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Khyams-sgo [61] was founded by Chos-dpal. Abbots: Rin-chen-dpal-bzaṅ, dPal-ḥbyor-rgyal-mtshan, Chos-rnam-rgyal, Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan, ḥJam-dbyaṅs-chos-bzaṅ, E-pa Don-grub-rgya-mtsho, Gu-ge gSuṅ-rabs-rgya-mtsho, Nam-mkhaḥ-bKra-çis, Thaṅ-chen Ṅag-dbaṅ-don-ldan living at the time of the author; about forty monks of the second class.

[61] Kyams-sgo is ḥKhyam on the Shyok River. It will be noticed that these last identifications are not so certain as the others referred to in the first part of the catalogue. This is due to the fact that Saṅs-rgyas-rgya-mtsho does not indicate the country in which these places are located.

REVIEWS

Erich HAENISCH, *Die Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen / Aus einer mongolischen Niederschrift / des Jahres 1240 / von der Insel Kode'e im Keluren = Fluss / Erstmalig übersetzt und erläutert von* —— ——

Mit 15 Abbildungen / Zweite verbesserte Auflage / 1948 / Otto Harrassowitz. Leipzig. [XVIII + 196 pages; illustrations: pp. 186-193; maps: pp. 194-195; line cut: p. 196.]

Professor Erich HAENISCH, who will celebrate his seventieth birthday on 27 August 1950, has done more than anyone else to make the *Mongγol-un niuča* [= *ni'uča*] *to*[*b*]*ča'an* or the *Secret History of the Mongols* available to the Western World. With his reconstruction of the Mongolian text, his dictionary, and his translation, he has opened the way for further detailed study of this precious text. His work has been that of a pioneer in an unexplored territory. It has not been easy. Errors have been committed and problems have been left unsolved, but it will be to his enduring credit that he had the courage to blaze the trail. For this we all owe him a debt of gratitude.

The titles of most of HAENISCH's publications on the *Secret History* are included in the "Verzeichnis der Werke von Erich Haenisch" in *Monumenta Serica* 5 (1940) .1-5. Since a complete list of these publications may prove useful for purpose of reference, I present herewith a bibliography of everything which HAENISCH has published on the *Secret History*. The titles are arranged in chronological sequence with references to any reviews or notices of which I have record.

1931

Untersuchungen über das Yüan-ch'ao pi-shi, die Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen [= *Abhandlungen der philologisch-historischen Klasse der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, XLI, Nr. IV] (S. HIRZEL: Leipzig, 1931), 100 pages.

Reviews or notices:

H. C[hatley], *JNCBRAS* 63 (1932) .171-172.
E. GASPARDONE, *BEFEO* 31 (1931) .249-250.
P. PELLIOT, *TP* 28 (1931) .156-157.

1933

"Die letzten Feldzüge Cinggis Han's und sein Tod," *AM* 9 (1933) .503-551 [pp. 506-512 are devoted to the translation of §§ 256-268 of the *Secret History*].

Reviews or notices:

P. PELLIOT, *TP* 31 (1934) .157-167 (specifically pp. 158-160).

1934

"Mongolisch *horohhu* ‚wegschnappen' ‚mit etwas im Mund davon laufen'," *AM* 10 (1934) .140-141.

Reviews or notices:

J. R. WARE, *HJAS* 1 (1936) .420.

1935

Manghol un niuca tobca'an (Yüan-ch'ao pi-shi). Die geheime Geschichte der Mongolen, aus der chinesischen Transkription (Ausgabe Ye Têh-hui) im mongolischen Wortlaut wiederhergestellt (Otto HARRASOWITZ: Leipzig, 1935) XII + 124 pages + 2 line cuts.

Reviews or notices:

P. PELLIOT, *TP* 32 (1936) .355-359.

1937

Idem (Otto HARRASOWITZ: Leipzig, 1937)

Reviews or notices:

K. GRØNBECH, *ZDMG* 94 (1940) .431-435.
G. COEDÈS, *BEFEO* 37 (1937) .545.
G. L. M. CLAUSON, *JRAS* 4 (1938) .571-572.

1938

"Bermerkungen zur Textwiederherstellung des Manghol un Niuca Tobca'an (Yüan-cha'o [*sic*] pi-shi)," *ZDMG* 92 (1938). 244-254.

1939

Wörterbuch zu Manghol un niuca tobca'an (Yüan-ch'ao pi-shi), Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen (Otto HARRASOWITZ: Leipzig, 1939). VII + 191 pages.

1941

Die geheime Geschichte der Mongolen aus einer mongolischen Niederschrift des Jahres 1240 von der Insel Kode'e im Keluren-Fluss erstmalig übersetzt und erläutert [= *Das Mongolische Weltreich: Quellen und Forschungen* I] (Otto HARRASOWITZ: Leipzig, 1941). XXXII + 210 pages + 2 maps + 1 line-cut.

Reviews or notices:

A. VON GABAIN, *Historische Zeitschrift*, Bd. 165 (1943) .591-595.

1944

"Der Stand der Yüan-ch'ao-pi-shi = Forschung," *ZDMG* 98 (1944) .109-120.

