Sonderdruck

Ural-Altaiische Jahrbücher

Internationale Zeitschrift für uralische und altaiische Forschung
International Journal of Uralic and Altaic Studies
Journal International des Études Ouraliennes et Altaïques
Международный журнал урало- и алтаеведения

Im Auftrage der Societas Uralo-Altaica
herausgegeben von
HANS-HERMANN BARTENS – JÁNOS GULYA
KLAUS RÖHRBORN – KLAUS SAGASTER

Neue Folge
Band 15

1997/1998
HARRASSOWITZ VERLAG
On a Puzzling Word in the Sino-Mongolian Inscription of 1335
in Memory of Chang Ying-jui

(In memoriam F.W. Cleave, 1911–1995)

By Igor de Rachewiltz, Canberra

Abbreviations:

bur. = Buriat

dag. = Daghur

kalm. = Kalmuck

kh. = Khalkha

khor. = Khorchin

mo. = Written(Script) Mongolian

pmo. = Preclassical Mongolian

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

The word in question occurs in the following passage (in Cleave’s transcription): Način noyan-ũ ebedčiņ tuyr-noqin-ũ goyn-ũ Ying sui-ỹin jidte kőebgüd-īyen [17] soyūn  רחוק-ünün ... 3 which Cleave rendered: “After the sickness of Način Noyan had ended, 36 when, in the (?) presence 36 of Ying Sui (Ying-jui), he (i.e., Način Noyan) spoke, ...” 4 In note 86 on page 115, Cleave writes: “The word jidte is not attested in any other Mongolian document with which I am acquainted. It must mean something like “in the presence”, for the Chinese text has (line 13): (chih kung) 9 “pointing to His Excellency”.” 10


3 Cleave, op. cit., pp. 72–73.

4 Ibid., p. 97.

5 Ibid., p. 24.
Commenting on this word in his edition of the inscription, Prof. Dus writes: 'Professor Cleaves explained the meaning of this word as “in the presence” (eminen).’

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

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

The form jigada for jigaqa (see below), ‘in the proximity (of), in the presence (of),’ appears twice in the Altan tobi of Lubsangdajin (Blo-bzan bstan-jin), also known as the Altan tobi nova. In the first instance, jigada is substituted for the word ca’ada (written form: ca’ada) occurring in the Secret History of the Mongols (§ 231) which reads: Yeren tabun minqad-a\-

---

6 Doba, op. cit., p. 263, n. 48.


---


10 Altan tobi, f.75b, lines 4-6. LICHT, loc. cit., has arbitrarily changed jigaqa into ca’ada. Cf. LUBSAN DANTAN, Altan tobi ("Zolotoe shasunie"), tr. and ann. by N.P. SASTONA, Moscow: Nauka, 1973, p. 163, where minu beye jigaqa is rendered ‘to me’ (ko mne). In his revised modern version of the Altan tobi, SAGDA renders jigaqa with an impossible éxai, addo zaxa?o, replacing the tabar (mo. sidar) ‘near, close’ of the earlier (first) edition which had incorporated the gloss into the text. See C. SAGDA, Ėtni jadyn inđešišėn tör yonny zoxiidy tovillen xwannaan alan tovci xemēkk orčiio, Ulan Bator, 1990, p. 83; IDEM, Altan tobi, Ulan Bator, 1957, p. 92.


12 Altan tobi, f.75b, lines 25-26. SASTONA, op. cit., p. 163, renders ca’ada ‘sentry’ (k昭o), adding in note bn: ca’ada ‘sentry, guard’ has the gloss jigaqa ‘who point out’, thus completely misunderstanding the passage. Cf. SAGDA’s unwarranted rendering of ca’ada in this passage as cagdan ‘militia’ (SAGDA, loc. cit.). In a note to this passage in his edition of the Altan tobi, Prof. Ėtni refers to the corresponding passage of the Secret History (§ 232) implying, I think, that the word jigaqa corresponds to jawa-dii (read ca’ada) of the Secret History. See Ėtni (ed. et ann.) Altan tobi, Hohhot, 1983, p. 326.

