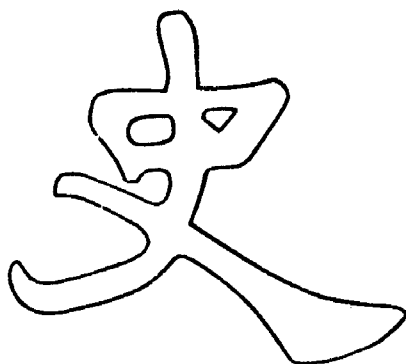


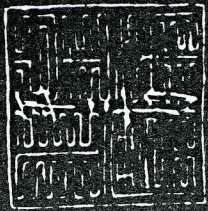
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23

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 東宮 事  
 也可 令 敦大 皇后 懿旨 并  
 妃子 懿旨 道與 平陽 府 務 達 魯  
 花 赤 管 民 官 據 沁 州 管 民 官 杜 謙  
 雕 造 道 戒 經 并 修 蓋 等 事 可 乞  
 授 領 大 使 身 當 者 你 不 得 功 夫 時 節  
 你 的 娘 子 乞 授 領 官 當 者 兼 不 以  
 是 何 顯 下 官 官 人 等 無 得 撻 撻  
 如 違 要 罪 過 者 准 此



庚子 十七日

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## SOME REMARKS ON TÖREGENE'S EDICT OF 1240

Igor de Rachewiltz

The earliest epigraphical monuments of the Mongols present many historical and philological problems, several of which still await a solution.

Elsewhere<sup>1</sup> I have dealt to some extent with various questions relating to the supposed earliest inscription in Uighur-Mongol script, namely the famous stele in honour of Yisüngge known as 'the Stone of Činggis-qan.'

In the present paper I propose to deal with a number of problems concerning the earliest Sino-Mongolian inscription discovered so far: the Edict of Töregene of 1240.

1. I. de Rachewiltz, 'Some Remarks on the Stele of Yisüngge,' in W. Heissig and J.R. Krueger (eds), *Tractata Altaica* (Wiesbaden, 1976), pp.487-508.

This bilingual inscription was discussed by Cleaves in 1961.<sup>2</sup> A transcription of the short Mongolian text of the inscription was published by Ligeti in 1963<sup>3</sup> and, slightly revised, in 1972.<sup>4</sup> As for the text itself (see p.38), a reproduction of the rubbing of the stele in the Shih-fang ta-tzu-wei Temple 十方大紫微宮 of Chi-yüan hsien 濟源縣 (Honan) was first published by Ts'ai Mei-piao 蔡美彪 in his book on the Yüan inscriptions in vernacular, which appeared in 1955.<sup>5</sup>

### *The Chinese Text of the Inscription*

With regard to the Chinese text of the inscription, Cleaves (p.64) has rightly pointed out that its singular importance 'lies in the fact that it is an additional primary source for the story of the printing of the *Taoist Canon* at the beginning of the Yüan - a story of which only the most meagre details have been transmitted.' The inscription in question is, in fact, an edict (*i-chih* 懿旨),<sup>6</sup>

2. F.W. Cleaves, 'The Sino-Mongolian Inscription of 1240,' *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* (hereafter *HJAS*) 23 (1960-61), 62-73 + 2 Plates. (Hereafter Cleaves.)
3. L. Ligeti, *Preklasszikus emlékek I: xiii-xiv. század közzéteszi, Mongol nyelvelméltár I* (Budapest, 1963), p.17. (Hereafter Ligeti 63.)
4. L. Ligeti, *Monuments préclassiques I: XIII<sup>e</sup> et XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles, Monumenta linguae Mongolicae collecta II* (Budapest, 1972), p.19. (Hereafter Ligeti 72.)
5. Ts'ai Mei-piao, *Yüan-tai pai-hua-pei chi-lu* 元代白話碑集錄 (Peking, 1955), Pl.II. Reproduced in Cleaves, Pl.I. See the important review of Ts'ai's work by Iriya Yoshitaka 入矢義高 in *Tōhō-gakuhō* 東方學報 26 (1956), 186-228. Cf. also W. Heissig in *Ural-Altäische Jahrbücher* 27 (1955), 272. The character *lu* 路 in line 4 of the inscription has been inadvertently left out in the printed text on p.7 of Ts'ai's edition (no.6).
6. For this and other Chinese technical terms, including official titles, found in the text of the inscription, see Cleaves' notes (pp.65-68).

issued by Ögödei's wife, the Great Empress (*yeke qadun[-qatun]*) Töregene,<sup>7</sup> to the *daruyači* and the leading civil officials (*kuan-min kuan 管民官*)<sup>8</sup> of the P'ing-yang fu Circuit 平陽府路 (modern Lin-fen hsien 臨汾縣 in Shansi) to the effect that: (1) Tu Feng 杜豐, leading civil official of Ch'in-chou 沁州 (Ch'in-hsien, Shansi), be appointed commissioner-in-charge to oversee the cutting of the printing blocks of the *Tao-tsang-ching* 道藏經 and the construction of an edifice for this purpose in Ch'in-chou; (2) Tu Feng's wife was to take over this task, should Tu Feng lack the time to carry it out himself; and (3) no-one, regardless of whether it was the personnel of the *t'ou-hsia*<sup>9</sup> administrations or any other officials,

7. On Töregene (? - shortly after 1246), see Cleaves, p.66, n.2; I. de Rachewiltz in *Papers on Far Eastern History* (hereafter *PFH*) 21 (March 1980), 33, n.198. Cf. also below, n.14.
8. This is a general term for senior officials - prefects, magistrates and the like - of circuits, prefectures, etc. who were in charge of the local administration. They were mostly Chinese. The *daruyači* were appointed over them as 'overseers,' i.e. in a supervisory capacity, but also with executive functions. With a few exceptions, they were all Mongols or Se-mu. See Hsiao Ch'i-ch'ing, *The Military Establishment of the Yuan Dynasty* (Cambridge, Mass. & London, 1978), pp.154, n.105; 192, n.246. On the *daruyači*, see also P.D. Buell, 'Tribe, Qan and Ulus in Mongol China: Some Prolegomena to Yüan History,' (doctoral dissertation, University of Washington, Seattle, 1977), pp.87-93; Yao Ts'ung-wu 姚從吾 in *Wen shih chih hsüeh-pao* 文史哲學報 12 (1963), 1-20; Cha-ch'i Ssu-ch'in 札奇斯欽 (S. Jagchid), *ibid.* 13 (1964), 293-441. A doctoral dissertation on regional and local government in Yüan China, focussing on the role of the *daruyači*, is being completed at Princeton University by Mrs Elizabeth Endicott-West.
9. On the *t'ou-hsia* (頭下 = 投下), the fiefs apportioned in China to members of the Mongol ruling clan and the military aristocracy, see Hsiao, *op.cit.*, pp.132-33, n.69, and the references cited therein, in particular the important contribution of P. Ratchnevsky 'Zum Ausdruck "t'ouhsia" in der Mongolenzeit' in W. Heissig (ed.), *Collectanea Mongolica. Festschrift für Prof. Dr. Rintchen zum 60. Geburtstag* (Wiesbaden, 1966), pp.173-91.

should interfere with it. The edict ends with the formula, 'If one contravenes [this order], he shall be punished for his transgression. Respect this.' Ögödei's seal<sup>10</sup> is apposed on the edict, which is dated *keng-tzu*/III/17 (= 10 April 1240).

