-p'ai*), true, engraved with an inscription, which slightly differs from that in question.[12] As remarked by Haneda Tōru, later in Mongolian China, when the court issued a golden tablet with the figure of a tiger's head to an envoy or a courier, the special privileges, granted to the bearer of the tablet, were specified in an imperial edict handed to him.[13] Judging from the meaning of the Chinese character *chi* 疾 «urgent» on the obverse and of the Khitan letters «riding-horse» on the reverse of the plain gilded *pai-tzŭ*, the special privileges, granted to an envoy, were limited only to demanding horses at the post stations.[14]

[9] Cf. ʿAla-ad-Din ʿAta-Malik Juvaini, *The History of the World-Conqueror*, translated by J. A. Boyle, vol. I–II (Manchester 1958), p. 158.

[10] Cf. *ibid.*, note 14 by J. A. Boyle.

[11] Cf. *Yüan shih* 元史, *So-yin Po-na-pen erh-shih-ssu shih* 縮印百衲本二四史 [*Reduced* (*Publication*) *of the Twenty-Four Dynastic Histories of the Po-na-pen edition*] (Shanghai, Commercial Press, 1958), vol. 21, chap. 147, the biography of Shih T'ien-ni, pp. 8a (1659/4)–12a (1661/3) (p. 10a, 1660/3).

[12] Cf. *Ch'ang-ch'un chen-jen hsi-yu chi* 長春眞人西遊記 (*Account of a Journey of Ch'ang-ch'un chen-jen to the West*): *I-shu, ts'ê* 39, shang, pp. 2a–b; for a translation cf. Archimandrite Palladius (P. I. Kafarov), *Си ю цзи или описаніе путешествія на Западъ: Труды членовъ Россійской духовной миссіи въ Пекинѣ* IV (St. Petersburg 1866), pp. 265–434 + 2 + 1 map (p. 269); A. Waley, *The Travels of an Alchemist* (London 1931), p. 48.

[13] Cf. Tôru Haneda, *Une tablette . . .*: *MTB* 8 (1936), pp. 88–89; Haneda Tōru, *Chingisu . . .*: *HHSR* I, p. 133.

[14] Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 88 and 134–135 respectively.

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Later on, under the Yüan dynasty (1206—1388) in China, these tablets, at least theoretically, also served the high military officers as badges of rank. Simultaneously, many measures were taken there by the Mongolian rulers to regulate the issue of *p'ai-tzŭ* to the persons who were entitled to have these tokens of authority giving great privileges to the bearers of them. Thus, in the section *Ping-chih* 兵志 («Description of the army») of Yüan shih,[15] it is said: «The myriarchs, chiliarchs and centurions were divided into superior, middle and inferior categories. The myriarch wore a tiger-tally of gold at the girdle. There was the figure of a crouching tiger [engraved] in the lower part of the tally and glittering pearls [incrusted] in the upper part. And [these tallies] differed by one, two or three pearls [incrusted on them]. The chiliarch [wore at the girdle] a [plain] tablet of gold, and the centurion [wore at the girdle] a silver tablet.»

In China the Mongols also had round *p'ai-tzŭ* differing from those discussed above, in shape, the so called falcon-tablets 海青牌 (*hai-ch'ing p'ai*).[16] Originally, they were used to be given only to special couriers and envoys of the khaghan travelling on military affairs. In the same section of Yüan shih,[17] it is said: «As to their (i.e., the Yüan) issue of the documents with the imperial seal for travelling on the post-relay system, [they] called them 'the imperial edicts for post-horses'.[18] When there was urgent military business, [they] also used round tallies with the golden inscription as certificates. Those with the silver inscription were the next in order after them. In the internal (i.e., metropolitan) [province] these [tallies] were controlled by the Celestial (i.e., Imperial) treasury, and in the external[19] [provinces] senior officials out of the compatriots (i.e., the Mongols) superintended them.»

But in China not only the high military officers and envoys, fulfilling missions of military character, received the *p'ai-tzŭ* of the two kinds, but the circle of the persons, who actually made use of these tokens of authority, was very wide. First of all, there were, besides the myriarchs and chiliarchs, many other officials, who enjoyed the right to be given the oblong golden and silver tablets, in the military organizations themselves. For example, in the *wan-*

[15] Cf. *Yüan shih* 98 (vol. 21), p. 1b (1225/4).

[16] For details of the *hai-ch'ing-p'ai*, cf. Haneda Tōru 羽田亨, *Genchō ekiden zakkō* 元朝驛傳雜考 (*Recherches sur le service des postes de la dynastie Yuan*): *HHSR* I, pp. 91—112.

[17] Cf. *Yüan shih* 101 (vol. 21), pp. 1a—b (1263/3—4).

[18] For the *p'u-ma-sheng-chih* and other documents, entitling one to ride post-horses, cf. P. Olbricht, *Das Postwesen in China unter der Mongolenherrschaft in 13. und 14. Jahrhundert. Göttinger asiatische Forschungen* I (Wiesbaden 1954), pp. 63—64.

[19] *Wai*, i.e. «external» [provinces] included all the provinces (*sheng*) of the empire with the exception of the «internal» (*nei*) territory controlled directly by the Central government (*chung-shu-sheng*). Cf. P. Ratchnevsky, *Un code des Yuan* (Paris 1937), p. 39.

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hu-fu «administration de myriarque»,[20] established in all the administrative units *lu* of the empire, subordinate officers under the myriarch's command wore golden and silver tablets at the girdle.[21] The Mongolian *daruγači*, who were put at the head not only of military and semi-military organizations but of civil administrative organs too, had golden tablets with the figure of a crouching tiger.[22]

The oblong tablets also were issued to the representatives of the purely civil administration. Thus, in each provincial government (*hsing-chung-shu-sheng*) two senior officials were entitled to have golden *p'ai-tzŭ* with the figure of a tiger in witness of their right to be in command of troops in case of need.[23] In the *shang-yin-chü* 尚飮局 «Bureau in charge of imperial beverages» in Daidu (modern Peking), founded in the fourth year of Chung-t'ung (1263) and engaged in making «fine spirits» 細酒 *hsi-chiu* for the khaghan, the *ta-shih* 大使 «great commissioner» of this institution and his assistant, were given plain *p'ai-tzŭ* of gold.[24] The office of an imperial courier (*hsüan-ch'ai* 宣差) was created in the *yü-chiu-k'u* 御酒庫 «Imperial wine storehouse», set up in Daidu the same year and making bitter and sweet liquors for the nobility and government officials, and the *hsüan-ch'ai* also received a plain golden tablet.[25]

During the Yüan period important special envoys and couriers also continued, as before, to be given oblong *p'ai-tzŭ* of gold or silver. For instance, it is known that when Marco Polo's father and uncle Nicolo and Matteo left Daidu for Italy on a mission to the pope from Qubilai Qaγan (1260–1294), the latter handed a golden *p'ai-tzŭ* to them as a document entitling them to receive horses, escort and everything-necessary at the post-relay stations on their journey in all the conquered countries.[26]

The grant, by the government, of the round *p'ai-tzŭ* originally intended only for the couriers travelling on some military business, was also not restricted in this sphere. The following text, showing this, is contained in Yüan shih :[27] «In the sixth moon [of the second year of the period Huang-ch'ing] (June 24–July 23, 1313) an official of the [Central government] *chung-shu-sheng*[28] said [to the emperor]: 'The *tien-jui-chien* (Inspection in charge of

[20] For details of the *wan-hu-fu* or *administrations de myriarque* cf. P. Ratchnevsky, *op. cit.*, p. 144, note 1a.

[21] Cf. *ibid.*, p. 238, note 7.

[22] Cf. A. C. Moule and L. Giles, *op. cit.*, p. 636, note 23.

[23] Cf. P. Ratchnevsky, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

[24] Cf. *Yüan shih* 87 (vol. 20), p. 16b (1073/2).

[25] Cf. *ibid.*, p. 17a (1073/3).

[26] Cf. H. Yule, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

[27] Cf. *Yüan shih* 101 (vol. 21), p. 9a (1267/3).

[28] For details of the *chung-shu-sheng* or Central government of the Yüan cf. P. Ratchevsky, *op. cit.*, pp. 117–132.

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sceptres)[29] had been in charge of round tablets with the golden inscription and more than three hundred copies of the imperial edicts for relay-horses. In the fourth year of Chih-ta (1312) all [the copies of] the imperial edicts were transmitted to the Academy of Literature (*han-lin-yüan*)[30] and on account of the fact that the round tablets with the golden inscription were insufficient, fifty more pieces [of them] were introduced. As to sending envoys with round tablets, it was first instituted because of important affairs in the military situation, and it would not be fitting to overissue [them]. Whenever [an official] seeks for the tablets and [the court] has to issue [them], it would be fitting from now on not to grant [them], if [the appropriate document] has not passed through the *chung-shu-sheng* and Military Council.[31] [The emperor] followed it.» This measure seems to have been necessitated by the fact that, besides the military officers and government officials, too many people travelled on the state post-relay system, causing too much damage to the peasants engaged in supplying it with everything required. It would be easy to find much more records on this subject in the sources, but here it will be enough to refer to Haneda Tōru who wrote that many Mongolian princes, merchants and Buddhist monks had also received the falcon-tablets and corresponding high privileges.[32]

Although in the Yüan period the Mongolian rulers, following the Chinese bureaucratic system with its tendency of elaborating clear regulations for everything, even if only on paper, tried to put the issue of golden and silver tablets in order and restrict their use only in the sphere of the military institutions, but in Mongolian China these *p'ai-tzŭ* on the whole, remained, as before, tokens of high favour and honour, which the khaghan could award to anyone, as he chose. From this general rule only the military couriers, perhaps, can be excluded, the *p'ai-tzŭ* having been taken back from them after their return from their mission.

In Iran, the other part of the Mongolian empire, the *p'ai-tzŭ*, which are often spoken of by Ata-Malik Juvaini (d. 1283), Rašīd-ad-Dīn (1247—1318) and other Persian authors, as well as in Mongolia and China, were granted to military officers, officials, vassal rulers, merchants, representatives of the

[29] On the *tien-jui-chien* it is said in the *Yüan shih* 88 (vol. 20), pp. 2a—b (1081/3—4): *Tien-jui-yüan* 典瑞院 («Court in charge of sceptres»). [It] was of the primary second grade in rank. [It] kept imperial seals and golden and silver tallies and tablets. Only in the first year of Chung-t'ung (1260) two secretaries in charge of tallies and imperial seals 符寶郎 *fu-pao-lang* were put [there] ... In the eighteenth year [of Chih-yüan] (1281) [it] was reformed into *tien-jui-chien*. [It] was of the primary third grade in rank.

[30] For details of the *han-lin-yüan* or Imperial Academy (engaged, primarily, in translating texts) cf. P. Ratchnevsky, *op. cit.*, pp. 147—151.

[31] For the *ch'u-mi-yüan* or Military council of the Yüan cf. *ibid.*, pp. 140—141.

[32] Cf. Haneda Tōru, *Genchō ekiden zakkō*: *HHSR I*, p. 105.