In 1948 HAENISCH added to this impressive list of publications a second edition of his translation of the *Secret History*. It is this second edition which forms the subject of this review.

Since HAENISCH has succinctly stated in the "Vorwort zur zweiten Auflage" the major differences between the first and second editions of his translation, I shall reproduce it herewith:

Vorwort zur zweiten Auflage

Die Übersetzung erschien vor vier Jahren in kleiner Auflage beim gleichen Verlag als erster Band einer Reihe ‚Das Mongolische Weltreich'. Da das Buch Anklang gefunden hat, wird es, nachdem der gesamte Restbestand der Auflage verbrannt ist, hiermit neu ausgegeben, und zwar für den weiteren Kreis der Gebildeten. Zu diesem Zweck hat es in der äusseren Ausstattung gewisse Änderungen erfahren.

Zum Vorwort der ersten Auflage ergänzend ist zu berichten, dass inzwischen vier weitere Rekonstruktionen des Textes erschienen sind: nämlich von Hattori Schirō und Dug'ar Jab in Tokio 1939 (nur das 1. Kapitel), von Bügegeschik

in Hailu (Mandschurei) 1941, von Altanwatschir in Kalgan 1942 und, die wichtigste, von S. A. Kozin in Leningrad in 1941 mit Wörterliste und russischer Übersetzung.

Zu bemerken ist: Die Kapitelüberschriften sind vom Übersetzer hinzugefügt. Die Namen sind so geschrieben, dass sie vom deutschen Leser heruntergelesen werden können, wenn er beachtet, dass ch stets hart wie in B a ch und s in jedem Falle scharf wie ss zu sprechen ist. (Auf den Landkarten ist noch die wissenschaftliche Schreibung geboten: ḫ (ch), c (tsch), j (dsch), ś (sch)). Für die chinesischen Namen in Anmerkungen, Listen und Kommentar, erkenntlich durch ihre Einsilbigkeit, ist die gebräuchliche Schreibung mit englischem Konsonantenwert beibehalten worden.

Zur Veranschaulichung der Vorgänge wurde das Buch mit Bildern versehen, Gegenwartsaufnahmen des Übersetzers. Sie müssen mit Vorbehalt betrachtet werden. Sie geben wohl von der Natur das rechte Bild auch der Zeit vor siebenhundert Jahren, der Landschaft, der Tierwelt und auch der Behausung der Jurte. Nicht so von dem Menschen. An ihm hat sich die Kleidung geändert, aber auch der Typus. Das mongolische Volk ist nicht mehr die Rasse der Zeit Tchinggis Chans.—Zu den zeitgenössiischen [*sic*] chinesischen Bildern, die in Bekleidung und Bewaffnung sicher getreu sind, ist wieder zu bemerken, dass wohl die Malerei der Yüan = Zeit eine hohe Kunst [XVI] Technik aufweist, aber die figürliche Darstellung doch eben immer noch zu viel chinesische Manier und Schablone verrät, als dass wir von wirklich echten Abbildern der damaligen Mongolen sprechen dürften. Wir müssen auch im Sinne behalten, dass der mongolische Mensch den Chinesen körperlich hässlich und widerwärtig erschienen ist, so wie später der europäische Barbar des 19. Jahrhunderts, dessen Darstellung uns einen Begriff von der chinesischen bildlichen Auffassung des Fremden gibt. So wird der chinesische Porträtist seinem Vorbilde kaum gerecht geworden sein, und es fragt sich, ob der Reiterführer Tchinggis Chan wirklich wie ein in den Schultern steckender Greis ausgesehen hat. Die Zahlen im Text und hinter den Bildern deuten auf die Abschnitte der Vorlage.

Erich Haenisch

Nachträglich wurde bekannt, dass während des Krieges auch eine japanische Ausgabe erschienen ist auf Grund von Nakas Arbeit, besorgt von Shiratori Kurakichi, Tokyo 1942.

A careful comparison of the first and second editions reveals that the translator also made some minor, but significant, revisions in the text of the second edition. I shall indicate a few of these in the course of this review.

As A. VON GABAIN has adequately treated in her review of the first edition such general features of the work as its form and content, I propose to devote myself to a few specific questions of transcription and translation. My rather extended consideration of

some of these questions is justified, I feel, by the importance both of the text and of HAENISCH's translation. Further, my remarks are offered for the sole purpose of contributing something constructive to the translator's commendable labor.