Now, we know that although Ögödei was still alive in 1240 (he died on 11 December 1241), he was no longer actively involved in administration; and that Töregene was then already managing the business of government, assisted by her protégés - mostly Central and Western Asian officials whom she had promoted to key positions in the administration in the previous years. Senior ministers, like the great Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai 耶律楚材 (1189-1243), were either dismissed or ignored.<sup>11</sup> This explains why our edict, even though bearing the emperor's seal, actually proceeds from her and not from Ögödei.

Töregene's status at the time is clearly defined in the edict, where she is called *yeh-k'o ho-tun* 也可合敦, i.e. *yeke qadun* (= *qatun*) 'Great Empress,' this Mongol title in transcription being immediately followed by its Chinese counterpart *ta huang-hou* 大皇后. Töregene's titles as recorded in the edict are of particular interest, as they help us to solve a hitherto puzzling question. In the

10. The legend of the seal is in Chinese and reads as follows:  
 皇帝之寶 'Seal of the August Emperor.' See Cleaves, p.68, n.28. For the different legend of another seal of Ögödei in Chinese (the one kept by his minister Čingai or Čingqai), see A. Mostaert and F.W. Cleaves in *HJAS* 15 (1952), 495, n.87.
11. See I. de Rachewiltz, 'Sino-Mongol Culture Contacts in the XIII Century: A Study on Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai,' (doctoral dissertation, Australian National University, Canberra, 1960), pp.124-25; and 'Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai (1189-1243): Buddhist Idealist and Confucian Statesman,' in A.F. Wright and D. Twitchett (eds), *Confucian Personalities* (Stanford, 1962), pp.207-08; N.C. Munkuev, *Kitaiskii istočnik o pervykh mongol'skikh khanakh* (Moscow, 1965), p.84.

Chinese sources, notably the *Yüan-shih* 元史,<sup>12</sup> Töregene is referred to not only by her name (T'o-lieh-ko-na 脫列哥那), but also by the ethnic Nai-ma-chen 乃馬真 (Naimajin, i.e. 'the Naiman' [fem.]), as well as by the appellation *liu huang-hou* 六皇后 'Sixth Empress.' The latter appellation has so far remained unexplained, since Töregene, as we know from both the Persian and the Chinese sources, was not the sixth, but the second wife of Ögödei, belonging to the emperor's principal *ordo* (his first wife was Boraqčin).<sup>13</sup> I have no doubt that the character *liu* 六 in the *Yüan-shih* is a scribal error for *ta* 大, going back to an earlier source, and that the original correct appellation was the same as that found in our edict, i.e. *ta huang-hou* 'Great Empress.'<sup>14</sup>

The appointment of Tu Feng to supervise the cutting of the printing blocks of the *Taoist Canon* deserves comment.

Cleaves (p.66, n.13) says that he has not succeeded in identifying Tu Feng. This is clearly an oversight, as he is a fairly well-known figure in the early Yüan period and has a biography not only in the *Yüan-shih*,<sup>15</sup> but also in several other histories of the Yüan dynasty.<sup>16</sup> From these sources we learn the following facts about him.

12. *Yüan-shih* (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1976) 106, p.2694.
13. See *ibid.*, pp.2693-94; Rashīd al-Dīn Tabīb, *The Successors of Genghis Khan*, J.A. Boyle (trans.), (New York and London, 1971), p.18.
14. Cf. *PFEH* 21 (March 1980), 33, n.198, where my remarks on the subject must now be revised. In May 1980, I discussed my new interpretation with Dr Chaoying Fang 房兆楹 of Englewood, N.J., and was gratified by his ready acceptance of it as quite plausible. That the error goes back to an earlier source is confirmed by Ch'en Ching's 陳楹 *T'ung-chien hsü-pien* 通鑑續編 (1362 ed.; preface of 1350) 22, 18a, where we also find the form *liu huang-hou*.
15. *Yüan-shih* 151, pp.3574-76.
16. See *Combined Indices to Thirty Collections of Liao, Chin and Yüan Biographies*, Harvard-Yenching Institute Sinological Index Series No.35 (Tokyo: 2nd ed., 1960), p.154a.

His *tzu* was T'ang-ch'en 唐臣. He was born at P'ing-yao 平遙 near Fen-chou 汾州 (modern Fen-yang hsien 汾陽縣) in Shansi in 1190. He served under the Jurchen-Chin as a military officer, gaining distinction. When the Mongol army overran T'ai-yüan 太原 in 1218, Feng promptly changed sides and thus began a rapid and successful career under Činggis-qan's brother-in-law Alči-noyan and the Mongol general Alčar, capturing several important Chin strongholds in Shansi and Shantung. In 1235 he was made chief official (*chang-kuan* 長官) of Ch'in-chou 沁州, a post he held until his retirement in 1247. He died in 1256.<sup>17</sup> His office of chief official corresponds to the designation 'leading civil official' (*kuan-min kuan*) found in our inscription.<sup>18</sup>

Therefore, in 1240, when Töregene's edict was issued, Tu Feng was the top official in Ch'in-chou. The printing of the *Taoist Canon* in Ch'in-chou, with which his name is associated, was an important event and, as we would expect, it is mentioned in several literary sources of the period. The relevant citations have been collected and critically discussed by Ch'en Yüan 陳垣,<sup>19</sup> Ch'en Kuo-fu 陳國

17. See Yüan-shih 151, p.3575; T'u Chi 屠寄, *Meng-wu-erh shih-chi* 蒙兀兒史記 (1934 ed.; rep. Taipei, 1962) 56, 9b-10b. Tu Feng's *shen-tao-pei* 神道碑 composed by Li Ting 李鼎, which is found in the *P'ing-yao hsien chih* 平遙縣志 (*chüan* 11), is not available to me. However, it has been taken into account by the editors of the 1976 ed. of the *Yüan-shih*; see *ibid.*, p.3587.
18. See Hsiao, p.192, n.246. T'u Chi, *op.cit.*, 56, 10a, makes Tu Feng a *daruyacı*; however, T'u's interpretation of *chang-kuan* as *daruyacı* is not warranted in the present case. *Chang-kuan* and *daruyacı* were not synonymous terms, even though the latter was often referred to as 'chief official' (*chang-kuan*) of a bureau. See Ratchnevsky, *op.cit.*, p.33 *et passim*; Cleaves in *HJAS* 16 (1953), 250; and, especially, Paul Heng-chao Ch'en, *Chinese Legal Tradition under the Mongols. The Code of 1291 as Reconstructed* (Princeton, 1979), p.131, n.74.
19. Ch'en Yüan, *Nan-Sung ch'u Ho-pei hsün tao-chiao k'ao* 南宋初河北新道教考 (Peking: 2nd ed., 1962), pp.23-29.