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Church, envoys and couriers as tokens of authority giving their holders the privilege of taking horses and supplies at the post-relay stations. The grant of them, as a rule, was accompanied by the *yarlighs*,[33] in which the rights of these people were determined in detail. The Mongolian tablets in that country were made of gold, silver[34] and copper.[35] Thus, Abagha Khan (1265–1282) in 1281 handed a golden tablet, *yarligh* and seal to Mar Yahballaha after he had been elected Patriarch of the Nestorians, and later Geikhatu Khan (1291–1295) granted him a golden *p'ai-tzŭ* with the figure of a falcon.[36] Marco Polo reported that in 1291, on his way back from China to Venice via Iran Geikhatu Khan had given him, his father and his uncle a full four golden tablets. He said:[37] «And before their (i.e., the Polo brothers and Marco Polo himself) departure, Kiacatu gave them four golden tablets of authority, two of which bore gerfalcons, one bore lions, whilst the fourth was plain, and having inscriptions on them which directed that the three Ambassadors should receive honour and service all through the land as if rendered to the Prince in person, and that horses and all provisions, and everything necessary, should be supplied to them.» Under Ghazan Khan (1295–1304) who, according to Rašīd-ad-Dīn, had introduced new *p'ai-tzŭ* and had established a new system of employing them in Iran, military officers and rulers of the districts received round *p'ai-tzŭ* with the figure of a tiger's head and engraved with the name of the holder.[38] Rašīd-ad-Dīn does not say what metal they were made of. But these *p'ai-tzŭ* seem to have been of gold, because they were of different dimensions for different categories of officials.[39] Couriers riding *ulaγ*, i.e., horses taken from the local peasants, also had round *p'ai-tzŭ* but these tablets bore the inscription «*state p'ai-tzŭ*» (казенная пайза in Russian translation).[40] Couriers travelling post-haste with horses, taken at the post stations, were given oblong tablets of copper with the picture of the moon.[41] The *p'ai-tzŭ* were to be returned to the court after the retirement of the given official or return of the given messenger.[42]

[33] Cf., *e.g.*, ʿAta-Malik Juvaini, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 255 and 257, and vol. II, pp. 487, 488, 489; Rašīd-ad-Dīn, *Сборник летописей* III, translated from Persian by A. K. Arends (Moscow–Leningrad 1946), pp. 119 and 264.

[34] Cf. Rašīd-ad-Dīn, *op. cit.*, p. 280.

[35] Cf. *ibid.*, p. 278.

[36] Cf. E. A. W. Budge, *The Monks of Kûblai khân Emperor of China* (London 1928), pp. 60 and 75.

[37] Cf. H. Yule, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

[38] Cf. Rašīd-ad-Dīn, *op. cit.*, pp. 277–278.

[39] Cf. *ibid.*, p. 278.

[40] Cf. *ibid.*

[41] Cf. *ibid.*

[42] Cf. *ibid.*

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There were very many *p'ai-tzŭ* in Iran because they were issued, as well as had been in Mongolia earlier, not only by the Ilkhan, but by the princes, *khatun*s and other representatives of the Mongolian nobility as well.[43]

Comparatively less information on *p'ai-tzu* in the Golden Horde (1236–1502) is contained in the sources, though, as will be demonstrated below, in the former dominions of this Mongolian ulus more specimens of the Mongolian «tablets of authority» were found than anywhere else. These were the silver tablets discussed below. It is reported that the khans of the Golden Horde, Öz Beg (1312–1342), his son and successor J̌ani Beg (1342–1357), and Berdi Beg (1357–1359), son, murderer and successor of J̌ani Beg, granted *p'ai-tzŭ* (*baisa*, *baissinum* and *paysam*) together with *yarligh*s with a red seal to Venetians, conferring privileges on them, in 1333, 1344 and 1358 respectively, a golden tablet being dealt with in the case of J̌ani Beg.[44]

As stated by D. Banzarov (1822–1855), as early as 1846, Berdi Beg granted a *baisa* (*p'ai-tzŭ*) and *yarligh* to the Kievan metropolitan, Alexei, whom, as well as on other heads of the Russian Orthodox Church at different times, privileges were conferred on by the khan of the Golden Horde.[45] In his article on the *p'ai-tzŭ* from Gruševka, D. Banzarov, citing his source, referred to a Russian version of Berdi Beg's *yarligh* in an old Russian manuscript kept by A. I. Artem'ev in Kasan and containing, among other documents, Russian translations of six *yarligh*s given to the Russian clergy by the khans of the Golden Horde.[46] In his note 12 to this article of D. Banzarov, P. S. Savel'ev (1814–1859), who had received a letter from A. I. Artem'ev concerning the manuscript and the word *baisa* contained in it, cited the whole passage in question from this manuscript (in D. Banzarov's article the dates of the document were omitted);[47] Такъ рекше байсу да ярлыкъ съ алою тамгою дали

[43] Cf. ʿAta-Malik Juvaini, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 255, and vol. II, p. 598; Rašīd-ad-Dīn, *op. cit.*, p. 278, and *Сборник летописей* II, translated from Persian by Ju. P. Verchovskij (Moscow–Leningrad 1960), pp. 119–120, and 141.

[44] Cf. H. Yule, *op. cit.*, p. 352.

[45] Cf. D. Banzarov, *Пайзе, или металлическія дощечки съ повельніями монгольскихъ хановъ: ZSPANO* II (1850), pp. 72–97 (p. 94); *Paise oder Metallplatten mit den Befehlen der Mongolischen Chane als Inschrift*: *MSIA* V (1851), pp. 328–339 and VI (1852), pp. 441–448 (p. 448); *Черная вѣра или шаманство у монголовъ и другія статьи Дорджи Банзарова*, edited by G. N. Potanin (St. Petersburg 1891), pp. 47–64 (p. 63); *Собрание сочинений* (Moscow 1955), pp. 140–160 (pp. 159–160).

[46] On the manuscript from the end of the XVII or beginning of the XVIII century, which belonged to archaeologist A. I. Artem'ev (1820–1874), see D. Banzarov's note on the same pages cited above in note 45. See also note 47 below.

[47] Cf. D. Banzarov, *Пайзе: ZSPANO* II (1850), pp. 96–97; *Черная вѣра*, p. 64; *Собрание сочинений*, pp. 159–160 (note 12 of P. S. Savel'ev, not included in the German version of the article in question *Paise oder Metallplatten* . . .). The texts of the yarlighs mentioned were studied most thoroughly by M. D. Priselkov (1881–1941) on the basis of different copies (the manuscript, which was once in A. I. Artem'ev's

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есмы на утвержденіе вамъ, тетигуя лѣта, десятаго мца, в 10 нова, сылгата мца въ семь сотъ осьмое. — «Saying thus, we have given you the baisa and yarliq with the red seal for the approval [of your appointment] on the tenth [day] in the first phase of the tenth moon of the year of the Hen, [or of] the month Dhu-l-Qa'da of the [A.H.] 708.» As assumed by M. D. Priselkov (1881–1941), one of the manuscript collections of documents, in which Berdi Beg's *yarligh* is to be found, dates from the beginning of the XVI century (true, he does not mention A. I. Artem'ev's manuscript among the texts studied by him).[48] He pointed out that in the passage cited above the last date in the Moslem calendar corresponded to April 12, 1308 (which is impossible) and that all such dates in all the *yarligh*s, given to the Russian clergy, were not in agreement with the periods of reign of corresponding khans,[49] while the first date of this document in the Mongolian calendar corresponded to November 1357, i.e. to the time when Berdi Beg had ruled the Golden Horde.[50] The last date could have been determined more accurately as November 21, 1357.

Speaking of the Russian clergy, who had received a *p'ai-tzŭ* from the khan, D. Banzarov supposed that the Russian princes, subject to the Mongolian khans, had also been given *p'ai-tzŭ* by the khans of the Golden Horde, because they had regularly been invested with their authority by the ordu receiving special yarlighs to this effect from there.[51]

As far as I know, there are no records in the historical sources as to which categories of people held «tablets of authority» in the Golden Horde itself. No doubt, the khans gave them to representatives of the Mongolian nobility. One can assume that military officers – myriarchs, chiliarchs and centurions – had *p'ai-tzŭ* as tokens of authority, as similar officers did in China and Persia. Of course, the khan's envoys and couriers, sent to different parts of the state with khan's orders, were furnished with *p'ai-tzŭ*. Such envoys are often spoken of in Russian chronicles (true, references to *p'ai-tzŭ* are very rare in these sources).

P'ai-tzŭ of gold and silver were mentioned above. It is not known if there existed copper tablets in the Golden Horde, as in Persia. But one source

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possession, is not mentioned by him, cf. M. D. Priselkov, *Ханскія ярлыки русскимъ митрополитамъ*, Petrograd 1916, VIII + 116 pp. The passage, cited above, reads in his wording (cf. *ibid.*, p. 103): «... тако рекши баисоу да ярлыкъ съ алою тамгою дали есмы на утверженіе вамъ тетигоуа (-я) лѣта десятаго мѣсяца въ семь сотъ осяе (-осмое) сылгата мѣсяца въ десятыи нова.»

[48] Cf. M. D. Priselkov, *op. cit.*, pp. 47–48.

[49] Cf. *ibid.*, p. 46.

[50] Cf. *ibid.*, p. 69.

[51] Cf. D. Banzarov, *Пайзе*: *ZSPANO* II (1850), pp. 93–94; *Paize*: *MSIA* VI, p. 448; *Черная вѣра*, pp. 63–64; *Собрание сочинений*, p. 159.

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seems to enable us to assume that khan's envoys sometimes were given wooden ones too. Thus, in one of the Russian chronicles, namely in Казанскій Летописецъ «Kazan chronicle» of 1564—1566, it is said:[52] Царь же Ахматъ воспріятъ царство Златыя орды по отце своемъ Зелетисалтане царе и посла къ великому князю Ивану къ Москве послы своя, по старому обычаю отецъ своихъ, зъ басмою, просити дани и оброковъ за прошлая лѣта. Великій же князь ни мало убоявся страха царева, но, пріимъ басму лица его, и плевавъ на ню, и излама ея, на землю поверже и потопта ногама своима... «King Akhmat took the kingdom of the Golden Horde after his father Zeleti-saltan[53] and sent his envoys to Grand Prince Ivan to Moscow, with a basma, in accordance with the old custom of his ancestors, to demand the tribute and levies for the last years. The Grand Prince did not become frightened[54] in the least with the threat on the part of the king, but, taking the basma of his face[55] and having spat upon it, broke it, threw [it] to the ground and trod [on it] with his legs...» Here the question is how Ivan III (r. 1462—1505) received the envoys from Akhmed, the khan (ca. 1465—1481) of the Golden Horde, in 1476, when the dependency of the Russian princes on the Golden Horde had been much weakened. Earlier this year Akhmed had ordered Ivan III to report to the *ordu*, i.e., to his capital or his camp in the steppe, personally, and now he only asked the Russian tsar to send a tribute to him. This passage of the chronicle, possibly, distorted, is not very clear from the expression пріимъ басму лица его «taking the basma of his face» and was interpreted differently in literature.[56] For example, M. V. Lomonosov (1711—1765) understood the word *basma* as повелительную грамоту с изобра-

[52] Cf. *Полное Собраніе Русскихъ Лѣтописей, изданное по высочайшему повелѣнію Императорскою Археографическою Комиссіею*, Vol. 19, *Исторія о Казанскомъ царствѣ (Казанскій лѣтописецъ)* (St. Petersburg 1903), p. 200.

[53] Zeletisaltan is Jelal-ad-Din, one of the sons of Toḫtamyš (r. 1377—1395).

[54] ... *убоявся*. This word is translated here from the form taken in one of the main copies of the chronicle. Cf. *Полное Собраніе Русскихъ Лѣтописей*, vol. 19, p. 200, note 66.

[55] The expression *пріим басму лица его* is cited here in the form taken in the most important copies of the chronicle. Cf. *ibid.*, note 67. This form was discussed by P. M. Melioranskij. Cf. P. Melioranskij, *Что такое «басма» золотоордынскихъ пословъ хана Ахмата?*: *ZVOIRAO*, vol. XVII, fasc. I (1906), pp. 0129—0140 (p. 0129). For a discussion of this article cf. *Протоколъ засѣданія 17 ноября 1905 года*: *ibid.*, pp. XV—XVIII.