Page 1 § 2

The name *A'uǰam Boro'ul* (*YCPS* 1.1b5) is transcribed "A'udschan boro'ul." In the first edition of the translation it was transcribed "A'ujan boro'ul." On page 357 of his review of *Mangḫol un niuca tobca'an* in *TP* 32 (1936) .355-359, Paul PELLIOT remarked: "P. 1, § 2: *A'uǰan-boro'ul*. La transcription chinoise suppose *A'uǰam-Boro'ul*, et l'-*m* est confirmé par Rašīdu-'d-Dīn et par le mss. d'Ulān Bātor. J'ajoute, mais ceci n'a rien à voir avec la restitution de M. H., que le mss. d'Ulān-Bātor et Rašīdu-'d-Dīn sont d'accord pour écrire °*Bo'orul*, qui pourrait bien être la forme correcte." It is unfortunate that HAENISCH did not accept PELLIOT's correction, for the erroneous form "A'ujan boro'ul" passed into the Turkish translation by Ahmet Temir as "A'ucan-boro'ul." Cf. Ahmet Temir, *Moǧolların Gizli Tarihi* (Ankara, 1948), p. 3 § 2.

Page 1 § 3

The words *Dayir Boro qoyar külü'üd aγtastu büle'e* (*YCPS* 1.2b3-4) are rendered ". . . hatte . . . zwei edle Wallache Dair und Boro, den Hirschbraunen und den Dunkelgrauen." This translation is a felicitous revision of that in the first edition which reads: ". . . hatte . . . zwei edle Wallache Dair und Boro, den Grossen und den Dunkelgrauen." HAENISCH's authority for rendering *Dayir* as "den Grossen" in the first edition was the Chinese gloss on the word *dayir* in § 245 (*YCPS* 10.40a3) which is 大 (*ta*) "big." This gloss, however, is incorrect. (See my remarks on "Page 118 § 245" below.) Unfortunately, the earlier translation mislead Ahmet Temir, who rendered *Dayir* as "büyük" ("big") in note 3 on page 4 of his Turkish translation. The names *Dayir* and *Boro* are not glossed as such in the interlinear Chinese translation, but there can be no doubt that they are the names of the two geldings of Toroγoljin Bayan.

It is, perhaps, not inappropriate to recall in this connection

that the correct translation of the name *Dayir* in this passage was first made by B. Ya VLADIMIRCOV in 1929 in his article "Заметки к древнетюркским и старомонгольским текстам" ("Notes sur les textes turcs anciens et vieux-mongols") in Доклады Академии Наук СССР 1929 (*Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Sciences de l'URSS*), pp. 289-296. There on page 296 in his remarks on the word *dayir*, VLADIMIRCOV wrote:

В Юань-чао-би-ши встречается следующая фраза: *dayir boro γoyar külü'üd aγtastu böle'e* '(у Торогольджина) было два славных мерина (верховых коня), бурый и серый (Бурко и Серко)'.[1] Фраза эта в том же почти контексте встречается и в позднейших монгольских исторических сочинениях, заключающих в себе много старинных обзацов, напр.: *dayir boru χoyar mori-tai*[2] 'было два коня, бурый и серый (Бурко и Серко)'. Примеры эти определенно указывают на то, что *dayir* значило 'бурый, темно-бурый'. Значение же 'олень-самец', очевидно, производное, второстепенное, в роде, напр., русск. серый в значении 'волк'.

Монг. *dayir* 'бурый, темно-бурый, Бурко' < **daγïr* < **daγïř* > тюрк. *yaγïz* 'бурый, темно-бурый, Бурко'.

[1] Ср. Палладий, Старинн. монг. сказание о Чингисхане, Труды росс. духовн. миссии в Пекине, IV, стр. 23. В тексте перевода арх. Палладия стоит Тайр, но в рукописи арх. Палладия хранящейся ныне в Азиатском музее АН, заключающей в себе транскрипцию русскими буквамн монгольского текста Юань-чао-би-ши, представленного китайскими иероглифами, стоит Даир.

[2] Алтан Тобчи Гомбоева, стр. 4; пекинское издание, p. 7.

[In the *Yuan'-čao-bi-ši* the following sentence is encountered: *dayir boro γoyar külü'üd aγtastu böle'e* '(Torogol'džin had) two glorious *merin* (riding horses), chestnut and gray (Chestnut and Gray).'[1] This sentence is encountered in almost the same context even in the latest Mongolian historical works, containing many ancient excerpts, e. g.: *dayir boru χoyar mori-tai*[2] 'there were two horses, chestnut and gray (Chestnut and Gray).' These examples definitely indicate that *dayir* meant 'chestnut, dark-chestnut.' But the meaning 'deer-male,' obviously, is a derivative, secondary, in the style, e. g., of the Russ. серый ["gray"] in the meaning of 'волк' ["wolf"].

The Mong. *dayir* 'chestnut, dark-chestnut, Chestnut' < **daγïr* < **daγïř* > Turk. *yaγïz* 'chestnut, dark-chestnut, Chestnut.'

[1] Cf. Palladij, Старинн. монг. сказание о Чингисхане ["Anc. Mong. Account About Čingiskhan"], Труды росс. духовн. миссии в Пекине [*Works of the Russ. Relig. Mission in Peking*], IV, p. 23. In the text of the translation of the Arch. Palladij there stands Таир (*Tair*), but in the manuscript of the Arch. Palladij kept now in the Asiatic Museum of the A[cademy] of S[ciences], containing a transcription in Russian letters of the Mongolian text of the *Yuan'-čao-bi-ši*, represented in Chinese characters, there stands Даир (*Dair*).