符<sup>20</sup> and, to a lesser extent, by Yoshioka Yoshitoyo 吉岡義豊<sup>21</sup>

From these sources the following facts emerge:

In 1234 Töregene donated a complete set of Taoist scriptures to Yin Chih-p'ing 尹志平 (1169-1251), the successor of Ch'iu Ch'u-chi 丘處機 (1148-1227), alias Ch'ang-ch'un 長春, as head of the Ch'uan-chen 全真 Church in north China. In doing this, Töregene was following in the footsteps of Lady née Li 李氏, principal concubine of the Chin emperor Chang-tsung 章宗 (r.1189-1208), who in 1207 had presented a copy of the Canon to the T'ai-hsü Temple 太虛觀 in Ch'i-hsia 棲霞, Shantung, where Ch'ang-ch'un was living at the time.<sup>22</sup>

In the spring of 1235 Yin Chih-p'ing was in Ch'in-chou 沁州, where he performed religious services. A few months later, on 25 July, Yin and Li Chih-ch'ang 李志常 (1193-1256), Ch'ang-ch'un's famous disciple and author of the *Hsi-yu chi* 西遊記, were ordered by Ögödei to build a Taoist temple at Qara-qorum and to staff it with selected priests.<sup>23</sup>

20. Ch'en Kuo-fu, *Tao-tsang yüan-liu k'ao* 道藏源流考 (Peking: 2nd ed., 1963), I, pp.161-66.
21. Yoshioka Yoshitoyo, *Dōkyō keiten shiron* 道教經典史論 (Tokyo, 1955), pp.172-73.
22. In both instances, the scriptures donated were beyond doubt exemplars of the *Chin Tao-tsang* 金道藏, i.e. of the *Taoist Canon* printed under the Chin in 1190 in Yen-ching (Chung-tu 中都), also known as the (Ta Chin) *Hsüan-tu pao-tsang* (大金) 玄都寶藏. See Ch'en Kuo-fu, *op.cit.*, pp.159-60. Cf. A. Waley (trans.), *The Travels of an Alchemist. The Journey of the Taoist Ch'ang-ch'un from China to the Hindukush at the Summons of Chingiz Khan, Recorded by His Disciple Li Chih-ch'ang* (London, 1931), p.16; P. Pelliot, *Les débuts de l'imprimerie en Chine* (Paris, 1953), p.93.
23. For the Chinese text of Ögödei's edict, see Ts'ai, *op.cit.*, p.4, no.4; *T'oung Pao* (hereafter *TP*) 9 (1908), 307, no.XXI; for Ed. Chavannes' translation, see *ibid.*, 308-09. See also the

In the ninth month of the same year (14 October-11 November 1235), Yin arrived in P'ing-yang 平陽, where he entrusted Sung Te-fang 宋德方 (H. Pi-yün 披雲; 1183-1247), another leading member of the Ch'üan-chen Church, with the task of preparing a new edition of the *Taoist Canon*. This was, of course, a long and arduous task in war-torn China, as it required collecting a large sum of money from government officials and private donors, gathering and collating the extant scriptures scattered in various temple libraries, preparing the new texts for printing, and engraving the printing blocks. The preliminary work was completed within two years. Engraving and printing went on at the Hsüan-tu Temple 玄都觀 in P'ing-yang from 1237 until completion of the *Canon* in 1244.

This edition of the Taoist scriptures, known as the *Yüan Tao-tsang* 元道藏 (to distinguish it from the Chin edition of 1190), comprised 'more than 7,800 *chüan*.'<sup>24</sup> The original printing blocks were kept at first in the Hsüan-tu Temple; in 1247 they were transferred to the new Ch'un-yang Wan-shou Temple 純陽萬壽宮 in the Yung-lo Commandery 永樂鎮 at P'ing-yang. They were burnt in 1281 as part of the repression of Taoism carried out under Qubilai, in the course of which most of the *Canon* also unfortunately perished. What survived religious persecution was lost or destroyed during the disorders at the end of the dynasty.

The reprinting of the *Taoist Canon* undertaken by the Ch'üan-chen Church in the 1230s was largely prompted by political considerations. In the period in question, the rivalry between religious Taoism - represented in north China mainly by the syncretic Ch'üan-chen Church

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*Kan-shui hsien-yüan lu* 甘水仙源錄 (*Tao-tsang* 道藏 ed., 息上, 611) 3, 15a; Waley, *op.cit.*, p.18.

24. Ch'en Kuo-fu, p.166; the 'liasses' of Pelliot, *loc.cit.*, is an error for 'chapitres.'

- and Ch'an Buddhism was at its fiercest. Mongol court patronage to this or that religious leader, with the granting of tax-exemptions and other privileges to their temples and followers, brought about abuses, bitter resentment, and endless charges and countercharges of prevarication and violence. In their propaganda the Taoists relied heavily on the authority of sacred texts, some of which were outright forgeries, to prove their doctrinal superiority. Until the reign of Mōngke (1251-1259), they were able to check Buddhist opposition in the country chiefly on the strength of (1) the prerogatives conferred earlier by Činggis to Ch'ang-ch'un and his followers, and the subsequent favour enjoyed by the Taoists at the Mongol court under Ögödei; (2) the diffusion of religious tracts and the circulation of supernatural and miraculous stories.<sup>25</sup> The reprinting of such an authoritative and impressive body of Taoist scriptures as the *Canon* would have naturally enhanced the prestige of the Taoist Church in the eyes of literate and illiterate alike, particularly since the Buddhists in the north were not then in a position to do the same with their own scriptures and were, therefore, at a disadvantage. In a short poem, written between 1233 and 1236 about a petition circulated in north China (probably by Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai himself) to find donors for the repair of the printing blocks of the *Tripitaka*, Ch'u-ts'ai wrote, 'For ten years now the world is filled with the dust of war. What a pity that half the gold-lettered texts [of the *Tripitaka*] have been turned to ashes! As we wish to analyse the finest points [of the

25. On the Buddho-Taoist controversy, see Waley, pp.26-33; I. de Rachewiltz, 'The *Hsi-yu lu* 西遊錄 by Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai 耶律楚材', *Monumenta Serica* (hereafter *MS*) 21 (1962), 1-128, esp. 11-12, n.9 for further references; J. Thiel, S.V.D., 'Der Streit der Buddhisten und Taoisten zur Mongolenzeit,' *MS* 20 (1961), 1-81; T.Y. Liu, 'The Three Teachings in the Mongol-Yüan Period,' (unpublished paper presented to the ACLS-CSSS Conference on Yüan Thought, Issaquah, Wash., 2-8 January 1978), pp.15-16.