[56] For a review of the literature on the term *basma* and the explanation of it, cf. K. Inostrancev, *Къ вопросу о «басмѣ»*: *ZVOIRAO*, vol. XVIII, fasc. IV (1908), pp. 0172—0179 (pp. 0172—0176); N. P. Lichačev, *Басма золотордынскихъ хановъ: Сборникъ статей въ честь графини Прасковьи Сергеевны Уваровой* (Moscow 1916), pp. 70—86 (pp. 70—76). Of the literature on this term of more recent times I failed to receive the article by H. Ortekin, *Basma'ya ve Baysa'ya dair* in *Türk Hukuk Mecmuası* 2 (1939), pp. 65—71.

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жениемъ Царевымъ на печати[57] «an imperative deed with the picture of the King on the seal», which Ivan III had trodden.[58] P. M. Melioranskij (1868–1906) interpreted the expression in question, where the Russian *basma* means «impression, plate with an impression» < Turkic *bas-* «to press, to affix (a seal),[59] as отпечатокъ лица ханскаго[60] «imprint of the khan's face» and, regarding the word *basma* itself, wrote:[61] По всемъ даннымъ это была булла, т. е. особаго рода печать съ изображеніемъ ханскаго лица или можетъ быть всей фигуры хана «According to all the data, it was a bull, i.e., a seal of a peculiar kind with the picture of the khan's face or, perhaps, of the whole figure of the khan.» N. P. Lichačev (1862–1936) explained the word *basma* as a seal on a *yarligh* imagining that Ivan III had broken a wooden stick in his temper, to which the end of the *yarligh* was attached so as to make it convenient for keeping it intact.[62] But K. A. Inostrancev (1876–1941) and A. A. Spicyn (1858–1931), to my mind, demonstrated well that in the passage being discussed, the *basma* meant *baisa*, i.e., *p'ai-tzŭ*.[63] This opinion was supported by A. N. Samojlovič (1880–1938)[64] who came to the following conclusion:[65] Принимая во внимание, что новые свои значения «словесной

[57] Cf. M. Lomonosov, *Краткой россійской лѣтописецъ съ родословіемъ* (St. Petersburg 1760), p. 26, note.

[58] Cf. *ibid.*, p. 26.

[59] In Russian historical and lexicographical literature the term *basma*, correctly explained as оттиск, пластинка с оттиском «imprint, plate with an imprint», is simultaneously inadequately defined also as a figure of a khan. For example, in the *Словарь современного русского литературного языка* (*A Dictionary of the Modern Literary Russian Language*), edited by V. I. Černyšev, vol. I А–Б (Moscow–Leningrad 1950), p. 291, it is explained as follows: В эпоху татарского ига на Руси — печать с изображением ордынского хана. Резное или лепное изображение ордынского хана. — «In the epoch of the Tatar yoke in Rus' a seal with the figure of a Khan of the Horde, engraved or a plastic figure of a Khan of the Horde.» Here the compilers of the dictionary refer to N. M. Karamzin (1766–1826), who wrote that envoys of the Golden Horde, coming to Moscow, «usually brought with them a *basma*, the image or statue of the Khan» (обыкновенно привозили с собой басму, образ или болван Хана) (*ibid.*). This word is defined in the same way in the dictionaries edited by D. N. Ušakov (*Толковый словарь русского языка*, vol. I, Moscow 1935, p. 34/1), M. P. Alekseev and others (*Словарь русского языка*, vol. I, Moscow 1957, p. 67) and other lexicographical works.

[60] Cf. P. Melioranskij, *op. cit.*: *ZVOIRAO*, vol. XVII, fasc. 1, p. 0129.

[61] Cf. *ibid.*, p. 0138.

[62] N. P. Lichačev, *op. cit.*, p. 86: Великій князь, плевав на печать, переломилъ палочку, бросилъ ярлыкъ на землю и топталъ ногами «The Grand Prince, having spat upon the seal, broke the wooden stick, threw the yarlyk to the ground and trod down with his legs».

[63] Cf. K. Inostrancev: *ZVOIRAO*, vol. XVIII, fasc. IV (1908), pp. 0172–0179 (especially pp. 0173, 0177–0178); A. Spicyn, *Татарскія байсы: IIAK* 29 (1909), pp. 130–141 (pp. 130–132).

[64] Cf. A. N. Samojlovič, *op. cit.*, *IAN*, ser. VI, vol. XX (1926), pp. 1118–1120.

[65] Cf. *ibid.*, p. 1120.

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формулы на квадратной печати» и «вислой печати» слово «bajca» получило поздно и при этом, повидимому, только в Крыму и что в слове «басма» Казанского Летописца допустимо усматривать изменение слова «bojca», наиболее, по-моему, приемлемым представляется объяснение «басмы» К. А. Иностранцева и А. А. Спицына как «верительной дощечки» «Taking into account that the word *baisa* obtained its new meanings 'wordy formula on a square seal' and later 'hanging seal' and besides, apparently, only in the Crimea, and that in the word 'basma' of the Kazan chronicle it is admissible to see a modification of the word 'baisa', the explanation of the 'basma' by K. A. Inonstrancev and A. A. Spicyn as 'tablet of credence', in my opinion, looks acceptable.» It seems to me that Mo. *baisa* was transformed into Russ. *basma* in the Russian chronicle, perhaps, by one of the compilers or a copyist through the presence of letters engraved in it making it look like a *basma*, i.e., a plate engraved with some figures. K. A. Inostrancev seems to be correct when he supposes that in this case the *baisa* was of wood. He wrote :[66] Великій князь, взявъ деревянную дощечку, могъ оплевать ее, разломать, бросить на землю и потоптать «The Grand Duke, taking a wooden tablet, could spit upon it, break it, throw it to the ground and trample on it.»

Although not all the sources containing information on *p'ai-tzŭ* in the Golden Horde are mentioned above, it must be admitted that they are not so many and, as said before, do not give so much data on the Mongolian «tablets of authority», as the Chinese and Persian works do. But on the former territory of this Mongolian *ulus* and in the regions adjacent to it much more similar tablets were found than in Mongolia, China or Persia.

During the XIX c. five silver and one iron *p'ai-tzŭ* were discovered on the territory of Russia. Three of them are with the inscriptions in ḥP'ags-pa script, and three in the Uighur alphabet.

As early as 1846, the merchant G. M. Ananin obtained an oblong silver *p'ai-tzŭ* with the inscription in ḥP'ags-pa script found, together with several other items of the same metal, somewhere in the Minusinsk Circuit (*okrug*) of the Yenisei Government (*gubernija*), and presented them to the Tsar Nikolai I (r. 1825–1855). The inscription was translated into Russian by Archimandrite Avvakum (Dmitrij Sem'enovič Čestnoj, 1799–1866) who was one of the first, if not the first, in Europe to master texts in ḥP'ags-pa script, and in the same year he published it in the article on the tablet written by V. V. Grigor'ev (1816–1881).[67] Archimandrite Avvakum who had kept a copy

[66] Cf. K. Inostrancev, *op. cit.*: *ZVOIRAO*, vol. XVIII, fasc. IV (1908), p. 0178.

[67] Cf. V. V. Grigor'ev, Объясненіе Монгольской надписи, найденной въ Сибири: *ŽMVD* 16 (1846), pp. 126–149 + 1 fig. (for a separate issue see V. V. Grigor'ev, *Монгольская надпись временъ Мönкэ-хана, найденная въ Восточной Сибири. Чтеніе и переводъ архимандрита Аввакума. Издана с присовокупленіем изследованія о письменахъ у Монголов В. В. Григорьевым. (Изъ Журнала Министерства Внутреннихъ Дѣлъ).* (St.

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of the inscription with him only for a day, translated the word *moŋ-k'a dėŋ-ri-yin kʿu-čʿun-dur* «By the strength of eternal Heaven» as the name of Möngke Khaghan (1251—1259), because this word in the *p'ai-tzŭ* was placed between two lines of the text on the obverse, slightly before them, and could be taken for an imperial title or name, and V. V. Grigor'ev, who seems to have maintained no immediate contact with the translator, also took *moŋ-kʿa* for Möngke Khaghan's name and assumed that the inscription was written in Tangγut script. Te question was that in the times of Möngke Khaghan it could not have been written in the ḥPʿags-pa script, introduced after the reign of this khaghan, in 1269. This gave rise to a controversy in the St. Petersburg press between I. J. Schmidt (1779—1847), on one hand, and V. V. Grigor'ev and his friends, on the other.[68] Quite soon D. Banzarov easily demonstrated that I. J. Schmidt

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Petersburg 1846), pp. 1—26 + 1 table). On this article see W. Schott: *AWKR* 6 (1847), pp. 200—209 (review). For another translation and notes cf. I. J. Schmidt, *Ueber eine mongolische Quadratinschrift aus der Regierungszeit der mongolischen Dynastie Juan in China*: *St. Petersburgische Zeitung* 263 (1846); *Монгольская квадратная надпись изъ временъ Монгольскаго владычества: Санктпетербургскія Вѣдомости* 249 [1846] (a Russian translation of the German original); *Библіотека для чтенія* 79 [1846], (section) III *Науки и художества*, pp. 1—5 (the Russian translation of the German original); *Ueber eine mongolische Quadratinschrift aus der Regierungszeit der mongolischen Dynastie Juan in China* (read February 12, 1847): *Bulletin* 4, Nr 9 (1848), pp. 129—141 + 1 table (an amended variant of the previous article); D. Banzarov, *Пайзе: ZSPANO* II (1850), pp. 76—79; *Paise*: *MSIA* V (1851), pp. 330—333; *Черная вѣра*, pp. 49—58; *Собрание сочинений*, pp. 143—146. For a translation and notes cf. also Grigor'ev, *Lettre adressée à la Société Asiatique de Paris sur l'origine et les monuments de l'écriture carrée, dont l'invention est attribuée au Pagba-lama*: *JA*, sér. 5, t. XVII (1861), pp. 522—558 (pp. 529—558); A. M. Pozdneev, *Лекціи по исторіи монгольской литературы* II (St. Petersburg 1897), pp. 129—134; B. Laufer, *Skizze der mongolischen Literatur*: *Keleti Szemle* VIII (1907), pp. 165—261 (p. 195). For a new transcription and translation of the inscription see N. Poppe, *The Mongolian Monuments in ḥPʿagspa Script*, Second Edition, translated and edited by J. R. Krueger, (= *Göttinger asiatische Forschungen* 8) (Wiesbaden 1957), p. 57—58. For the most recent transcription of the text see also L. Ligeti, *Monuments en écriture ʿphags-pa* (*Monumenta linguae mongolicae collecta* III) (Budapest 1972), pp. 109—110. For a reproduction cf. also H. Yule, *op. cit.*, plate facing p. 352; *Восточное серебро. Атласъ серебряной и золотой посуды восточнаго происхожденія* (St. Petersburg 1909), table XCIV; A. Spicyn, *op. cit.*, *IIAK* 29 (1909), p. 133, Plate; E. A. W. Budge, *op. cit.*, plate V; Yanai Watari, *op. cit.*, plate facing p. 894 (there the *p'ai-tzŭ* is erroneously called golden); Haneda Tōru, *Genchō ekiden zakkō*: *HHSR* I, plate I; N. Poppe, *op. cit.*, plate VII. The *p'ai-tzŭ* in question is now exhibited in hall N° 365 (the section Искусство Монголии, «Art of Mongolia») in the Hermitage Museum in Leningrad.