[2] The Altan Tobči of Gomboev, p. 4; Peking edition, p. 7.]

In note 2 on page 192 of his note "Sur *yam* ou *ǰam*, "relais postal" " in *TP* 27 (1930) .192-195, PELLIOT remarked, with reference to VLADIMIRCOV's "Notes . . ." "Pour celle de ces notes qui concerne le mot *dayïr* (pp. 295-296), l'équivalence à turc *yaγïz*, "brun", "bai", va bien pour le § 3 de l'*Histoire secrète des Mongols*. Elle paraîtrait moins satisfante pour le *dayïr ätügän*, "grande terre", du § 245, dont la leçon est confirmée par le manuscrit mongol retrouvé récemment; mais cf. *yaγïz*, "la brune" = "la terre" (opposé à *kök*, "le bleu" = "le ciel") dans F. W. K. Müller, *Uigurica II*, 80; "grand" doit être un contresens des traducteurs chinois." In note 1 on pages 58-59 of his article "Une tribu méconnue des Naiman: les Bätäkin" in *TP* 37 (1943-1944). 35-71 + "Addenda" ([page 72]) PELLIOT remarked: "Vladimircov a déjà indiqué les noms des deux chevaux Dayir et Boro mentionnés au § 3 de l'*Histoire secrète*, et à sa suite dans l'*Altan tobči* publié par Gomboev (pp. 4, 120 [avec une fausse explication de *dayir* comme "grand cheval déjà usé"]), étaient clairement "le Bai" et "le Gris"."

Page 2 § 13

The words *a'ušigitu ǰildu arasun inu abču* (*YCPS* 1.8b3) are rendered ". . . und indem er eine Brustseite und das Fell für sich nahm, . . ." In note 1 on page 103 of his article "Širolya ~ širalya" in *TP* 37 (1943-1944) .102-113, PELLIOT remarked "Dans sa traduction *Die geheime Geschichte der Mongolen*, Leipzig, 1941, 2, Haenisch dit "eine Brustseite und das Fell", sans faire mention des poumons; ce ne peut être là qu'une inadvertance." Apparently, HAENISCH failed to detect this omission, when he was preparing the second edition of his translation.

Page 3 § 18

The words *aqa de'ü üye qaya* (*YCPS* 1.11a1) are rendered "Hausgenossen = Brüder." In his "Erläuterungen" (p. 149) HAENISCH remarks: "Das mongolische Wort uye chaya ist unbekannt, in der chinesischen Glosse wiedergegeben mit fang = ts'in Verwandte = Hausgenossen . . ." The words *üye qaya* still live in the Ordos dialect. Cf. "[1]*χaja* dans *ɯje χaja* articulation, génération. Voir s. v. *ɯje*. [*Hist. secr.* I, f. 11r (Haenisch, 18)

üye qaya parents qui demeurent dans la même maison]" (A. MOSTAERT, *Dictionnaire ordos* 1.324b). *Sub verbo* ɯje (*ibid.*, p. 753b) we find: " ɯje *χaja öwöɒ'tš'i wān* les articulations me font mal" and " ʙiɒa ɯje *χaja nège-imā* nous sommes parents de la même génération; ʙiɒa ɯje *χaja aχa* ɒū nous sommes parents à un degré éloigné." The expression ɯje *χaja aχa* ɒū is identical with that in the *Secret History* (*aqa de'ü üye qaya*) except that the terms are reversed.

Page 3 § 19

The words *qabur niken üdür* (*YCPS* 1.11b2) are rendered " Eines Tages im Herbst." " Herbst " is, of course, a *lapsus* for " Frühling."

Page 3 § 21

To her two sons by Dobun Mergen, Belgünütei and Bügünütei, who entertain the suspicion that the Ma'aliγ Baya'ud is the father of their three brothers, Buγu Qatagi, Buγatu Salji, and Bodončar Mungqaγ (i. e., " Stupid "), Alan Γo'a admits that their suspicion is justified, but explains: *sönid büri čeügen* [= *če'ügen*] *šira gü'ün ger-ün erüge dotoγa-yin gege'er oroju* (*YCPS* 1.13a1.2). HAENISCH rendered these words: " Nacht für Nacht kam ein goldglänzender Mann durch die Dachluke der Jurte herein." This translation does not account for the word *dotoγa* which is glossed 門額 (*mên-ô*) " door top " (lit., " door forehead ") in the interlinear Chinese translation (*YCPS* 1.13a1). In the free, abridged translation the words *erüge dotoγa* are rendered: 自天窓門額 (*YCPS* 1.13b3). On page 26 of his translation the Archimandrite Palladij rendered these words as ". . . черезъ верхнее отверстіе юрты, и сквозь дверь, . . ." [". . . through the upper aperture of the yurt, and through the door, . . ."]. PELLIOT rendered the same Mongolian text: " Chaque nuit, un homme jaune brillant, entrant [par] l'ouverture supérieure de la tente [ou] par l'[interstice] lumineux [124] du linteau [de la porte], . . ." on pages 123-124 § 21 of his *Histoire secrète des Mongols* (Paris, 1949). This translation, however, is not exact, because it separates the word *gege'er* from *erüge*, associating it only with *dotoγa*. As a matter of fact, *erüge* stands in the same grammatical relationship to

gege'er as *dotoγa*, i. e., that of a *genitivus*. The words *erüge dotoγa-yin gege'er* can only mean " by the light of the sky hole and of the door top."