Buddhist doctrine], we have to bring out (= publish) the volumes of the sūtras. It is necessary [for that] to arouse [the people in] the world to donate their wealth according to their circumstances.'<sup>26</sup> This clearly shows that the Buddhists were not idle and that, at about the same time as the Taoists were reprinting their Canon, the Buddhists too were carrying out a campaign for the reprint of their scriptures. However, Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's plea was not successful, perhaps because potential donors in the north got wind of the new edition of the scriptures that had just been undertaken in the south.<sup>27</sup>

26. 'Pu Ta-tsang-ching pan shu' 補大藏經板疏, Chan-jan chü-shih wen-chi 湛然居士文集 (Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an ed.) 14, 8b. For the dating of the poem, see Wang Kuo-wei 王國維, 'Yeh-lü Wen-cheng kung nien-p'u' 耶律文正公年譜 in Hai-ning Wang Ching-an hsien-sheng i-shu 海寧王靜安先生遺書 (Shanghai, 1940), ts'e 32, 20a.
27. The famous Chi-sha 碕砂 edition, begun in 1231 at Su-chou and completed under the Mongols in 1332. On it, see K. Ch'en in HJAS 14 (1951), 213-14; J.W. de Jong, *Buddha's Word in China*, the 28th G.E. Morrison Lecture in Ethnology (Australian National University, Canberra, 1967), pp.17, 25-26, n.57. K.T. Wu's claim in HJAS 13 (1950), 516 (cf. K. Ch'en, 214), that Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai indicated 'that a Chinese version of the *Tripitaka* was made in Yen-ching (i.e., Peking)' is due to a misunderstanding of a somewhat ambiguous statement by Yeh Kung-ch'o 葉恭綽 in his article 'Li-tai Tsang-ching k'ao-lüeh' 歷代藏經考略 in Chang Chü-sheng hsien-sheng ch'i-shih sheng-jih chi-nien lun-wen-chi 張菊生先生七十生日紀念論文集, Hu Shih 胡適 a.o. (eds) (Shanghai, 1937), p.39. The references to Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's works to which Yeh alludes are found in Chan-jan chü-shih wen-chi 8, 28a-30a and in the above-mentioned poem (*ibid.* 14, 8b); however, it is nowhere stated that the *Tripitaka* was printed in Yen-ching under Ögödei or in Ch'u-ts'ai's lifetime. According to Chiang Wei-hsin 蔣維心 (quoted by Wu, *op. cit.*, 457), the blocks repaired or replaced under Ögödei were those of the Chao-ch'eng 趙城 *Tripitaka* of the Chin (printed between 1148 and 1173). These blocks were transferred, early in the Yüan period, to the Hung-fa Temple 弘法寺 in Peking, so that the Hung-fa edition of the *Tripitaka* of the Yüan was

Evidence of the favours enjoyed by the Taoists at the Mongol court in Qara-qorum and, particularly, in the empress' milieu, are the gifts and edicts mentioned earlier. That they also had local support in China is shown by the fact that they were able to obtain the funds and resources needed for this major undertaking in a comparatively short time.<sup>28</sup> P'ing-yang in Shansi was, of course, an obvious choice, as it was a place famous since the first half of the twelfth century not only as an official publishing centre, but also as a centre for private printing.<sup>29</sup> Moreover, as we shall see, it was just then being re-established as a leading centre for printing by the Mongol government.

Our edict shows, however, that in 1240, when the printing of the *Taoist Canon* was halfway through, there must have been considerable opposition to this enterprise. The edict, as we have seen, empowers the leading Chinese official in the P'ing-yang administration personally to supervise the Taoists' printing activity and warns the *t'ou-hsia* personnel and any other officials not to interfere with the work (不以是何頭下官員人等無得搔擾). Now, we know that Tu Feng was not one of the persons directly associated with the printing project;<sup>30</sup> his participation in supervising the printing of

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actually based on the Chao-ch'eng edition. The Hung-fa *Tripitaka* was printed between 1277 and 1294, almost certainly in Peking. Cf. K. Ch'en, 213.

28. Our sources mention how Hu T'ien-lu 胡天祿, a powerful official in P'ing-yang, contributed one thousand *liang* of silver to start the project. See Ch'en Kuo-fu, p.161.
29. See Wu, 454ff.
30. Tu Feng is not mentioned in any of the sources dealing with the printing of the *Canon*. On the other hand, these record the names of laymen (like Hu T'ien-lu) and Ch'üan-chen priests (like Ch'in Chih-an 秦志安 and Li Chih-ch'üan 李志全) who, to a greater or lesser degree and in various capacities, took part in the project. See Ch'en Yüan, *op.cit.*, pp.24-28.

the *Canon* was, therefore, an *ad hoc* measure designed, in my view, to police the printing activity and protect the Taoists from interference on the part of 'other officials.' Who were these officials?

From the *Yüan-shih* we know that in 1236 *tammači* troops were assigned to important centres in north China, including P'ing-yang.<sup>31</sup> These troops were the private armies of the *t'ou-hsia*,<sup>32</sup> and the districts of north China apportioned to the *t'ou-hsia* leaders were, therefore, under the military control of the *t'ou-hsia* administrations. The *Yüan-shih*<sup>33</sup> also informs us about the identity of the *t'ou-hsia* leader at P'ing-yang. He was the above-mentioned Alčar, who has a biography in the same work.<sup>34</sup> His fief in P'ing-yang comprised 648 households altogether (= c.3240 individuals). It is, however, doubtful whether he was still alive in 1240, for he seems to have died soon after his enfeoffment, leaving two sons about whose role in P'ing-yang at the time I can find no references in the sources available to me.<sup>35</sup>

Besides the *t'ou-hsia* personnel stationed in P'ing-yang, there was also in P'ing-yang, Hsüan-te 宣德 (Hsüan-hua hsien 宣化縣, Chahar) and other circuits the Myriarch's Administration (*wan-hu fu* 萬戶府) of Liu Ni 劉寔, alias Hei-ma 黑馬 (1200-1262), son and successor of the famous general Liu Po-lin 劉伯林 (1148-1221).<sup>36</sup>

31. *Yüan-shih* 123, p.3023; cf. Hsiao, p.53.

32. See H.F. Schurmann, *Economic Structure of the Yüan Dynasty* (Cambridge, Mass., 1956), p.63, n.46; Hsiao, pp.16, 137, n.119.

33. *Yüan-shih* 123, p.3023.

34. *ibid.*, 122, pp.3006-08.

35. See *ibid.*, 122, p.3007; cf. Ratchnevsky, pp.174-75, 184, n.16; Hsiao, pp.96, 182, n.138. Alčar is also briefly mentioned in the *Hei-Ta shih-lüeh* 黑韃事略 (*Hai-ning Wang Ching-an hsien-sheng i-shu* ed.), *ts'e* 37, 23a.

36. See *Yüan-shih* 149, p.3517; cf. Hsiao, pp.12-13.

Interference from officials of these regional military administrations, particularly in matters concerning the exaction of goods and labour, was frequent in this period; Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's efforts were, in fact, largely directed towards the curbing of abuses by removing the civil administration (chiefly tax-collection) from the control of the military.<sup>37</sup>

A further potential source of trouble for the Taoists in P'ing-yang were government officials actually connected with the printing activity. We must not forget that the printing and publishing of the *Taoist Canon* at its inception (1235-36) coincided with the establishment of a central government printing office in this very city. This office - also a brainchild of Ch'u-ts'ai - was set up in July-August 1236 under the name of *ching-chi-so* 經籍所 or Bureau of Literature, its main function being the editing and publishing of books under official sponsorship.<sup>38</sup> It was, therefore, chiefly thanks to Ch'u-ts'ai that P'ing-yang came to the fore again as one of the leading printing centres in north China, and it is perhaps not without significance that the first edition of his literary works had been published in P'ing-yang only three years before.<sup>39</sup> The Bureau of

37. See de Rachewiltz, 'Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai,' 201ff; Munkuev, pp.73-74.

38. See Yüan-shih 2, p.34; 146, p.3459; Munkuev, pp.76-77, 192. Cf. Th.F. Carter, *The Invention of Printing in China and Its Spread Westward*, 2nd ed. rev. by L.C. Goodrich (New York, 1955), p.100, n.33. The Bureau of Literature in P'ing-yang was active until 1266, when it was transferred to the new capital Chung-tu 中都 (Peking). The following year it was renamed *hung-wen-yüan* 弘文院 or Department for the Development of Literature, and in 1273 it was absorbed into the newly established *pi-shu-chien* 秘書監 or Board of Imperial Archives. See Yüan-shih 6, pp. 112, 114; 147, p.2296; *Hsü Wen-hsien t'ung-k'ao* 續文獻通考 (Commercial Press ed., 1936), p.4056b.