[68] On this controversy cf. I. J. Schmidt's article on the Minusinsk *p'ai-tzŭ* (see note 67). Cf. also V. Grigor'ev, *Отвѣтъ Г. Академику Шмиту на замѣчанія его о Монгольской надписи временъ Мѣнгкэ-хана, найденной въ Восточной Сибири: Отечественныя записки* (December 1846), pp. 114—120 (there is also a separate, pp. 1—14); *Второй отвѣтъ Г. Академику Шмидту на новые замѣчанія его о Монгольской надписи временъ*

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was correct concerning his translation of the word, an integral part of the initial formula in Mongol documents, and in reference to what alphabet the inscription in question was written in.[69]

The other oblong silver tablet with the text in ḥP'ags-pa script, published by P. S. Savel'ev (1814—1859),[70] was discovered, together with a hoard of

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Мöнгкэ-хана: FV 5 (May 1847), section IV, *Науки и художества,* pp. 7—20; P. S. Savel'ev: *MSAN* I (1847), (supplement to volume I of) *Bulletin de la Société* . . . pp. 38—39 (proceedings of the Society of March 10, 1847), and *ZSPANO* I, fasc. 1 (1847), pp. 112—113 (proceedings of the Society of April 17, 1847); W. Schott, *Nachträgliche Bemerkungen zu der mongolischen Inschrift des Pater Awwakum*: *AWKR* 6 (1847), pp. 325—327; I. Bičurin (Iakinf, Hyacinth), *Замѣчанія по поводу спора о монгольской надписи временъ Мункэ-хана: FV* 5 (May 1847), pp. 1—20; D. Banzarov, *Erklärung einer Mongolischen Inschrift aus einer in Jekaterinoslaw'schen Gouvernement auf den Gütern des Herrn Barons A. von Stieglitz ausgegrabenen Silberplatte* (read May 19, 1848), *Bulletin* V, N° 9 (1848), pp. 129—139 + 1 table (pp. 134—138), and *Разяснение одной монгольской надписи на серебряной дощечке, найденной в Екатеринославской губернии в имении барона А. фон Штиглиц* (a Russian translation of the previous article): *Собрание сочинений,* pp. 125—139 (1 table on p. 126) (pp. 132—138); *Пайзе: ZSPANO* II (1850), pp. 76—87; *Paise*: *MSIA* V (1851), pp. 330—339, and *MSIA* VI (1852), p. 441; *Черная вѣра,* pp. 49—58; *Собрание сочинений,* pp. 143—153; P. Savel'ev, *О жизни и трудахъ Дорджи Банзарова: TVOIAO* II (1856), pp. 128—160 (pp. 138—141), and the same article, *ZIAO* IX (1857), pp. 1—33 (pp. 11—13).

[69] Cf. note 68 above (D. Banzarov's articles). Though D. Banzarov did not agree with the rendering of some terms by I. J. Schmidt, but he, actually, held with him in deciding the two main problems of the discussion mentioned above. But it should be noted that later on some authors continued to consider I. J. Schmidt wrong on the whole. E.g., in 1856 P. S. Savel'ev stated again that V. V. Grigor'ev's view of the ḥP'ags-pa script and Avvakum Čestnoj's translation of the inscription on the Minusinsk tablet were solely correct (cf. note 68 above). Even forty-five years later, in 1891, G. N. Potanin (1835—1920), calling all the discussion «a controversy between the German Schmidt» (споръ между немцемъ Шмидтомъ) and «a circle of Russian orientalists» (кружкомъ русскихъ оріенталистовъ) wrote that D. Banzarov «had joined the opinion of Grigor'ev» (примкнулъ къ мнѣнию Григорьева) about the Tangγut origin of the ḥP'ags-pa alphabet (cf. G. N. Potanin, *Очеркъ жизни и дѣятельности Дорджи Банзарова: Черная вѣра,* pp. IX—XXXIV (p. XIX). He also wrote: «. . . Къ удовольствию русской партіи, Банзаровъ нашелъ Шмидта не правымъ и въ томъ, что онъ оспаривалъ правильность перевода надписи, сделанного о. Аввакумом» (*ibid.*, p. XX) [«. . . To the delight of the Russian party, Banzarov found Schmidt wrong also in the case when he (i.e. Schmidt) had disputed the correctness of the translation of the inscription made by Father Avvakum»].

[70] For a description of the tablet (without any translation of the inscription) cf. P. S. Savel'ev, *Монгольское пайзе, найденное в Забайкальской области: TVOIAO* II (1856), pp. 161—165 (a drawing of the obverse on p. 164), and *ZIAO* IX (1857), pp. 34—38 (a drawing of the obverse on p. 37). For a description of the *p'ai-tzŭ* and a translation of the inscription see A. M. Pozdneev, *Лекціи* II, pp. 135—136. On this *p'ai-tzŭ* see also B. Laufer, *Skizze*, pp. 195—196. For a transcription and translation of the text cf. N. Poppe, *op. cit.*, pp. 57—58; and for a transcription of it cf. also L.

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silver articles, in a small barrow near the village of Nyuki[71] in the Verchneudinsk Circuit of the Transbaikalian Region (*oblast'*) in 1853.

Besides, we know the round iron *p'ai-tzŭ* also in ḥP'ags-pa alphabet, extracted from the earth in 1881 by a peasant, while ploughing in the Bogotol[72] *volost'* of the Mariinsk Circuit of the Tomsk Government. It was published by A. M. Pozdneev (1851–1920).[73]

In 1848, two years after the finding of a *p'ai-tzŭ* in Russia, a Mongolian tablet with the inscription in Uighur script was first discovered accidentally on a brickwork revealed by the flood of 1845 in the estate of Baron A. von Stieglitz (1814–1884) in the village of Gruševka[74] of the Ekaterinoslav

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Ligeti, *op. cit.*, p. 111–112. For a reproduction of the tablet cf. A. M. Pozdneev, *Лекціи* II, p. 132; *Восточное серебро*, table XCIII; A. Spicyn, *op. cit.*, p. 134 (table); N. Poppe, *op. cit.*, plate VIII; N. V. Pigulevskaja, *История мар Ябалахи III и раббан Саумы, Исследование, перевод с сирийского и примечания...*, (Moscow 1958), p. 131, a photograph with the erroneous legend Золотая пайдза, найденная в Верхнеудинском уезде в 1853 г. («A golden paidza found in the Verkhneudinsk district in 1853»). Now the silver tablet is exhibited in hall 365 (the section Искусство Монголии «Art of Mongolia») in the Hermitage Museum in Leningrad.

[71] Nyuki exists hitherto and is a Buryat village about three kilometres to the east of Kabansk, the centre of the Kabansk District (*ayimay*) of the Buryat ASSR. In 1926 the sandy-hill on the right bank of the Selengha near an old Jewish cemetery about two kilometres to the east of Kabansk, not far from Nyuki, was investigated by A. P. Okladnikov who found tools of the late neolithic period there. Cf. A. P. Okladnikov, *Следы доисторических культур на севере Селенгинской Даурии: Северная Азия* III (1928), pp. 63–69.

[72] The former village of Boghotol is now a town 16 kilometres to the south-west of Ačinsk in the Krasnojarsk Territory.

[73] For a description and translation of the *p'ai-tzŭ* cf. A. M. Pozdneev, *Объяснение древней монгольской надписи на чугунной дощечке, доставленной въ Императорскую Академію Наукъ г. Винокуровымъ: ZIAN* 39 (1881), pp. 31–43 + 1 plate (there exists also a separate, pp. 1–13 + 1 plate), and *Лекціи* II, pp. 153–154 + 1 plate (facing p. 152). On this tablet see also V. R. Rozen: *ZIAN* 39 (1881), p. 58 (proceedings of the Historico-philological branch of the Imperial Academy of Sciences of the 6 Oktober, 1881). For a description of the *p'ai-tzŭ* cf. also B. Laufer, *Skizze*, p. 196. For a transcription and translation of the text cf. N. Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 58. For a transcription of it cf. also L. Ligeti, *op. cit.*, p. 113. For a reproduction of the plate cf. Haneda Tōru, *HHSR* I, plate VI; B. D. Grekov and A. Ju. Jakubovskij, *Золотая Орда и ее падение* (Moscow–Leningrad 1950), table 23 (the plate appears here set sideways); N. Poppe, *op. cit.*, table IX; Yü Yüan-an 余元盦 (Yü Bayan), *Nei meng-ku li-shih kai-yao* 內蒙古歷史概要 (*An Outline of the History of Inner Mongolia*) (Shanghai 1958), plate. This *p'ai-tzŭ* is exhibited in hall 365 (the section «Art of Mongolia») in the Hermitage Museum in Leningrad.

[74] The village of Gruševka was situated in the Apostolovskij District of the Dnepropetrovskaja Region. Before building the Kachovskaja hydro-electric power station, in the early fifties, it was removed to another place in the same area and formed the village of Leninskoe together with another *kolchoz*.

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Government, near the Zaporožskaja Seč'. This was an oblong tablet of silver issued by the Khan of the Golden Horde ʿAbd Ullāh. He was made khan by the myriarch Mamai who ruled for him over the greater part of the Golden Horde during the period of anarchy with several claimants upon the throne, and, according to the coins bearing his name, was on the throne from 1362 to 1370. The *p'ai-tzŭ* was published by D. Banzarov in the same year.[75]

There are two more oblong silver tablets with the texts in Uighur script, found on the former territory of the Golden Horde. One of them was picked up by a peasant, while ploughing, in the nineties of the 19th c. in the plot called *Tatarskij stan* «Tatar camp» or *Tatarskoe gorodiščе* «Remains of a Tatar town» opposite Kamyšin on the left bank of the Volga between the settlement (*sloboda*) of Nikolaevskaja[76] and the farm (*chutor*) of Bykovi.[77] A silversmith in Saratov, who happened to become the owner of it, had already had time to cut off nearly half of it and used it for making silver articles, when the remaining part of the *p'ai-tzŭ* was bought by a certain Mr. Tjan'kov.[78] This tablet bears the name of Toghtogha (1290—1312), the khan of the Golden Horde. It was first described by A. M. Pozdneev.[79] The other silver *p'ai-tzŭ*,

[75] For a description and translation cf. D. Banzarov, *Erklärung*: *Bulletin* V, Nr 9 (1848), pp. 129—139 + 1 plate, and *Собрание сочинений*, pp. 125—139 (table on p. 126). For a translation cf. Id., *Пайзе: ZSPANO* II (1850), pp. 79—81; *Paise*: *MSIA* V (1851), pp. 333—334; *Черная вѣра*, p. 52; *Собрание сочинений*, pp. 146— 148. On this article see S. P. Savel'ev: *ZSPANO* I, fasc. IV (1849), pp. 438—439 (Proceedings of the Society of December 13, 1848). For a description and translation cf. also A. M. Pozdneev, *Лекціи по исторіи монгольской литературы* I (St. Petersburg 1896), pp. 124—127 + 2 tables (on pp. 124 and 125). Cf. B. Laufer, *Skizze*, p. 193 (brief description), and Ligeti, *Monuments préclassiques* 1 (*Monumenta linguae mongolicae collecta* II) (Budapest 1972), p. 287 (transcription of the text). For a reproduction of the plate cf. H. Yule, *op. cit.*, plate facing p. 355; *Восточное серебро*, table XCIV; A. Spicyn, *op. cit.*, p. 137 (table); E. A. W. Budge, *op. cit.*, plate XIII; Yanai Watari, *op. cit.*, plate facing p. 872; Haneda Tōru, *HHSR* I, plate III; D. D. Grekov and A. Ju. Jakubovskij, *op. cit.*, table 22 (however, here the tablet is reproduced upside-down and in the legend Пайцза серебряная Абдулла-хана, 1362—1366 «Silver paicza of Abdulla-khan, 1362—1366» the date 1366 is an error for 1370); A. Ju. Jakubovskij (ed.), *Культура и искусство народов Средней Азии, VI в. до н. э. — середина XIX в.* (guide-book of the Hermitage) (Moscow 1952), (Part) Репродукции (without pagination); Yü Yüan-an (Yü Bayan), *op. cit.*, plate. This tablet is exhibited in hall Nr 36 (the section Культура и искусство Золотой Орды «Culture and Art of the Golden Horde») in the Hermitage in Leningrad.