The *erüge* " sky hole," " smoke hole " and *dotoγa* " door top " are, in fact, the two apertures through which the beam of light passes; that is, it enters by way of the *erüge* and issues by way of the *dotoγa*. Hence, the text should be rendered: " Every night a bright yellow man entering by the light of the sky hole and door top of the yurt, . . ."

Part 4 § 24

Bodončar, ostracized by his four brothers from the family and excluded by them from a share in the inheritance of the estate of his mother, Alan Γo'a, mounted his horse, his only possession, and proceeded along the Onan River saying: " *ükü'esü inu üküsügei. a'asu inu asuγai* " (*YCPS* 1.15b3). HAENISCH rendered these words: " Wenn er stirbt, werde ich sterben. Wenn er leben bleibt, werde ich leben." The smooth Chinese translation reads (*YCPS* 1.16a1): 由他死呵死.活呵活 . The Archimandrite Palladij rendered this incorrectly (*op. cit.*, p. 27): ". . . умру, такъ умру; останусь живъ, такъ буду жить." [". . . I shall die, so I shall die; I shall remain alive, so I shall be living."] KOZIN (p. 15 § 24) rendered the Mongolian text: " Умереть, так умереть! Живу быть, так быть живу! " [" To die, so to die! To be alive, so to be alive! " (i. e., If one is fated to die, then one must die. If one is fated to be alive, then one must be alive.)] On page 113 of his article " Die Sprache der mongolischen Quadratschrift " in *AM* (Neue Folge) 1 (1944). 97-115, N. POPPE translated the same text as " sterbe ich, so sterbe ich, soll ich am Leben bleiben, so werde ich es! " It is interesting to observe that, while the Russian translators have all interpreted the text differently from HAENISCH, his interpretation alone is correct. PELLIOT's translation (*op. cit.*, p. 124 § 24) is also the same as that of HAENISCH: " S'il meurt, je mourrai; s'il vit, je vivrai."

Page 4 § 24

The name *Baljun Aral* (*YCPS* 1.15b4) is transcribed " Baltschun aral." In the first edition of the translation it was tran-

scribed " Balcun aral." It is true that the text has 巴勒諄阿剌 or *Balǰun Ara[l]*. However, as remarked by PELLIOT on page 358 of his review of *Manghol un niuca tobca'an* in *TP* 32 (1936) .355-359: " P. 3, § 24: La correction " Balǰun-aral ", seulement proposée en note, est juste; . . ." Although HAENISCH incorporated the corrected form " aral " into both editions of his translation, he retained " Balcun " ~ " Baltschun " which is erroneous for " Baljun " ~ " Baldschun."

Page 6 § 43

The name *Barim Ši'iratu Qabiči* (*YCPS* 1.25b2) is transcribed " Barin schiyilatu chabitschi." In the first edition of the translation it is transcribed " Barin śiyilatu ḥabici." On page 51 of B. Ya VLADIMIRCOV's Общественный строй монголов [*Social Organization of the Mongols*] (Leningrad, 1934) the name is transcribed Баринь-шиирату-хабичи [" Barin'-šiiratu-khabiči "]. In note 3 on page 63 of the French translation by Michel CARSOW, *Le régime social des Mongols* (Paris, 1948), PELLIOT remarked " *Barin* est une mauvaise restitution du chinois qui est en réalité « barim »; . . ." In the original text we have 杷禾林 (*Ba-rim* = *Barim*). In the case of *Ši'iratu*, the text has, in reality, 失亦剌禿 (*Ši-i-la-tu*, hence " *śiyilatu* " in HAENISCH's transcription), but this is an error for 失亦禾剌禿 (*Ši-i-ra-tu* = *Ši'iratu*). The words *Barim Ši'iratu* mean " Having a Lower Leg Only as Long as the Breadth of a Fist." Applied to Qabiči, the epithet *Barim Ši'iratu* is a nickname, which was given to him probably to make sport of his short legs.

Page 6 § 46

The words *yeke be'etü* (*YCPS* 1.27b2) are rendered " Er hatte einen grossen Bauch . . ." This translation is too free. It seems to me that the translation " von grossem Körper, beleibt " given by HAENISCH in his *Wörterbuch zu Manghol un Niuca Tobca'an* (p. 14) is preferable. I should simply translate it: " He had a big body . . ." PELLIOT (*op. cit.*, p. 127 § 46) rendered it: " comme il était de grande stature . . ."