39. This is the 9-*chüan* edition, edited by Tsung Chung-heng 宗仲亨 and prefaced by Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's Buddhist teacher Wan-sung 萬松, Wang Lin 王鄰, Meng P'an-lin 孟攀麟 and Li Wei

Literature in P'ing-yang, like its counterpart in Yen-ching,<sup>40</sup> was staffed with former Chin scholar-officials. Ch'u-ts'ai's relationship with members of the P'ing-yang intelligentsia and officialdom was, therefore, quite close - a fact confirmed by the poems he wrote to them that have survived.<sup>41</sup> Now, Ch'u-ts'ai was strongly opposed to the Ch'üan-chen Church and its followers, partly on doctrinal grounds, but mostly because of their ruthless methods in gaining increasing power and prestige in China, and at the Mongol court, at the expense of the Buddhists. One of the main criticisms he levelled at the Taoists was their appropriation of Buddhist temples and destruction of Buddhist images, and their abuse of privileges conferred on them by the Mongol court (see above). His *Hsi-yu lu* 西游錄 (*Record of a Journey to the West*), in spite of its title, is not a travelogue so much as a forceful diatribe against Ch'ang-ch'un and his disciples.<sup>42</sup> Another important document containing detailed allegations concerning the latter's unorthodox practices is the famous *Pien-wei lu* 辨偽錄 (*Record of the Confutation of Falseness*) by the Ch'an monk Hsiang-mai 祥邁 (fl.1265). In this work, P'ing-yang is listed among the cities that suffered at the hands of the Taoists.<sup>43</sup> By piecing

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李徽. Li Wei's preface, dated 2 December 1233, is reproduced at the end of *Chan-jan chü-shih wen-chi*. See also the *Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng* 叢書集成 ed. (no.2053) of the *wen-chi*, in which all the prefaces have been brought together. Cf. the *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu tsung-mu t'i-yao* 四庫全書總目提要 (Commercial Press ed.; rep. Taipei, 1971), p.3465; Wang Kuo-wei, 'Yeh-lü...', *yü-chi* 餘記, 5a.

40. The *pien-hsiu-so* 編修所 or Compilation Bureau. See *Yüan-shih* 2, p.34; Munkuev, pp.76-77, 192; de Rachewiltz, 'Sino-Mongol Culture Contacts,' pp.361-65, n.200. Cf. Carter, *op.cit.*, p.88.
41. See, e.g., *Chan-jan chü-shih wen-chi* 1, 1b-4a, 13b; 2, 3a, 14a; 6, 10b. Cf. Wang Kuo-wei, *op.cit.*, 18b-21a, s.a. *ping-shen* (= 1236).
42. See de Rachewiltz, 'Hsi-yu lu,' 2ff., 29ff., 78-80, nn.190-96.
43. *Pien-wei lu* 辨偽錄 (*Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經 ed., v.52, no.2116) 3, 767c, lines 3-4. On the *Pien-wei lu*,



all these facts together, one need hardly speculate on the existence in P'ing-yang at the time of the printing of the *Canon* of a number of officials - some of them attached to the important government printing office - who belonged to Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's faction and who were consequently hostile to the Taoists. They could not have failed, in my view, to become further incensed by the Taoists' abusive practices and by their proselitising and printing activity *in loco*. Active opposition to the Taoists and their work would not have been surprising in the circumstances.

This, in brief, is the background against which the printing of the *Taoist Canon* was carried out. The promulgation of our edict in 1240 appears then in a new light, even though most of the details are still missing.

*The Mongolian Text of the Inscription*

Turning now to the Mongolian text of the 1240 edict, the following are Cleaves' transcription and translation of the three lines in Uighur-Mongol script:

- [1] ene minu üge busi bolyay-san kümün
- [2] yeke ..?.. alday-situ boltuyai[.] ene
- [3] biçig qulayana ĵil

- [1] The person who shall have contravened this my word,
- [2] let him be held greatly ..?.. punishable. This
- [3] Writ. The year of the rat.<sup>44</sup>

A glance at the inscription confirms that the first word of the Mongol text is, indeed, *ene*, written, following the traditional

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see Éd. Chavannes and P. Pelliot in *Journal asiatique* (1913), n.[2], 128, n.1; de Rachewiltz, *op.cit.*, p.12, n.12.

44. Cleaves, p.69.

Uighur orthography, as *ane* (ᠠᠨᠡ).<sup>45</sup> Cleaves' doubts on the correct reading of this word<sup>46</sup> are, therefore, unwarranted and the word is correctly transcribed as *ᠠᠨᠡ* by Ligeti.<sup>47</sup> As for *minu* 'my,' instead of the usual *manu* 'Our,' the explanation, in my view, is that the decree (lit., 'word[s]') was issued by Töregene, not by Ögödei; thus, the *pluralis majestatis* is, in this case, not strictly required.

The real difficulty concerns the second word of the second line, immediately following *yeke*. Cleaves writes: 'As it stands, the word would appear to be *nenge* or *nenke*, *ange* or *anke*, or possibly *nege* or *neke*. Together with *yeke* it would appear to form a "mot-couple," but, as none of the suggested readings yields anything which is recognizable either independently or in conjunction with *yeke*, it is futile to speculate as to what the word itself or the "mot-couple," if it be such, might signify. For this reason I have preferred to leave the word untranscribed and untranslated.'<sup>48</sup>

In his more recent transcription of the Mongol text, Ligeti reads the word in question as 'eregü [?],'<sup>49</sup> which would be perfectly acceptable in this context, *eregü* meaning 'offence, crime entailing punishment,' hence also 'punishment.'<sup>50</sup> The loop of the *-gü* is