[76] The *sloboda* («settlement») of Nikolaevskaja is now Nikolaevsk, a town.

[77] Bykovi chutora is now the district centre Bykovo on the left bank of the Volga.

[78] Cf. A. Spicyn, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

[79] Cf. A. M. Pozdneev, *Лекціи* II, pp. 150—152 (tables on pp. 150 and 151), and A. Spicyn, *op. cit.*, p. 135 (table). For a brief description of the *p'ai-tzŭ* and transcription of the text cf. L. Ligeti, *Monuments préclassiques*, p. 284. According to A. M. Pozdneev (*Лекціи* II, pp. 151—152), this *p'ai-tzŭ* was delivered to the Imperial Archaeological Committee in St. Petersburg by Mr. Tjan'kov on the 21 of January, 1897. But

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with the name of Öz Beg Khan (1312–1340), was once bought by the well-known collector P. I. Ščukin (1853–1912) at the *Nižegorodskaja jarmarka,* the annual fair in Nižnij Novgorod (modern Gor'kij). It was first published by A. A. Spicyn in 1909.[80]

The silver tablet, being discussed in this paper, was discovered near Simferopol together with a hoard, which, according to the archaeologists of the State Historical Museum of the USSR in Moscow, was received from the State stock (*Gosfond*)[81] of jewels of the USSR in 1967, and now is kept in that museum. As was ascertained by me when seeing the exposition of new receipts in the museum on April 11, 1973, this hoard consisted of 16 objects of the XIV–XV cc. – bracelets, decorations for caps, buttons, plates for revetment and a breast chain of gold, a scoop of silver and other golden and silver items and coins. Of them the *p'ai-tzŭ* is, in my opinion, of most interest. It is the seventh *p'ai-tzŭ* in Mongolian, found on the territory of Russia, and the fourth monument of this kind with the inscription in Uighur script discovered in the former dominions of the Golden Horde. As will be shown below, according to its inscription, it was issued by Keldi Beg Khan of the Golden Horde. His reign falls on the period of anarchy in the Golden Horde of 1357–1380 with many claimants. For this period in Dešt-i Kipčak more than twenty-five rivalling khans replaced each other, for the most part having killed their rivals in order to be slain in turn by new claimants.[82] For A.H. 762/1360–1361 A.D. the names of five khans, including that of Keldi Beg, are encountered simultaneously on the coins minted in one and the same town.[83] At one time he was a strong rival for the above-mentioned khan ʿAbd Ullāh, the creature of the myriarch Mamai who subsequently seized power over the greater part of the Golden Horde. Keldi Beg also fought with Khizyr and Temur Khōǰa, whose coins, minted in A.H. 762, have remained, for power over the Golden

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A. A. Spicyn (*op. cit.*, p. 135) reports that in 1909 it was with Mr. Tjan'kov. It had, apparently, been returned to its owner. Its subsequent fate is unknown. This tablet is not registered in the museums of Moscow or Leningrad.

[80] Cf. A. Spicyn, *op. cit.*, p. 135 + 1 table on p. 136. For a reproduction cf. also *Восточное серебро,* table CXXVIII. For a brief description and transcription of the text cf. L. Ligeti, *Monuments préclassiques* 1, p. 286. This *p'ai-tzŭ* was presented by P. I. Ščukin to the Russian Historical Museum in Moscow in 1905, together with a large collection of works of oriental art, Russian manuscripts and old books, and is now exhibited in the State Historical Museum of the USSR in Moscow.

[81] *Gosfond* = *Gosudarstvennyj fond* «State stock» is a colloquial name for the State depository of valuables (*Gosudarstvennoe chranilišče cennostej*) of the Ministry of Finances of the USSR. But there I failed to get acquainted with any document concerning the hoard.

[82] Cf. B. D. Grekov and A. Ju. Jakubovskij, *op. cit.*, p. 272.

[83] Cf. *ibid.*, p. 271.

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Horde.[84] According to the Russian chronicles for the year 6869 (1361–1362), he slaughtered many people of the nobility «and himself was killed later on» («а послѣди самъ убьенъ бысть»).[85] Keldi Beg is called the tenth khan of Dešt-i Kipčak of Chingis Khan's clan by Nizām-ad-Dīn Šāmi, a contemporary and historian of Timur's (1370–1405) reign, and Šaraf-ad-Dīn ʿAli Yazdī (d. 1435) in their *Zafar-nāma*, and in the anonymous work of the 15th c. *A Genealogy of Turks*.[86] Some later historians, J. F. von Hammer-Purgstall (1774–1856)[87] and P. S. Savel'ev[88] in particular, considered him to be a son of the khan J̌ani Beg (1342–1357). But the son and successor of the latter, as was said above, was Berdi Beg (1357–1359). Therefore, in the so called *Anonym of Iskandar* (of Muʿīn-ad-Dīn Natanzī) (1413–1414) the account of Berdi Beg, who slaughtered all the members of the khan's clan, is followed by the information which reads (in the translation by W. G. Tiesenhausen (1825–1902):[89] После этого, дабы дела царства не расстроились, эмиры, согласившись (между собой), возвели на трон царства неизвестного человека, под предлогом, что он Кельдибек, сын Джанибек-хана. Этот человек счел порукой своей жизни гибель эмиров, тайно вызывал каждого из них и заставлял заниматься покушениями друг на друга...

– «After this amirs, having agreed with each other, raised an unknown man to the throne of the kingdom under the pretence that he was Keldibek, the son of Janibek Khan, in order that the affairs of the kingdom might not be disordered. This man considered the death of the amirs to be a bail for his life, secretly called each of them and forced them to attempt on each other's life.» The same source reports that Keldi Beg, as well as many other khans of the Golden Horde, was killed in his turn. It is unknown if he belonged to Chingis Khan's clan, but he was not J̌ani Beg's son. A. N. Nasonov believes that he passed himself off as J̌ani Beg's son.[90] Keldi Beg struck coins in New Sarai, Azak (i.e. Azov) and Mokša (in the modern Penza Region) in A.H.

[84] Cf. *ibid.*, p. 276.

[85] Cf. A. F. Byčkov and others, *Указатель къ первымъ осьми томамъ Полнаго Собранія Русскихъ Лѣтописей изданныхъ Археографическою Комиссіею, Отдѣлъ I, Указатель лицъ* II *(К–θ)* (St. Petersburg 1898), p. 11/1.

[86] W. G. Tiesenhausen, *Сборник материалов, относящихся к истории Золотой Орды, т. II, Извлечения из персидских сочинений, собранные В. Г. Тизенгаузеном и обработанные А. А. Ромаскевичем и С. Л. Волиным* (Moscow–Leningrad 1941), pp. 106, 146 and 207, note 1.

[87] Cf. Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der Goldenen Horde* (Pesth 1840), p. 318.

[88] P. Savel'ev, *Монеты Джучидовъ, Джагатаидовъ, Джелараидовъ, и другія, обращавшіяся въ Золотой Ордѣ в эпоху Тохтамыша*, fasc. I (St. Petersburg 1857), p. 37.

[89] V. G. Tiesenhausen, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

[90] A. N. Nasonov, *Монголы и Русь (История татарской политики на Руси)* (Moscow–Leningrad 1940), p. 120.

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762–763 (November 11, 1360–October 21, 1362).[91] Judging from the records in the Russian chronicles, he was killed in the autumn of 1362.[92]

The dimensions of Keldi Beg's *p'ai-tzŭ* are approximately the same as of those with the inscription in Uighur script, found earlier in Russia. It is 29.7 cm long and 8.8 cm wide. In the upper part of it there is a moulded ring, inserted in the orifice, to suspend the tablet. It is approximately 2.4 cm wide in its diameter.

As to the ornamentation of the *p'ai-tzŭ* from Simferopol, it is not too similar to that of the previous ones. There is no ornamentation at all on such oblong silver tablets from Minusinsk and Nyuki bearing the inscription in ḥPʿags-pa script. But there is a large stylized picture of an animal's head, which is crowned with a crescent, in the upper part of ʿAbd Ullāh's (1362–1370) plate. A smaller animal is represented on both sides of the ring. The pattern is the same on the obverse and reverse of the tablet. Seeing the picture of the animal's head, Haneda Tōru thought that the Gruševka tablet could represent either a silver *p'ai-tzŭ* with the figure of a tiger's head 虎頭銀牌 *hu-t'ou yin-p'ai* of Chinese sources or a silver *p'ai-tzŭ* with the figure of a lion's head 獅頭銀牌 *shih-t'ou yin-p'ai* spoken of by Marco Polo.[93] As to Marco Polo's «lion», P. Pelliot remarked: «... on sait que Marco Polo emploie

[91] C. M. Frähn, *Das muhammedanische Münzkabinet des Asiatischen Museums der Kaiserl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu St. Petersburg, Vorlaufiger Bericht vom Director des Asiatischen Museums* ... (St. Petersburg 1821), p. 34; id., *Recensio numorum Muhammedanorum Academiae Imp. Scient. Petropolitanae* (St. Petersburg 1826), *Litteris academicis*, p. 273; id., *Die Münzen der Chane vom Ulus Dschutschi's oder von der Goldenen Horde* (St. Petersburg—Leipzig 1832), p. 17 (cf. also the Russian translation of this work: C. M. Frähn, *Монеты Хановъ Улуса Джучіева или Золотой Орды*, translated by M. Volkov (St. Petersburg 1832), p. 17/; P. Savel'ev, *Монеты Джучидов* fasc. 1, p. 37; id., *Монеты Джучидов*..., fasc. 2 (St. Petersburg 1858), p. 201; V. K. Savel'ev, *Описаніе дополнительной коллекціи Джучидскихъ (хановъ Золотой Орды) изъ развалинъ г. Укека: Известія Общества Археологіи, Исторіи и Этнографіи при Императорскомъ Казанскомъ Университетѣ* II (1879), pp. 171–175 (p. 174); N. P. Zagoskin, *Описаніе клада золотоордынскихъ и нѣкоторыхъ другихъ монетъ, найденнаго въ 1881-мъ году близъ г. Малаго Толкиша: Извѣстія Общества*... III (1880–1882), pp. 350–394 (pp. 379–380); St. Lane-Poole, *The Coins of the British Museum* (London 1881), pp. 153–154; V. Trutovskij, *Каталогъ восточныхъ монетъ, Изданіе Московскаго Публичнаго и Румянцевскаго Музеевъ*, fasc. III (Moscow 1886), p. 98; A. K. Markov, *Инвентарный каталогъ мусульманскихъ монетъ императорскаго Эрмитажа* (St. Petersburg 1896), pp. 466–467; A. A. Krotkov, *Кладъ серебряныхъ, Джучидскихъ монетъ съ Водянскаго городища: Труды Саратовской Ученой Архивной Комиссіи*, fasc. 30 (1913), pp. 179–185 (pp. 180, 182 and 183).

[92] Cf. A. N. Nasonov, *op. cit.*, p. 120, note 3. On Keldi Beg see *ibid.*, p. 120; B. D. Grekov and A. Ju. Jakubovskij, *op. cit.*, pp. 271 and 283; B. Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde, Die Mongolen in Rußland, 1223–1502*, 2. erweiterte Auflage (Wiesbaden 1965) pp. 112–113.

[93] Cf. Haneda Tōru, *Genchō ekiden zakkō*: *HHSR* I, p. 93.