13 In the Altan tobi the dots distinguishing the letter y from the q are used very erratically and often incorrectly, as is the case. Jamyang GING, in his copy of the Altan tobi especially made for Pelliot (and now kept at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris), has in fact tacitly corrected jigaqa to jigaqa (f. 105a, line 5). It should be noted, however, that in some modern dialects Japa > Jaya (Zhigga, diaza). See N. POPOVA, Introduction to Mongolian Comparative Studies, Helsinki: Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura, 1955, pp. 136-137. Cf. dial. diaza. See B. KIU. TADA, Dagurshik yazyk, Moscow: Nauka, 1986, p. 141 (s.v. diaza). Cf. also M. HILTÖT, D. WANGCHUNDERI, SEGHIOTTOGHADO FII, V. MCCILMURAY, S. GUNZEL, Mongol-English Practical Dictionary, [Hong-Kong]: The Evangelical Alliance Mission, 1949-1953, pp. 553a, 554a, where the word is entered under both jaya and jaga. It cannot be excluded, therefore, than in some cases the word written with - y instead of - q may reflect a dialect pronunciation.
The word āda occurs six times in the Secret History (§§ 226, 231, 232, 269 and 278 [twice]), and, in the written form čayada, twice in the Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1335 (lines 35 and 55),¹⁵ and once in the Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1362 in memory of Prince Hindu (line 21).¹⁶ With regard to this word Cleaves remarked: 'The word čayada is not found in the later language, but it is encountered in the Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1335 (lines 35 and 55). In the Secret History it is written āda. Cf. Hänsch, Worterbuch, p. 24. Kozin in his glossary (p. 610) renders it "vbliz" [in the vicinity].'¹⁷ We may add that Kozin (loc. cit.) also compares čayada with kalm. čayisi 'further on (away), beyond.'¹⁸ Other investigators have related čāda, čayada to khor. čāda ~ čahad 'on one's person, in front of, close to', and to kh. zaxad id.¹⁹ However, the latter correlation is incorrect, as kh. zaxad does not correspond to pm. čayada, but to mo. jaqada, jaqada.²⁰ Čayada is an adverb in -ta/-te/-da/-de from čay 'the other (= opposite) side', hence its primary meaning is 'on the other (= opposite) side.' Cf. mo. čayadu, čatu (= čadu) 'situated on the other side, beyond.'²¹

¹⁵ See F.W. Cleaves, 'The Sino-Mongolian Inscription of 1335,' p. 75 [35] in the combination derge čayada which Cleaves, op. cit., p. 100, renders 'in the service.'²² (in n. 205 on p. 124, Cleaves writes '... The expression derge čayada is literally 'to circulate in the presence and near', and p. 78 [55] in the combination ojir-a čayada which Cleaves, op. cit., p. 104, renders 'in the presence.' Cf. Ligeti, Monumenti prפאכר الحقيقيים 1, pp. 43 (35), 49 (55); Dobu, op. cit., pp. 234 [35], 245 [55], 254 [35], 259 [55]. In n. 83 on p. 266, Prof. Dobu writes that the word čayada should be read as jaqada 'near, close, in the presence.' For a possible third occurrence see Cleaves, op. cit., pp. 76 [46], 102 [45], and 128, n. 281.
¹⁷ Cleaves, op. cit., p. 112, n. 99.

On a Puzzle Word in the Sino-Mongolian Inscription of 1335

As for jaqada ~ jiqada, this is also an adverbial dative of jaq ~ ji 'rim, border, side', hence its meaning of 'on the side or border, near, by, in the presence (of).'²² Cf. mo. jaq-da, id.; bur. zaqada, kh. zaqad id.²³

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

Chinese Index

a 指公
b 小澤重男, 元朝秘史蒙古語文法講義, 風間書房

c 額爾登泰, 烏雲達賢, 阿薩拉圖, ‘蒙古秘史’詞彙選集