45. For other examples of this orthography, see A. Temir, *Kırşehir emiri Caca Oğlu Nur el-Din'in 1272 tarihli Arapça-Moğolca vakfiyesi* (Ankara, 1959), pp.159-61, lines 8, 12, 14, 18, 60: *ᠠᠨᠡ*; F.W. Cleaves in *HJAS* 22 (1959), 32-33 (1). Cf. G. Kara in *Acta Orientalia Hungarica* (hereafter *AOHung.*) 17 (1964), 157, n.20.
46. Cleaves, p.69, n.2, suggests as possible alternatives *eyin* 'thus' and *-gine*, the latter being the second half of the name \*Töregine-Toregene.
47. Ligeti 63, p.17; Ligeti 72, p.19. Cf. also L. Ligeti in *AOHung.* 24 (1971), 148.
48. Cleaves, pp.69-70, n.4.
49. Ligeti 72, p.19.
50. *Eregü-eregüi* (= mo. *eregü*, *eregüü*) is a well known term and one frequently occurring in the orders and proclamations issued by

broken, but this could of course be the result of carelessness in tracing or inscribing the word, or it might be due to subsequent damage to the stone. Unfortunately, the word ends with a conspicuous ductus, which virtually precludes the possibility of the last syllable being -gü. Nor can it be read as -gün (i.e. *eregün* instead of *eregü*)<sup>51</sup> since the ductus is clearly unbroken. Furthermore, the number of 'teeth' before the *kāph* is three, whereas four would be needed for *ere*. For all these reasons, I think that we must regretfully exclude *eregü*. As it is written, the last syllable can only be read -*ke* or -*ge*, and the only plausible reading of the word is *erke*. This is, in fact, the reading tentatively proposed by Ligeti in his earlier transcription of the text,<sup>52</sup> a reading which he subsequently rejected. I had, independently, read the word also as *erke*, and I am still of the opinion that this is the correct reading.<sup>53</sup> Together with *yeke* it forms the expression *yeke erke*, lit., 'great (= supreme)

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the Mongol authorities in the 13th and 14th centuries. In the *Secret History of the Mongols* it occurs in the following sentences taken from Činggis-qan's ordinances: *yisün aldal alda'asu ere'ü-tür bu orotuqai* 'he shall not incur punishment if he commits [up to] nine crimes' (§211); *yisün aldal-tur ere'ü-tür bu orotuqai* 'they shall not incur punishment for [up to] nine crimes' (§219). The denominal verb *ere'üle-* 'to punish' occurs six times in the *Secret History* (§§224, 228, 257, 278[3 times]), always in the context of decrees and ordinances issuing from the emperor. See I. de Rachewiltz, *Index to the Secret History of the Mongols* (Bloomington, 1972), p.224b; E. Haenisch, *Wörterbuch zu Manḡol un niuca tobca'an* (Leipzig, 1939; rep. Wiesbaden, 1962), p.45.

51. In the *Mukaddimat al-Adab* we find the form with and without the -*n* stem. See N.N. Poppe, *Mongol'skiĭ slovar' Mukaddimat al-Adab* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1938; rep. by Gregg Int. Publ., 1971), p.470a.
52. Ligeti 63, p.17.
53. See *Asia Major* (hereafter *AM*) 18 (1973), 232, where I criticised Ligeti's rejection of the earlier reading, without however discussing the problem.

power,' which I presume refers to Heaven rather than to the *qayan* or the Mongol state. We may compare the words *busi bolγay-san kümün yeke erke alday-situ boltuyai* of our inscription with the following words from the Mongolian document of 1272 published by A. Temir: *busi bolγabasu menggü* (= *mōngke*) *tngri-eče aldal-tu boltuyai* 'if they contravene, they shall be held punishable by Everlasting Heaven.'<sup>54</sup> In the former sentence, the words *yeke erke* seem to correspond to *menggü tngri* of the latter, *erke* being normally used in the literature of the period with reference to Heaven.<sup>55</sup> The fact that *erke* is not followed by any case suffix is due to the extremely succinct style of the text, which has led Cleaves to state that the document is actually incomplete<sup>56</sup> (a point to which I shall return later). The expression *yeke erke* is, nevertheless, very unusual in the present context, but so is the rest of the document, including the word immediately following *erke*. With regard to this word, Cleaves' reading *alday-situ* is based on a personal communication from the late Fr. A. Mostaert. Mostaert wrote: 'Je lis le mot qui suit *alday-situ*, que j'explique comme étant un adjectif en *-tu* formé sur *aldaysi*, qui serait synonyme de *aldal* ["faute, offense; infraction" - I.R.]. *Aldaysitu boltuyai* serait donc l'équivalent de *aldaltai boltuyai* [m. à m. "qu'il soit tenu pour punissable" ou "qu'il soit passible de" - I.R.]. *Aldasi* est un mot attesté. Si *aldaysitu* est correctement lu,

54. See Temir, *op.cit.*, p.159, lines 16-18 (transcription); 163, lines 16-18 (translation); and Pl.6, lines 16-18 (text). Cf. L. Ligeti, *Monuments préclassiques I*, p.271.

55. See, e.g., the *Secret History of the Mongols* §113: *erketü tenggiri* 'powerful Heaven.' Cf. W. Kotwicz in *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 10 (1934), 144. Although the expression *yeke erke* does not appear, to the best of my knowledge, in any Pre-classical text, it is attested in the later literary language. See J.É. Kowalewski, *Dictionnaire mongol-russe-français* (Kasan, 1844-49), p.2314b.

56. Cleaves, pp.64, 73, nn.6, 7.

il faut en conclure qu'à côté de *alda-* ["perdre, faire une faute, être coupable de, être punissable" - I.R.] ce verbe a eu une forme *alday-*. Pour cette dernière particularité, l'on ne peut dire a priori que *alday-* soit impossible, parce que, p. ex. *Hist. secr. ilay-* "vaincre" existe à côté de *Hist. secr. et mo. ila- idem.*<sup>57</sup>

The term *aldasi* 'fault, offence, transgression' (a deverbial noun in *-si* from *alda-*) is, indeed, one occurring frequently in the Chinese texts of the Yüan period. In these texts, several excerpts of which are given in translation by Cleaves, the word in question is transcribed as *an-ta-hsi* 按答奚 (~ 按答奚 ~ 按打奚).<sup>58</sup>

57. Cleaves, p.70, n.5 (quoting Mostaert's remarks contained in a letter of 14 December 1955).

58. Cleaves, pp.70-72, n.5. Cf. also P. Ratchnevsky, *Un Code des Yuan*, II (Paris, 1972), p.87 and n.3. However, Ratchnevsky's statement (n.3) that *an-ta-hsi* 'rend en principe un mo. *andagi* ou *aldagi*' is not quite correct and calls for comment. Concerning the transcriptions *an-ta-hsi* 按打奚 ~ 按答奚 ~ 按答奚, Cleaves (p.73, n.5) remarked as follows: 'As observed by the Reverend Antoine Mostaert in a letter dated 12 December 1961, the use of the character 奚 (*hsi*) in these transcriptions is difficult to explain: "Le problème est: Comment le caractère 奚, qui à cette époque se prononçait Xi, peut-il servir à rendre la syllabe mongole *ši*? Autrement dit comment le mot 按打奚 peut-il correspondre à un mot mongol *aldaysi* ou *aldasi*? Je ne puis pas résoudre ce problème.

Autre problème. Si le caractère 奚 peut transcrire *ši* dans le mot *aldaysi-aldaši*, pourquoi rend-il la syllabe *ki* dans le nom 字蘭奚 à lire *Boralki* (Inscr. de 1335, l.38)?"