For " Charandais Söhne " we must read " Charaldais Söhne."

It is true that in the text of the *Secret History* (*YCPS* 1.27b5) we have 帒闌歹, but for the same reason that HAENISCH transcribed 闌 (*lan*) as *ran*, he must go a step further and transcribe it as *ral*, just as he did with 舌鄰 (*rin*) (*YCPS* 2.3a4) in the name *Taryutai Kiriltuy* (" Tarchutai kiriltuch " in Haenisch's transcription) on page 12 § 72. We have numerous instances in which *lan* is used to transcribe *ral*. In note 9 on page 16 of *Le chapitre cvii du Yuan che* by Louis HAMBIS, PELLIOT remarked: " Le nom Qaraldai doit, lui, être un dérivé de *qara*, " noir ", de même que Boroldai l'est de *boro*, " gris "."

Page 6 § 47

I should prefer to write as three separate elements the words which comprise the name *Bai Šingqor Do[γ]šin* (*YCPS* 1.29a3) and *Bai Šingqor Doγšin* (*YCPS* 1.29a4) transcribed " Baischingchor dochschin " by HAENISCH. The name means " As Cruel as the Bai Šingqor (' Rich Falcon ')." Cf. also *Bayisangγur* in the chronicle of Saγang Sečen (SCHMIDT, p. 206, l. 15) cited by Antoine MOSTAERT on pp. 27, 28, and 29 of " Ordosica " in *BCUP* 9 (1934) .1-96.

Page 7 § 47

The transcription " Senggum bilge " for the name *Senggüm Bilge* (*YCPS* 1.29a5) is a happy revision of the " Senggun bilge " of the first edition.

The name *Arula[d]* is transcribed " Arula." It is true that the text of the *Secret History* has *Arula* (*YCPS* 1.29b3). This, however, is an error for *Arulad*. Cf., e. g., *YCPS* 3.34b1, where we have *Arulad-ača*. Cf. also MOSTAERT, " Ordosica," p. 32, no. 4, where, with reference to the Ordos form *arlat*, we read: " *arlat*. Nom de clan bien connu qu'on rencontre dès les plus anciens textes. Cf. *arula* (*d*) de l'*Histoire secrète* (I, f. 29, verso, III, f. 34, verso etc.). Sanang Setšen (édit. de Schmidt, p. 68) l'orthographie comme l'*Histoire secrète*. M. Mannerheim a signalé un clan *arlat* chez les *Shera-Yögurs* du Kansou (18)."

Page 7 § 48

I should prefer to write separately the two elements which con-

stitute the name of Sem Šecüle (*YCPS* 1.30a3) transcribed "Semsetschule" by HAENISCH. In note 7 on pages 14-15 of *Le chapitre cvii* . . . PELLIOT remarked (p. 15): "Quant au Säm-Säčülä de l'*Histoire Secrète*, § 48, c'est une mauvaise leçon due à la ressemblance de *s-* et *q-* initiaux en écriture mongole, et il faut lire Säm-Qačula ou Sam-Qačula; il sera de nouveau question de lui à la note 10." In note 10 on page 16 (*ibid.*) he remarked: "Le Säm-Säčülä de l'*Histoire Secrète*, § 48, à corriger en Sam-Qačula (ou Säm-Qačula?), père de Bültäčü-ba'atur, provient d'un dédoublement fautif de Qačula; ce dédoublement est lié à la confusion qui s'est établie entre les enfants prêtés à Mänän-Tudun et ceux de Tumbinai-säčän."

Page 7 § 49

As for the name of *Qutuγtu Yürki* (*YCPS* 1.30b5), which HAENISCH transcribed quite correctly as "Chutuchtu yürki," PELLIOT remarked in note 12 on page 17 of *Le chapitre cvii* . . .: "Dans le § 49 de l'*Histoire Secrète*, les Yürki sont donnés comme les descendants (entendez "la tribu des descendants") de Qutuqtu-Yürki (forme fautive pour Sorqadu-Yürki), fils d'Ökin-Barqaq."

Page 7 § 50

The words *Onan-u tun-tur qurimlaqui-tur* (*YCPS* 1.31a5) are rendered "bei der Versammlung im Onan-Walde." This is an inadvertence, for the word *qurimla-* which is defined by HAENISCH in his *Wörterbuch* (p. 73) as "ein Fest (mahl) halten," with this occurrence as the first citation ("50"), was confused with *quri-* which is defined by HAENISCH in his *Wörterbuch* (p. 72) as "zusammenkommen, sich sammeln." The word *qurimlan* (*YCPS* 3.28b2) is correctly rendered "bei Mahl." See the entry on "Page 32 § 117" below.