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toujours 'lion' pour 'tigre', par exemple à propos des *hou-fou* ou 'tablettes au tigre', vraisemblablement sous l'influence du persan *šēr*, *šīr*.»[94] J. A. Boyle employs the expression «tiger-headed paiza» in his translation of «The History of the World-Conqueror» of ʿAta-Malik Juvaini, but he remarks in the footnote: «*Shīrsar*, which could also mean 'lion-headed'». Here, having cited Marco Polo and the *Notes sur le «Turkestan»* by P. Pelliot, he continues: «In fact in Classical Persian *shīr* (or *shēr*, as it was then pronounced) was applied indifferently to the Lion and the Tiger.»[95] The picture engraved on the top of the Gruševka *p'ai-tzŭ* resembles rather a lion's head than a tiger's one. It can be added that it is the least stylized of all the ornaments of the silver tablets from the Golden Horde, including that from Simferopol.

Therefore, the tablet from Gruševka, engraved with the same figure of an animal's head on both sides, differs much from the other three silver *p'ai-tzŭ* in Uighur script. The upper part of Toghtogha's *p'ai-tzŭ* on the obverse is ornamented with an eight-pointed star with a small circle in the middle of it. The star is, in its turn, placed into a circle, and three figures of some animals are seen on each side of it, from the left and right. A large animal's head, which resembles those in the three figures, is represented on the top of the reverse. Here a pointer is directed at the animal's head from a small circle below, which is, in its turn, connected with the ring, and there are three smaller figures of the same animals from each side. But the heads of only five of them, including the large one on the top, are clearly seen and are directed at the front. The ornament on Öz Beg's *p'ai-tzŭ* is the same.

On the obverse of Keldi Beg's *p'ai-tzŭ* we see almost the same star and the same circle around it as those on Toghtogha's and Öz Beg's tablets, but here the star differs from the previous plates, it is six-pointed, and there are only two figures of animals from each side of the outer circle. On the reverse there is a large figure of an animal's head above the ring, and only two figures of the same animal from each side of it. Here the animal's head matches the one on the Gruševka tablet, crowned with a crescent. But there is no pointer or circles on the reverse of Keldi Beg's tablet, as there are in Toghtogha's and Öz Beg's *p'ai-tzŭ*.

It should be noted that, though strongly stylized, the figures of the animals on the Simferopol *p'ai-tzŭ* and, particularly the large one on the reverse of it, as well as the corresponding figures on Toghtogha's and Öz Beg's tablets and, especially, that on the Gruševka *p'ai-tzŭ*, still resemble a lion, not a tiger.

Speaking of Mongolian «tablets of authority» in Iran, H. Yule wrote: «Under the Persian branch, at least, of the house the degree of honour was

[94] Cf. P. Pelliot, *Notes sur le «Turkestan» de M. W. Barthold*: *TP* XXVII (1930), pp. 12—61 (p. 17).

[95] Cf. ʿAta-Malik Juvaini, *op. cit.*, p. 257, note 30 by J. A. Boyle.

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indicated by the number of lion's heads upon the plate, which varied from 1 to 5. The Lion and Sun . . . formed the emblem of the Sun in Leo, i.e. in highest power.»[96] If this is the case, then, assuming that the same practice existed also in the Golden Horde, one can assume that Keldi Beg's *p'ai-tzŭ* and three more tablets with the inscription in Uighur script, also issued by the khans of the Golden Horde and found earlier, bear the engraved figures of lion's heads and differ from each other by the degree of honour indicated by the number of them.

The inscription of the Simferopol *p'ai-tzŭ* does not differ from those on the previous three tablets except the name of the khan. The text reads:

(on the obverse)
mo̤ngke tngri-in küčündür
yeke suu ǰali-in igegendür
(on the reverse)
keldibeg-ün ǰrlγ ken ülü
büsürekü kümün aldaqu ükükü

«By the strength of eternal[a] Heaven[b] and by the protection[c] of the great might[d] and radiance.[e] An edict[f] of Keldi Beg. Any person, who shall not respect[g] [this], shall be slain[h] and die.»

Notes

[a] As is known, in Mongolian texts of the XIII—XIV cc. *mongke* is a wide-spread spelling instead of *möngke* as expected. Moreover, in texts in ḤP'ags-pa script, including the Minusinsk, Bogotol and Nyuki *p'ai-tzŭ*, the vowel of the last syllable in the word *moηk'a* is represented in the form of the back vowel *a*, and in the Nyuki *p'ai-tzŭ* this word is read as *moηqa*, i.e., the consonant of the second syllable is the sign for the deep velar *q* (cf. N. Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 70). On this problem and literature on it cf. P. Pelliot, *Sur quelques mots d'Asie Centrale attestés dans les textes chinois*: *JA*, Onzième série, 1 (1913), pp. 451—469 (pp. 452—453, note); Wł. Kotwicz, *En marge des lettres des il-khans de Perse retrouvées par Abel-Rémusat*: *RO* XVI (1950), pp. 369—404 [reprinted from *Collectanea Orientalia* 4 (1933), pp. 1—48] (pp. 382—385), and N. Poppe, *op. cit.*, pp. 70—72. Of these authors Wl. Kotwicz (*ibid.*, p. 384) and N. N. Poppe (*ibid.*, p. 72) consider the form under discussion simply an orthographic error. For instance, N. N. Poppe writes: «Kotwicz is absolutely right when he regards this word as incorrectly spelled.[32] We are dealing here with an erroneous spelling which has become firmly imbedded by use, and of which the spelling found in the Chü-yung-kuan inscription (*monk'e*) is only slightly better. Finally, Pozdneev is right when he points out, citing the spelling of this same word in the letter of Argun *mwnk'* that «the softness of this sound *ö* is determined only by the soft character of the sound *x*[33]». Here N. N. Poppe refers to Wł. Kotwicz, *En marge*: *CO* 4 (1933), p. 20, in foot-note 32, and to A. M. Pozdneev, Лекции I, p. 99, in footnote 33. But the attitude of the other authors, also cited by N. N. Poppe, especially that of P. Pelliot (1878—1945) and B. Ja. Vladimircov (1884—1931), towards this

[96] Cf. H. Yule, *op. cit.*, p. 352.

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problem seems more preferable. We know that A. A. Bobrovnikov (1821 ~ 1822—1865) even thought that *moŋk'a* formerly had had back vocalism (A. A. Bobrovnikov, *Памятники монгольскаго квадратнаго письма*, St. Petersburg 1870, p. 33, and A. M. Pozdneev supported this view in the second volume of his *Лекціи* II, pp. 100—101). P. Pelliot came to the following conclusion (*Sur quelques mots*: *JA*, sér. 11, 1, [1913], p. 453): «Il semble donc que, dans le dialect de la Cour tout au moins, le mot signifiant 'éternel', ait dû se prononcer en mongol **mȏñka* aux environs de l'an 1300». Vladimircov wrote in his *Сравнительная грамматика монгольского письменного языка и халхаского наречия* (= Издание Ленинградского Восточного Института имени А. С. Енукидзе 33) Leningrad 1929, p. 168: ... формы стар. монг. -письм. *mongkạ, ǰụg, ǰoblạkụ, ǰobsiyạkụ* произносились в XIII в. как **mȍngke, *ǰȕg, ǰȍbsiyekȕ*, т. е. с гласными *ȍ и ȕ*, которые, по всей вероятности, походили на Халх. *ǫ* или *ȍ*, Дэрб.—Кобд. *ȍ*, Халх., Дэрб.—Кобд. *ȳ*, т. е. на лабиализованные палатальные среднего ряда «... the forms of Old Writ. Mong. *mongkạ, ǰụg, ǰoblạkụ, ǰobsiyạkụ* were pronounced in the XIII c. as **mȍngke, ǰȕg, *ǰȍbsiyekȕ*, i.e., with the vowels *ȍ* and *ȕ*, which, in all probability, resembled the Khalkh. *ǫ* or *ȍ*, Derb.-Kobd. *ȍ*, Khalkh., Derb.-Kobd. *ȕ*, i.e., labialized palatal sounds of the back series.»

[b] For the initial formula of Mongol documents *möngke tngri-yin küčündür* cf. Wł. Kotwicz, *Formules initiales des documents mongols aux XIII^e et XIV^e ss.*: *RO* X (1934), pp. 131—157 (pp. 134—139). For this expression, first registered in the *Secret History of the Mongols* (§§ 224 and 275), and the most recent bibliography on it, cf. F. W. Cleaves, *The Mongolian Documents in the Musée de Téhéran*: *HJAS* 16 (1953), pp. 1—108 + 2 pl. (p. 40, note 1).

[c] For the word *igegen* «protection, patronage» cf. F. W. Cleaves, *The Mongolian Documents*: *HJAS* 16 (1953), p. 43, note 5, and p. 44, note 6.

[d] For a bibliography on the word *suu* cf. F. W. Cleaves, *The Sino-Mongolian Inscription of 1362 in Memory of Prince Hindu*: *HJAS* 12 (1949), pp. 1—133 + 27 pl. (pp. 100—101, note 31). For a review of the literature on it cf. N. Poppe, *op. cit.*, pp. 72—76. On this word see also L. Ligeti, *A propos d'un document ouigour de l'époque mongole*: *AOH* XXVII (1973), pp. 1—18 (pp. 6—7, note 29). L. Ligeti writes here (p. 7, note): «Quant à l'étymologie du mot *suu* (*sü* > *su*), les dérivations chinoises et tongouses ne s'imposent pas et l'origine prétendue ouigoure du mot reste non moins inacceptable. A l'heure actuelle, il me semble que l'ancien rapprochement proposé déjà par D. Banzarov reste toujours valable et que le mong. *suu* (*sü* > *su*) doit être rattaché aux formations *sür, sülde, sülder, sünesün*, malgré la difficulté que pose l'interprétation des suffixes fossiles *-r, -lde, -lder, -nesün*; la paléontologie des suffixes fossiles du mongol reste encore à faire.»

[e] For a review of the literature on the word *ǰali* cf. L. S. Pučkovskij, *Заключительная формула в письмах ильханов Аргуна (1289) и Ульдзэйту (1305): Советское востоковедение* VI (1949), pp. 396—422 (pp. 403—409). L. S. Pučkovskij translated the formula *yeke suu ǰali-yin ibegen-dür* (he transcribed the latter word incorrectly as *ibegedür*. Cf. F. W. Cleaves, *The Mongolian Documents*, p. 43, note 5) as *Покровительством Великого Могущества* (p. 408), «By the Protection of the Great Might», i.e., left *ǰali* without translation. But A. M. Pozdneev rendered this formula on ʿAbd Ullāh's *p'ai-tzŭ* as покравительствомъ великаго величія и блеска (cf. *Лекціи* I, p. 125) «by the protection of great grandeur and brilliance» and in another work (cf. his *Лекціи* II, pp. 102—103, note 6) compared *ǰali* in Buyantu Khaghan's edict with Turk. *yalïn*, or *yalqïn* «fire». F. W. Cleaves translated *ǰali* from the expression *yeke suu ǰali-yin ibegendür* as *flame* (F. W. Cleaves, *The Mongolian Documents*, p. 26). Having cited Uigh. *čoγ yalï* «éclat, lustre; auréole», L. Ligeti writes about the Uighur origin of Mong. *ǰali* (cf. L. Ligeti,

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op. cit., p. 7, note). For the word *ǰali* cf. N. Poppe, *op. cit.*, pp. 90—91. For the formula *yeke suu ǰali-in igegendür* and literature on it cf. F. W. Cleaves, *The Mongolian Documents*, p. 44, note 6.

[f] For the orthography *ǰrlγ* without vowels, instead of the form *ǰarliγ*, cf. F. W. Cleaves, *The Sino-Mongolian Inscription of 1362*: *HJAS* 12 (1949), p. 93, note 3.