I should like to propose the following tentative solution to this two-fold problem. The Ancient Chinese reading of the character 奚 was *γiei*. See B. Karlgren, *Grammata Serica Recensa* (rep. Stockholm, 1972), p.232, no.876d; cf. Shen Chien-shih 沈兼士 (ed.), *Kuang-yün sheng-hsi* 廣韻聲系 (Peking, 1945; rep. Kyoto, 1969), p.918a. According to Karlgren, the initial *γ* was a 'fricative dorso-vélopalatale, orale, sonore.' See *Études sur la Phonologie Chinoise*, *Archives d'Études Orientales* (Leyde et Stockholm, 1915-24), p.290. (For E.G. Pulleyblank, on the other hand, this initial was a laryngal *h*. See 'The Consonantal System of Old Chinese,' *AM* 9 [1962], 66,

Cleaves is of the opinion that this transcription may represent an original *alda[ɣ]si* on the strength of Mostaert's reconstruction

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n.2.) In the Chinese dialects this ancient initial fricative has developed into the following phonemes (in Karlgren's transcription): *h*, *ʃ*, *ʒ* (= *ś*), *f*, *k*, or zero. See *Études*, pp.373-74; cf. also *ibid.*, p.110 (to transcribe the palatal fricative, Karlgren uses *ʒ* in *Études*, but *ś* in *Grammata Serica Recensa*; to avoid confusion I shall only use the latter transcription). Thus, we have *śi* (= *hs* in the Wade-Giles system) in Pekinese and the Modern Mandarin dialects, *hai* in Cantonese, *hi* in Hakka and Swatow, *hie* in Fukienese, etc. See *Études*, p.744. Now, the intermediate stage between Ancient Chinese *ɣ(+i)* and Modern Mandarin *ś(+i)* was Ancient Mandarin *χ(+i)*. See A. Dragunov, 'The *hPhags-pa* Script and Ancient Mandarin,' *Izvestiya Akad. Nauk SSSR* (1930), no.9, 635. A similar phenomenon can also be observed in some Mongolian dialects, e.g., in Alar-Buriat, where we find *\*q* and *\*k(+i) > χ > ś*. See N. Poppe, *Introduction to Mongolian Comparative Studies* (Helsinki, 1955), p.132. Although the passage *ɣ > ś* is already attested in north China in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, both *xi* and *śi* are found in the Yüan sources, the former reflecting the Ancient Mandarin stage, and the latter the newly evolved Middle Mandarin stage of the language. While the transcription 按答 (~答~打) 奚 = *aldasi* and the *Chung-yüan yin-yün* 中原音韻 of 1324 guarantee the reading *śi*, the *Meng-ku tzu-yün* 蒙古字韻 of 1308 and the transcription 孛蘭奚 = Boralki of the Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1335, the Yüan-*shih* and other Yüan sources still reflect the earlier pronunciation *xi*. Cf. H.M. Stimson, *The Jongyuan in yunn: A Guide to Old Mandarin Pronunciation* (New Haven, 1966), p.62, no.0375a; for the *Meng-ku tzu-yün*, see Lo Ch'ang-p'ei 羅常培 and Ts'ai Mei-piao 蔡美彪, *Pa-ssu-pa tzu yü Yüan-tai han-yü* 八思巴字與元代漢語 (Peking, 1959), p.106b (= A, 23b); M. Nakano, *A Phonological Study in the 'Phags-pa Script and the Meng-ku Tzu-yün* (Canberra, 1971), p.112, no.202. Cf. L. Ligeti, 'Le Po kia sing en écriture 'phags-pa,' *AOHung*. 6 (1956), 15, 41, no.63. Both the *Meng-ku tzu-yün* and the *Pai-chia-hsing* in 'Phags-pa script (2b6) transcribe 奚 as *hèi* (= Ligeti's *hfi*), hence Dragunov's Ancient Mandarin *xi* quoted by Mostaert. See Dragunov, *op.cit.*, p.784, no.163. As pointed out by Ligeti, (*op.cit.*, p.37 and *AOHung*. 1 [1950], 155ff.), the *Meng-ku tzu-yün* system reflects Ancient Mandarin, not Middle Mandarin. For Boralki (~Buralki), see F.W. Cleaves in *HJAS* 13 (1950), 56, n.205 (on p.101 this name is written 'Boralgi'); cf. P. Pelliot

*aldaysitu*. I doubt whether this interpretation is correct. If we assume that *an-ta-hsi* represents *alda[γ]si* we would expect, in view of the frequent use of this word in the Mongol period, to find some instances of the use of the verb *alday-* on which the noun *aldaysi* is built. This, however, is not the case: the only attested form of this very common verb is *alda-*.<sup>59</sup> Moreover, *aldaysi* is not attested

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et L. Hambis, *Histoire des Campagnes de Gengis Khan*. *Cheng-wou ts'in-tcheng lou*, I (Paris, 1951), p.121, where Pelliot reads *buralgi* (< *buralγi*) instead of *buralki* on the basis of the Persian transcriptions. However, *k-g* is very common in the thirteenth-fourteenth century transcriptions of foreign names and terms. With regard to *Boralki*, it should be noted that in this back vocalic word the syllable *ki*<*qi* (*qī*). In the first half of the fourteenth century *ki* still alternated with *qi* and they were, in effect, interchangeable. Cf., e.g., the *Bodistv-a čari-a avatar-un tayilbur* of 1312, where we find the suffix *-daqī--daki*. See Cleaves in *HJAS* 17 (1954), 59a. For *-ki--qi* in the 'Phags-pa inscriptions, see Ligeti in *AOHung*. 16 (1963), 148. On this well-known phenomenon, which originates from the breaking of \**γ* in Middle Mongolian, see Poppe, *Introduction*, pp.132-34, 137-39. Cf. also Ligeti in *AOHung*. 16 (1963), 147-51. The transcription 奚 (= Xi) of Mongolian *ki* shows, therefore, that the actual sound value of *k* in this syllable was probably *q*, since as a rule the Chinese texts of the Yüan render Mongolian *q* with a velar fricative, whereas Mongolian *k* is rendered with the corresponding Chinese stop (*k'*). See M. Lewicki, *La langue mongole des transcriptions chinoises du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle*. *Le Houa-yi yi-yu de 1389* (Wrocław, 1949), pp.81-85; Ligeti in *AOHung*. 1 (1950), 156ff. In conclusion, *an-ta-hsi* can render in principle either *aldasi* or *aldaki-aldagi*; however, only *aldasi* is eligible because this is the only form which is morphologically possible. Ratchnevsky's *andagi* (or *andaki*) is also excluded on the same ground; as for *andasi*, although possible in view of *aldā--anda-* (cf. Kowalewski, p.12b), one can virtually exclude it because the only form of this verb that is attested in Middle Mongolian and Preclassical texts is *alda-*. On the term *aldasi* see also N.C. Munkuev in *Akademiya Nauk SSSR Institut Vostokovedeniya, Sed'maya Naučnaya Konferenciya "Obščestvo i Gosudarstvo v Kitae," Tezisy i doklady*, I (Moscow, 1976), pp.172, 176-77, n.15.