Page 8 § 56

The words *aqa minu Čiledü* (*YCPS* 1.37a3) are rendered "Mein Gatte . . ." However, on page 152 of his article "A propos de quelques portraits d'empereurs mongols" in *AM* 4 (1927).147-156, Antoine MOSTAERT translated these words "Mon

frère aîné Čiledü . . ." The fact is that HAENISCH translated in this instance not the Mongolian text, but the free Chinese version which has 我的丈夫 "my husband." Cf. also the translation by the Archimandrite Palladij "« Мужъ мой! . . . »" (*op. cit.*, p. 33). The interlinear translation, however, renders *aqa minu* by 哥哥我的 "elder brother my," i. e., "my elder brother." This is one of the numerous instances in which the free Chinese version shows evidence of having been translated from another text of the *Secret History*. The translation 我的丈夫 "my husband" would seem to be based on a Mongolian *ere minu*, which, to be sure, is more consistent with the relationship obtaining between Čiledü and Hö'elün. The discrepancy between the texts might have been called to the reader's attention in the note to § 56 on page 150. PELLIOT (*op. cit.*, p. 129 § 56) rendered the words in question "Mon grand frère Čilädü, . . ."

Page 9 § 59

Although HAENISCH has "Tschinggis Chan" the text has *Činggis qahan* (*YCPS* 1.40b2).

Page 9 § 61

The words *Yesügei ba'atur Temüǰin-i yesün nasutu bükü-tür Hö'elün eke-yin törgüd Olqunu'ud irgen-tür naγaču-nar-ača inu öki γuyusu ke'en Temüǰin-i abu'ad yorčiba* (*YCPS* 1.42a1-3) are rendered "Temudschin zählte neun Jahre, da nahm Yesugai ba'atur ihn mit auf Reisen, um für ihn von seinen Oheimen bei den Olchunŏ'ut des Torgut = Stammes, der Heimat seiner Mutter, ein Mädchen zu werben." In this translation the word *törgüd*, a plural in *-d* of **törgün* (~ *törkün*), is taken as a proper name ("Torgut") in spite of the Chinese gloss 家 (*chia*) "family" (*YCPS* 1.42a2). From HAENISCH's translation this passed into the translation by Ahmet Temir (*op. cit.*, p. 19 § 61) as "Torgut." The name of the Torgut Mongols is not attested as such in the *Secret History*, but the word *turγa'ud* from which it is derived is found there (*YCPS* 7.20a5). For this etymology cf. pages 29-30 of PELLIOT's "Notes sur le "Turkestan" de M. W. Barthold" in *TP* 27 (1930).12-56. The word **törgün* means "the relatives of the wife." It is attested in the later written language in the forms *törkün*, *törken*, and *törküm*. The word is registered in

KOWALEWSKI (3.1955a) where it is transcribed "turgum" and is defined "parents de la femme." This is the form in which it still lives in Ordos. Cf. "DÖR^{k}χöm les parents de la femme par rapport à cette dernière. [mo. *törküm*]" (A. MOSTAERT, *Dictionnaire ordos* 1.157a). In Kalmuck, however, the form is the same as that in the *Secret History*. Cf. "*törkn̥* die verwandten der frau und ihres vaters (der mann nennt sie *törkn̥*, die kinder *naγ^{b}ts^{b}χ^{b}*, aber die frau selbst *törl̥*) | *elkn̥ törkn̥* alle verwandten (die des mannes und die seiner frau); *törkän temts^{ə}χə* ihre eltern und werwandten besuchen (die frau hat einmal im jahr das recht dazu); *t. ek^{ə}* schwiegermutter, mutter meiner frau. [**törkün, törken;** > tü. kir. *törkün*, čag. *turkan*]" (G. J. RAMSTEDT, *Kalmückisches Wörterbuch*, p. 407a-b). I should render the passage in question as follows: "Yesügei Ba'atur, when Temüjin was nine years old, departed with (lit., 'having taken') Temüjin for the Olqunu'ud people, relatives of Mother Hö'elün, saying, 'I shall request a maiden from his maternal uncles.'" PELLIOT (*op. cit.*, p. 130 § 61) correctly translated the words *Hö'elün eke-yin törgüd* as "les parents de Hö'älün-äkä."

Page 10 § 64

The words *qatun sa'urin-tur / qamtu sa'ulumu ba* (*YCPS* 1.44b4-5) are rendered "Wir . . . haben . . . mit auf den Königsthron sitzen lassen." The translation "Königsthron" for *qatun sa'urin* is, perhaps, a *lapsus* for "Königinnenthron." In any case, *qatun sa'urin* can only mean "queen's throne, empress's throne." Cf. the interlinear Chinese translation 娘子位 (*niang-tzŭ-wei*) "lady's place (i.e., throne)" (*YCPS* 1.44b4) and the free translation 后妃位子 (*hou-fei-wei-tzŭ*) "empress's place (i.e., throne)" (*YCPS* 1.45b1).

Page 10 § 65

The word *ba (u) 'ulba* (*YCPS* 1.45b5) is rendered ". . . liess ihn Platz nehmen." Although this translation is, perhaps, not incorrect, it is very free, for *ba (u) 'ulba* simply means "he had [him] dismount."