[g] For the word *büsüre-* cf. *bu̯šire-* in the Minusinsk, Nyuki and Bogotol *p'ai-tzŭ* in ḥP'ags-pa script (see L. Ligeti, *Monuments en écriture 'phags-pa*, pp. 109—114) and *büsire-* in Toghtogha's, Öz Beg's and 'Abd Ullāh's *p'ai-tzŭ* in Uighur script (see L. Ligeti, *Monuments préclassiques* 1, pp. 284—287). In the Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1362 (line 48) this word is given in the form *busire-* which F. W. Cleaves compares with *mongke* for *möngke* and *ǰub ǰugier* for *ǰüb ǰügier* in the same inscription (cf. F. W. Cleaves, *The Sino-Mongolian Inscription of 1362*: *HJAS* 12 (1949), p. 128, note 234). Cf. also *bisire-* «respecter, vénérer, révérer, adorer» (J. E. Kowalewski, *Dictionaire mongol—russe—français*, t. 2, p. 1136b).

[h] *Alda-* «to be slain» in the final formula of the *p'ai-tzŭ* has been translated inadequately by many authors. Thus, D. Banzarov rendered *aldaqu* in the Gruševka *p'ai-tzŭ* as «... wird schuldig sein». Cf. D. Banzarov, *Erklärung*, p. 130, and *Разъяснение: Собрание сочинений*, p. 127. Cf. also his *Пайзе: ZSPANO* II (1850), p. 79; *Paise*: *MSIA* V (1851), p. 334; *Черная вѣра*, p. 52; *Собрание сочинений*, p. 146, where the word in question is translated as *проступится* «fehlt». A. M. Pozdneev also sometimes translated it as будетъ виновенъ «shall be guilty» (*Лекціи* p. 125), though in other works he understood it in a different way (see below). C. Ž. Žamcarano thought that it was more correct to translate *aldaqu* as *разорится, будетъ разоренъ* «shall ruin himself, shall be ruined» than to render it as *ошибется, будетъ виновенъ* «shall be mistaken, shall be guilty», or *будетъ убитъ* «shall be slain» [cf. C. Žamcarano, *Пайзы у монголовъ въ настоящее время: ZVOIRAO* XXII, fasc. I—II (1914), pp. 155—159 (p. 158)]. G. N. Rumjancev (1903—1966) in his notes to D. Banzarov's collected works subscribed to C. Ž. Žamcarano's opinion of this question (G. N. Rumjancev in 1955 could not mention C. Ž. Žamcarano's name, but, nevertheless, having cited him almost verbatim, pointed out in a foot-note his article, omitting the author's name. Cf. D. Banzarov, *Собрание сочинений*, p. 285, note 183 and foot-note 1). The interpretation of the word *aldaqu* of the *p'ai-tzŭ* in Western literature, where it is rendered e.g., as «soll sich schuldig machen», «sera tenu pour punissable», or «shall be held punishable», does not differ from that by previous Russian authors. For the literature on this question cf. F. W. Cleaves: *HJAS* 16 (1953), p. 49, note 19. In *The Mongolian Monuments* N. N. Poppe also renders the expression *aldaqu ük'ugu* in the Minusinsk, Nyuki and Bogotol *p'ai-tzŭ* in ḥP'ags-pa script as «shall be guilty and die» (N. Poppe, *op. cit.*, pp. 57—58) and in note 70 on p. 102 writes: «Most investigators have translated these words incorrectly as «погибнетъ, умретъ» i.e., «will perish, die» (e.g., Avvakum, Pozdneev), and only Banzarov gave a correct translation «проступится, умретъ», i.e., «commits an offense and dies». Actually, *aldadu* is not a passive formation from *ala-* «to kill», because verbs ending in vowels form their passive with the suffix *-γda-*, and only stems ending in *-l* (e.g. *olda* to be found < *ol-* to find) take the passive formative in *-da-*. Mo. *alda-* exists independently of *ala-* «to kill», and means «to yield, lose, miss, fail, sin, err». It is by origin a passive in *-da-* from **al-* = Turkic *al-* «to take». In the *yarlyk*'s of the Khans to the Russian metropolitans we find an exact translation: «а възмоутъ и ни по велицѣй язвѣ извижятся и оумроутъ», «въ грѣсѣхъ боудетъ да оумретъ». (N. N. Poppe refers to D. Banzarov, *Пайзе, Черная вѣра*. ..., p. 52, and *Собрание сочинений*, p. 146, in foot-note 227, and to M. D. Priselkov, *op. cit.*, p. 98; p. 102, in foot-note 228). In fact, Avvakum, who rendered *aldaqu ük'ugu* as «погибнетъ, умретъ» (cf. V. V. Grigor'ev, *Объясне-*

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ние, p. 130), seems to have been closer to the truth. A. M. Pozdneev translated these words contained in the identical Minusinsk and Nyuki *p'ai-tzŭ* as «должен быть убитымъ, умереть» [«must be slain, die»] (cf. A. M. Pozdneev, *Лекціи* II, p. 135). The sentence *ėse bušire-esu aldat'-uqayi* from the Bogotol tablet was rendered by him as» кто не послушаетъ (не будетъ почитать если), пустъ будетъ убитъ» («. . . if anyone does not listen to (/lit.,/ anyone does not respect if), let [him] be slain») (cf. A. M. Pozdneev, *Объясненіе: ZIAN* 39, bk. II (1881), p. 34; *Лекціи* II, p. 154). A. M. Pozdneev wrote in this connection: «Мне кажется, что глагол «алдаху» представляетъ собой страдательную форму глагола «алаху», вместо *alaydaqu*, что неоднократно встречается и в другихъ словахъ, старинныхъ памятниковъ». («It seems to me that the verb «aldaqu» represents a passive form of the verb *alaqu* [«to kill»], instead of *alaydaqu* which is often encountered also in other words in ancient monuments») (cf. A. M. Pozdneev, *Лекціи* II, p. 136). G. J. Ramstedt translated the expression *ülü ajiqun aldaqun*, encountered in a Mongol letter, as «werdet ihr euch nicht fürchten, ihr werdet getötet» [cf. G. J. Ramstedt, *Mongolische Briefe aus Idiqut-Schähri bei Turfan*: *SPAW* XXVII (1909), pp. 838–848 +1 table, T. II, D. 224]. It seems to me that the translation of the word *alda-* «to be slain» by A. M. Pozdneev and G. J. Ramstedt and the interpretation of it by the former as a passive formation from *ala-* «to kill» should be considered solely correct. As for N. N. Poppe's reference to the translation of *aldaqu ükükü* in the *yarlighs*, given by the khans of the Golden Horde to the Russian metropolitans, Russian translators of these documents, apparently, took *alda-* for the other more common word *alda-* «laisser tomber, laisser échapper: 2. perdre, être privé de: 3. ne pas toucher le but, ne pas atteindre le but: 4. perdre au jeu: 5. faire une faute, manquer, omettre: 6. mourir» (cf. J. E. Kowalewski, *Dictionnaire mongol–russe–français*, t. I–III, Kasan 1844–1849, t. I, p. 87/1), as D. Banzarov and other authors did later on, combining the two words into one and translating the former word incorrectly. Judging from the meaning «mourir», given by J. E. Kowalewski to *alda-*, he also confused the two homonyms under discussion. In view of the old Russian translation of the expression, contained in the *yarlyghs*, mention should be made of the fact that much earlier, Marco Polo had rendered the word *aldaqu* exactly in his translation of the inscription on Mongolian tablets (cf. H. Yule, *op. cit.*, p. 351): «By the strength of the great God, and of the great grace which He hath accorded to our Emperor, may the name of the Kaan be blessed; and let all such as will not obey him be slain and be destroyed». Here «be slain» translates, undoubtedly, Mo. *aldaqu*.

In a number of Chinese sources we find *aldasi*, a term, which is formed from *alda-* «to be slain», the passive from the verb *ala-* «to slay». One of these sources is the *Hei-Ta shih-lüeh* 黑韃事略 («A Brief Account of the Affairs of the Black Ta[tar]s») by P'eng Ta-ya 彭大雅 and Hsu T'ing 徐霆 of 1237 (cf. *Hei-Ta shih-lüeh* in *Hei-Ta shih-lüeh chien-cheng* 黑韃事略箋證 «Notes to the Hei-Ta shih-lüeh'»), *I-shu, ts'ê* 37, pp. 1a–30a + 3p., colophon). The passages concerned in this work are translated below integrally together with the important notes by Wang Kuo-wei. Thus, the first author, P'eng Ta-ya, wrote (cf. *ibid.*, p. 15b): «As to their rewards and punishments, [they] usually regard [their] duties and affairs as natural, and dare not consider them merits. Whenever they, associating with each other, announce the alarm [to someone], [they] say ' If our lord sends us [even] into the fire or into the water, [we] shall go [there] with him.' Beginning to speak of hunger, cold, sufferings and hardships, [they] call them *tai* /䚉 *tai* [Mo. *dayi* «trouble»] is the word for (Chin.) *pu-hao* 不好 [«not good»]. / [In the *Hei-Ta shih-lüeh* these words are printed in small characters and, according to Wang Kuo-wei (cf. *ibid.*, p. 1a), are notes by P'eng Ta-ya himself. In this translation they are given in // .] Therefore, in their state there are no rewards in times of peace.

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Only when [they], resort to arms, win [their enemy] in a battle, do [they] reward [their soldiers] with horses, golden and silver tablets (chin-yin-p'ai) or linen, silk and satin. When [they] take a walled city, [they] allow them to sack boys and girls, precious stones and silks. The priority of plunder is [determined] according to the degree of their merits. If the first one shoots an arrow into the gate, the next one dares not enter. When [anyone] has a crime, [they] kill him, and call it *an-ta hsi* 按打奚 (*aldasi*). If [they] do not kill [him], [they] include [him] in the corps of *bādurs* [*pa-tu-lu* (*badur* = *batur* «hero») *chün*] as a punishment /[these troops] are similar to the Chinese *ssu-shih* 死士 «fearless soldiers»./ Sometimes [he participates in battles] three or four times, and after that [they] relase [him]. If his crime is the lightest one, [they] confiscate half of his property.»

Here the second author, Hsü T'ing, adds to what was reported by P'eng Ta-ya (p. 15b): [I, Hsü] T'ing, having seen that one law of theirs is the best one: if [one] tells lies, [he] dies (i.e., is executed).

Wang Kuo-wei's note to this passage reads (p. 15b—16a): (for the Chinese text, quoted by Wang Kuo-wei, cf. *Ta-Yüan ma-cheng-chi* [«A Record of the Horse-Policy of the Great Yüan»], *Kuo-hsüeh wen-k'u* 國學文庫 ed., vol. 49, Pei-p'ing 1937, p. 46). «The *Ta-Yüan ma-cheng-chi* [says]: The imperial edict of the twentyfourth day of the sixth moon of the [cyclical year] jen-ch'en, the fourth year [of the reign] of T'ai-tsung (i.e., Ögödei Khaghan, 1229—1241) (June 13, 1232) [reads]: Let each of the households, which are governed at present by the *lu* of Hsi-ching (modern Ta-t'ung hsien in Shan-hsi), and which number 1627 households, make one manger 5 [16a] [Chinese] feet (ch'ih) long and 1 foot and 4 inches (ts'un) wide after the Chinese pattern [used among] the Mongols. Let [them] prepare carts and oxen everywhere and forward and present [the mangers] to the [imperial camp] *ordu* (*wo-lu-to*) before the tenth day of the seventh moon (July 29, 1232). Nobody must disobey or obstruct [this edict]. If [anyone] disobeys [it], [he] shall be sentenced to the punishment *an-ta-hsi* 按答奚 (*aldasi*). Keep this!».

(for the text quoted cf. *Hou-ts'un hsien-sheng ta-ch'üan chi* «Large and Complete Collected Works of Mister Hou-ts'un», Ssŭ-pu ts'ung-k'an ed., vol. 2, chap. 141, p. 1238/1). «On the *shen-tao-pei* («Spirit-way stele») of Tu Kao in the *Hou-ts'un hsien-sheng ta-ch'üan chi* [chapter] 141 [we read]: The slaves (i.e., enemy) felled [trees] and arranged *chevaux-de-frise* with the help of the firm corps of *bādurs* (*pa-tu-lu ying chün*, literally «the firm corps of heroes»). All the corps of *bādurs* were prisoners condemned to death. [The enemy] sent them to assault city walls and ransom themselves. The armour, they put on, was made of more than ten layers of ox-hides. [They] wore masks on [their] faces to protect [themselves] from arrows.»