59. On the meaning and usage of *alda-*, see N.Ts. Münküev in *AOHung*. 31 (1977), 210-15, n.h. Cf. however, de Rachewiltz in

in any other Preclassical text, nor in the later literary language, nor in the modern dialects, whereas *aldasi* is a well known term and one used in the literary language as well as in the dialects to this day.<sup>60</sup> Thus, while provisionally accepting Mostaert's ingenious explanation of the term *aldaysitu*, I regard this word as an extremely rare form, almost certainly a *hapax legomenon*, and take *an-ta-hsi* to be the regular transcription of *aldasi*.

Ligeti, judging by his transcription of the text, regards *aldaysitu* as two separate words, i.e. *alday sitü*.<sup>61</sup> Such an interpretation is grammatically unsatisfactory (what is the meaning of *alday* and in what relationship is this word with *yeke eregü* or *yeke erke?*), and certainly less convincing than the one proposed by Mostaert.

*Aldaysitu* (= *aldasitu*) is, then, synonymous with *aldaltu* or *aldaltai* which, in combination with *bol-*, means 'to be held punishable,' i.e. 'to be held guilty of an offence and thus liable to punishment.'<sup>62</sup> My tentative transcription and decipherment of the Mongol text of the inscription are as follows: [1] *ane minu üge busi*

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PFEB 21 (March 1980), 48, n.203, for a different interpretation.

60. See the lexicographical references in Cleaves, p.70, n.5. As to Cleaves' statement regarding the word *aldas* listed in Kowalewski, p.88b, and translated as 'une petite faute, défaut,' that this word is more than probably a misprint for *aldasi* (a word not registered by Kowalewski), I should point out that this is not so. *aldas* is merely a variant of *aldasi*, no doubt reflecting a dialect pronunciation, which has found its way into the written language. See Ya. Ceval, *Mongol xelniï tovč taïlbar tol'* (Ulan-Bator, 1966), p.31a; *Mongyol kitad toli* (Huhehot, 1976), p.51a. Cf. F.D. Lessing, a.o., *Mongolian-English Dictionary* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1960), p.31a: *aldas* 'mistake, slip, omission, fault.'

61. Ligeti 72, p.19. Same reading as in Ligeti 63, p.17.

62. Cf. A. Mostaert, *Sur quelques passages de l'Histoire secrète des Mongols* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), pp.[147]-[149], n.144.



*bolyay-san kümün* [2] *yeke erke alday-situ boltuyai ane* [3] *bičig qulayana jil* 'The person who shall have contravened this my word (= order) shall be held punishable [by] the supreme power (i.e. by Everlasting Heaven). This Writ, [I have written it in] the Year of the Rat (= 1240).'

With regard to the peculiar phraseology of this text, Cleaves has suggested that it is only the terminal formula of a longer original document (*bičig*) in Mongolian, and an incomplete one at that.<sup>63</sup> He also claims that the three lines in Mongolian were cut, 'presumably, to lend a greater air of authority to the Chinese text of the Edict.'<sup>64</sup> While agreeing with the last statement, I am not so certain that the Mongol text of the edict is the incomplete terminal formula of a longer original. I would venture to say that this extremely terse text, phrased in what today we would call 'telegraphic style,' may well be a particular type of formula conferring authority on a document issued by the court in Chinese (for promulgation in north China) in the early phase of Mongol rule. We know that at least one other edict of the same kind, dating from 1235 - hence contemporaneous with ours - bore a short text (now unfortunately lost) in Uighur-Mongol script following the main text in Chinese.<sup>65</sup> The existence of such brief 'validations' in Mongolian on documents issued by the Chinese chancellery during Ögödei's reign is well known.<sup>66</sup> This may explain why only the essential words are written

63. Cleaves, pp.63-64, 73, nn.6 and 7.

64. *ibid.*, p.63.

65. This is Ögödei's edict of 25 July 1235 mentioned earlier (see above, n.23). Chavannes' statement (*TP* 9 [1908], 309, n.1) that the text in '*hui-hui tzu* 回回字' in this edict must have been in 'Phags-pa script is, of course, incorrect. By *hui-hui tzu* are meant here Uighur letters. See Pelliot in *TP* 28 (1932), 418.

66. From Hsü T'ing's 徐霆 account of 1235/6 in the *Hei-Ta shih-lüeh*, 8b. See Cleaves in *HJAS* 14 (1951), 502-03, 507ff.

down, so conveying the misleading impression that the Mongol text is incomplete. Judging by the language, however, I personally feel that whoever composed the three lines was a person with an imperfect knowledge of Mongolian, hence possibly a non-Mongol, but this is somewhat speculative.

One last point: As Cleaves has already noted, the stele with the Mongolian and Chinese texts of the 1240 edict is found at the Shih-fang ta-tzu-wei kung (see above), a temple in Honan (100 li NW of Chi-yüan hsien) far removed from P'ing-yang, to the authorities of which circuit the edict was originally directed. This being so, 'the reasons for which they were cut on stone at that temple is a matter of speculation.'<sup>67</sup> To answer this question one cannot do better, I think, than quote Ed. Chavannes. Commenting on the localities in north China where some of the stelae with inscriptions concerning the Ch'üan-chen Church are found, the great French savant wrote: 'Il est intéressant de découvrir ces textes dans deux régions aussi distantes l'une de l'autre que *Teng-fong hien* [登封縣, Honan - I.R.] et *Wei-hien* [濰縣, Shantung - I.R.]; selon toute vraisemblance on pourra les signaler ailleurs encore, car ils devaient être reproduits dans nombre de temples taoïstes de l'empire; il est évident, en effet, qu'en les gravant sur pierre les taoïstes se proposaient un but politique qui était d'agir sur l'esprit du public en lui montrant de quelle faveur ils avaient joui sous les deux premiers empereurs mongols; ces inscriptions étaient pour eux une arme dont ils se servaient dans leur lutte contre les Bouddhistes.'<sup>68</sup>

Chavannes' assumption that copies of the same inscriptions would be discovered in various Taoist temples has proved correct. The

67. Cleaves, p.64. See *ibid.*, n.6, for the exact location of the Shih-fang ta-tzu-wei Temple.

68. *TP* 9 (1908), 299.

inscription of the Yü-ch'ing Temple 玉清宮 of Wei-hsien in Shantung to which he refers in the above passage is the edict of 25 July 1235<sup>69</sup> which I mentioned earlier. The text of the same edict published by Ts'ai Mei-piao is, however, the one engraved on a stele found in the Ch'ung-yang Wan-shou Temple 重陽萬壽宮 in Chou-chih hsien 塾屋縣, Shensi.<sup>70</sup> It is to be hoped that another copy of the 1240 edict will also turn up in China one day, and that it will then be possible to dispel all doubts concerning the Mongolian text of the inscription.

69. See *ibid.*, pp.308-09, no.XXI.

70. Ts'ai, p.4, no.4. The text of Činggis-qan's edict of 1223 published by Chavannes on the basis of the inscription found at the Yü-ch'ing Temple in Shantung (*TP* 4 [1904], 368-70, no.1) was also published by Ts'ai, p.1, no.1, on the basis of the inscription in the Ch'ung-yang Wan-shou Temple in Shensi. Cf. Iriya, *op.cit.*, 195.