The Chinese inscription of 1238 in the Taoist monastery Ch'ang-ch'un-kuan 長春觀 in Feng-hsiang-hsien of the province of Shenhsi contains the following extract from an edict of Ögödei Khaghan (cf. Ts'ai Mei-piao 蔡美彪, Yüan-tai pai-hua-pei chi-lu 元代白話碑集錄 [Collected steles in Pai-hua of the Yüan period], Peking 1955, p. 5): «In accordance with what is written in this imperial edict, [addressed to] the *daruγači* together with the senior officials, and *daruγači* in charge of artisans of any district city, in the state lands of the Northern Chinese, in reference to those people who, in stretching out their heads, are worshipping Heaven in the temples of Buddhist priests, Churches (*hu-mu-la*) of Nestorian great teachers (*yeh-li-ch'iao ta-shih*), monasteries of Taoists (*hsien-sheng*), and mosques (*mi-hsi-chi*) of Moslem clergymen (*ta-shi-man*), laymen must not disturb [them], and let [them] not be ordered to furnish any service and levy (*ch'ai-fa*). Let [them] repair destroyed houses and cottages and old Buddhist temples and Taoist monasteries. Let [them] be ordered to pray [to Hea-

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ven] for [our] longevity, and read scriptures on our behalf. Let [the authorities] sentence any man, who shall not obey our imperial edict, to the death punishment (*ssŭ-tsui*) *an-ta-hsi* (*aldasi*).»

Of these texts, which are, besides the Hei-ta shih-lüeh, Chinese translations from Mongolian, in Ögödei Khagan's edict of 1232, quoted in the *Ta-Yüan ma-cheng chi*, the term *aldasi* (*an-ta-hsi*) is given in the combination *an-ta-hsi tsui* («the punishment aldasi»), i.e., Chin. *tsui* is not preceded, besides Mo. *aldasi*, by any other Chinese determinative, while in his edict of 1238, cited in the inscription in the Taoist monastery, we have *an-ta-hsi ssŭ-tsui* «death punishment aldasi». Generally speaking, under the Yüan, especially during the later period of its rule, the term *aldasi* seems to have been a settled legal term for «execution» clear to everyone. Therefore, it was used in official documents without indicating its exact meaning in Chinese.

Thus, the term in question is used without such a determinative in the *Yüan-tien-chang* four times [cf. Gentenshō sakuin kō 元典章索引稿 Draft Index to the Yüan-tien-chang, compiled by Gentenshō kenkyūhan 元典章研究班 («The group for studies in the Yüan-tien-chang») of the Jimbunkagaku kenkyūjo (*Institute of Humanitarian Sciences*, University of Kyoto, Kyoto 1961), p. 3/1]. Below I translated the passages concerned from this source, correcting erroneous characters in the text on the basis of the well-known work by Ch'en Yüan [cf. Ch'en Yüan 陳垣, *Shen k'o Yüan-tien-chang chiao-pu* 沈刻元典章校補 (*Collation and Supplement of Omissions in the Yüan-tien-chang of Shen's Xylographic Edition*), *Cha-chi* 札記 (*Paginal Records*) in 6 chapters (Peking 1957)].

The following text is contained in the section of the *Yüan-tien-chang* prohibiting the slaughter of cattle and the hunt of game and reflecting Buddhist influence on the Mongol upper classes [cf. *Yüan-tien-chang*, Shen Chia-pen's edition, ph. rep. Chung-hua shu-chü (Peking 1957), chap. 57 (*ts'ê* 17), p. 27a]: «An imperial edict proclaimed by emperor Möngke. What shall that be, if not to sentence to *an-ta-hsi* (*aldasi*) whatever people if only they are the men who slaughter secretly living beings on the quiet, on the first and eighth days of the first decade, and fifteenth and twenty-third days, these four days of each moon, beginning from this year *ting-ssŭ* (1257)? Our imperial edict is written on the eleventh day of the seventh moon, year of the Snake (22 August 1257), in the locality [called] Tien-chih-êrh (Denǰir).»

The imperial edict issued by Khubilai Khaghan (1260—1294) in the sixth moon of the second year of Chung-t'ung (June 29—July 28, 1261) and aimed at punishing offenders against the state salt, tea, liquor and other monopolies (cf. *Yüan-tien-chang* 22 (*ts'ê* 8), pp. 2a—3b) contains a section which reads as follows (cf. *ibid.*, p. 3b):
«At the time when the Tatar people's households claim salt at salt-mines, let all of them claim [salt], having calculated themselves how much [they] will eat! Let [them] be liable to the punishment *an-ta-hsi* (*aldasi*) on the basis of the previous regulations, if [they] demand too much and beyond measure and, living everywhere, carry the smuggled salt on the sly to different localities and sell [it there]! Yet again it is expected that persons, who are guarding passes, will patrol and check strictly. If for all that [any persons] carry the smuggled salt on the sly and sell [it], officials, who are guarding passes, are to be punished together with the criminals.»

Khubilai's edict of the third moon of the eighth year of Chih-yüan (April 11—May 11, 1271) devoted to the division of the population into different social classes (cf. Yüan-tien-chang 17, *ts'ê* 6, pp. 2a—12a) contains a section concerning slaves belonging to the Mongolian soldiers (cf. *ibid.*, p. 6a—b), in which it is stated (p. 6a):
«As to the households of slaves in the Mongol decades, who in the year *jen-tzŭ* (1252) were registered in the records of population separately [from their owners], [the latters]

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dispute [over them] and complain [to the authorities] each year since a number [of them] were taken down. Though [these disputes and complaints] were settled by the ministries (*pu*) of the Imperial government [(chung-shu)-sheng], the litigations never cease. Whereas in virtue of the imperial edict of Emperor Qahan (i.e., of Ögödei Qaγan) respectfully received in the year chia-wu (1234), [all individuals], irrespective of them being Tatars, Moslems, Khitans, J̌urchens, North Chinese or others, are made slaves (*ch'ü-k'ou*), if [they] are persons taken captive by the army and live in the houses [of their owners]. Therefore, if [they] live outside [the houses of their owners] and are included in the records of population anywhere, then [they] form people's households (*min-hu*) of the emperor and are to be liable to the service and levies anywhere. Owners, seeing [these people], still must not recognize [them as their slaves]. If any owner recognizes [such a person as his property], [he] is to be sentenced to the punishment *an-ta-hsi* (*aldasi*).»

The paragraph of the *Yüan-tien-chang* specifying different punishments for officials for exceeding the time-limits of collecting the land tax (cf. *Yüan-tien-chang* 24, *ts'ê* 9, pp. 3a—b) quotes an imperial edict, which, as established by P. Ratchnevsky (*op. cit.*, p. 195, note 2), was issued in 1280. This citation reads: «As to the grain tax, the first term [of collecting of it] is the end of the tenth moon, the middle term is the end of the eleventh moon, and the final term is the end of the twelfth moon. If anyone exceeds the time-limits, [he] shall be sentenced to forty blows with the light bamboo, if [this] concerns the first time-limit, and, if anyone repeats the offence, [he] shall be sentenced to eighty blows with the heavy bamboo. Only, if anyone undertakes the commission to deliver the sum of the tax instead [of someone] or if anyone voluntarily makes [someone] undertake the commission to deliver [it] to the governmental office instead [of himself], all are allowed to denounce [them to the authorities]. If the facts of the matter are reached, both shall be sentenced to the punishment *an-ta-hsi* (*aldasi*).»

In the *Pien-wei-lu* 辯僞錄, an anti-Taoist work written by the Buddhist monk Hsiang-mai 祥邁 between 1265 and 1291, we find an edict issued by Khubilai in 1261 and reflecting the controversy between the Buddhists and Taoists in the XIII century (cf. Hsiang-mai, *Pien-wei lu* in *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經, vol. 52, no. 2116, p. 765/1—2). There it is stated [Mongol documents in Chinese translation included in the *Pien-wei-lu* of this edition are not punctuated adequately. I have repunctuated the passage cited below (p. 765/2)]: «In this memorial (the memorial to the throne of a Buddhist monk about abuses of the Taoists is meant here) a word may turn out true and another one may turn out false. Let [them] settle [the affairs] in the same way as these words are in reality. If [these words] prove to be different [from those used in the memorial in reflecting the real situation], let them comply with which way [they] acted before. If there are Buddhist temples, which are of those [the question of which] was decided before and which were never returned back [to the Buddhists by the Taoists], let [the latters] return [to the Buddhists] only the lands, waters and possessions belonging to the temple households. If there are printing blocks of the falsified [Taoist] book *Hua-hu-ching*, which were never destroyed, let [them] be destroyed. Let [all] build the Three Religions (i.e., Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism) in accordance with the previous regulations. If after this edict of ours is proclaimed, [anyone] distorts the words in which the previous decisions were made, if [anyone] does not return the lands of Buddhist temples [to their owners] and if there is any person who will dispute over [these lands], let [them] be sentenced to the punishment *an-ta-hsi* (*aldasi*). Again, if these Buddhist monks, saying that [they] have an edict, dispute over temples, lands and waters not belonging to them, besides those

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in reference to which the decisions were made previously, what [else] shall that mean if not that [they] are not afraid of punishment? Our edict was written on the twenty-eighth day of the sixth moon, Year of the Hen (July 26, 1261), while staying in K'ai-p'ing fu.»

In the passages from the Chinese sources quoted above, *aldasi* is a *nomen deverbale* in *-si* of *alda-* «to be slain». The suffix *-si* does not seem to be active in modern Mongolian languages. There are not many words in *-si* in Written Mongolian and Khalkha-Mongolian. Cf., e.g., Mo. *kebtesi* «le lit, une tanière, un repaire; matrice, placenta, arrière-faix» (< *kebte-* «coucher») (cf. Kow. III, 2453), and Khalkha *χaldac* «1) примитивность, stickness; 2) заразительность, infectiousness» (< *χalda-* «1) заражаться, to be infected; 2) прилипать, to stick») (A. Luvsandêndêv, *Монгол орос толь* (Moscow 1957), p. 503/1). But the suffix in question seems to occur more frequently in the so called archaic Mongolian dialects. Cf., e.g., Moghol *amtaš* «taste», *anγaš* «perfume, fragrance», *γaššaš* «contentment» and *ʿanqaš* «thirst» (cf. Shinobu Iwamura, *The Zirni Manuscript, A Persian-Mongolian Glossary and Grammar*, Kyoto 1961, p. 85).

As to the word *alda-*, from which *aldasi*, a Mongolian technical term of law of the XIII century, meaning «execution», is derived, as already stated above, it represents a passive of the verb *ala-* «to kill». The material, cited above, shows that A. M. Pozdneev and G. J. Ramstedt, contrary to the authors of recent years, translated correctly the word *alda-*, encountered in Mongolian *p'ai-tzŭ*. The latter author wrote (*op. cit.*, p. 844, note 13); . . . «*aldaqu* ist ein altertümliches Passiv zu *alaqu* «töten». In modern Mongolian languages this passive formative in *-da* seems to be traced only in some old words. Cf., e.g., Mo. *qalda-* «se coller, s'attacher; se communiquer: être infecté (d'une maladie) . . .» (cf. Kow. II, 798) < qala «s'approcher de qn, aller devant . . .» (cf. *ibid.*, p. 787). For the Khalkha forms of these words cf. A. Luvsandêndêv, *op. cit.*, pp. 502 and 503.

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