Page 12 § 69

The words *Münglig ečige Temüjin-i a[b]ču ireba* (*YCPS* 2.1b1)

are rendered ". . . und Vater Munglik nahm Temudschin mit nach Hause." This is another felicitous revision, for the word "Vater" does not appear in the first edition of HAENISCH's translation. Although Münglig was only a lad at this time—he is addressed as *čaγa minu Münglig* "Münglig, my lad" by Yesügei Ba'atur in the preceding text (*YCPS* 1.49a5) and is referred to as *Münglig* in the first sentence of § 69 (*YCPS* 2.1b1)—from this point on he is always called *Münglig ečige* "Father Münglig," a title which is the counterpart of that of *Hö'elün eke* "Mother Hö'elün."

Page 13 § 72

The words *qoyinača ǰida-bar ǰo γudus qadquǰu'u* (*YCPS* 2.3b3-4) are rendered " . . . mit der Lanze von hinten ins Rückgrat." In his discussion of the word *γudus* "along" in note 1 on page 73 of his article "Les formes avec et sans *q-* (*k-*) initial en turc et en mongol" in *TP* 37 (1943-1944) .73-101, PELLIOT remarked "Le mot se trouve même dans un autre passage de l'*Histoire secrète*, § 72, où Haenisch ne l'a pas reconnu; le soi-disant mot "joḥudus" de son *Wörterbuch*, p. 92, est en réalité *ǰo qudus*, "le long du dos"." We should, then, translate *ǰo γudus* as "along the back" instead of "into the back" ("ins Rückgrat"). As a matter of fact, in his *Wörterbuch* (p. 92) HAENISCH translated "joḥudus" as "in den Rücken, den Rücken entlang." The word *γudus* is glossed as 順 (*shun*) "along" in the interlinear Chinese translation (*YCPS* 2.3b4). In the free, abridged Chinese translation the whole passage is rendered 又將察刺忽老人脊背上剌了一槍 (*YCPS* 2.4a2-3), which the Archimandrite Palladij translated мало того, они ткнули старика Чараху въ спину разъ копьемъ (p. 37). ["Moreover, they stuck the old man *Čarakha* in the back once with a lance."]. It appears that HAENISCH translated the Chinese text which is not a precise translation of the Mongolian, for 上 (*shang*) does not imply the meaning of 順 (*shun*) used, as we have seen, to gloss the word *γudus*.

Page 14 § 77

The words *Belgütei-i bu tebčidkün* (*YCPS* 2.10a4) are rendered ". . . und tötet mir nicht den Belgutai!" This translation is again

too free. The text says: "Do not abandon Belgütei." PELLIOT (*op. cit.*, p. 136 § 77) translated these words: ". . . ne mettez pas à mal Bälgütäi."

Page 14 § 78

When Temüǰin and Qasar return to the yurt, after murdering their brother Begter, their mother, reading their crime in their faces, severely scolds them in terms which are recorded in alliterative verse. Her words run *in parte* as follows (*YCPS* 2.11a3-11b1): . . . *baraγsad*

qala'un-ača minu
qalad γarurun
γar-dur-iyan
qara nödün
hadqun töreligi ene.
qarbisun-ban qaǰaγu
qasar noqai metü.
qada-tur [*11b*] *dobtulγu*
qablan metü.

HAENISCH rendered this text: "„Ihr Mörder! Der Eine ist geboren mit einem schwarzen Blutklumpen in der Hand, als er aus meinem heissen Schosse herauskam! Der andere hier gleicht einem Chasar = Hund, der nach der eigenen Nachgeburt schnappt! Wie der Chablan = Tiger seid ihr, der am Felsrand dahin rast, . . ." " In PELLIOT's version (p. 136 § 78) the same text reads: "« O toi qui es sorti violemment de mes chaudes [entrailles] épuisées, ô toi qui est né en serrant dans ta main un caillot noir! Tel le chien *qasar* qui mord son placenta, tel la panthère qui se jette sur un rocher, . . .» " Neither translation is perfect, but that by HAENISCH is definitely better than that by PELLIOT. HAENISCH, as we have seen, rendered the word *baraγsad* "Ihr Mörder!" PELLIOT, however, linking it with the word *qala'un* which follows, rendered it "épuisées." In note 2 HAMBIS states: "[Le texte mongol écrit *baraqsat qala'un-ača*; la traduction interlinéaire (II, 11*a*) donne 廢盡了的 *fei tsin lo ti* « à bout de force », « épuisé » pour le premier terme; *qala'un* signifie « chaleur » aussi bien que « chaud »; d'où l'interprétation de l'auteur.] Cf. l'interprétation de Haenisch,

Wörterbuch, p. 13." The Chinese gloss does not mean "à bout de force," "épuisé"; it means "[you] who have destroyed." HAENISCH's translation ("Ihr Mörder!") is absolutely correct. The verb *bara-* means "to finish." It also means "to finish" in the sense of "to put an end to" or "to destroy (a living creature)," hence "to murder." The word *baraγsad* is a plural in *-d* of the *nomen perfecti* in *-γsa* (*n*) of the verb *bara-*, hence "[ones] who have finished," "[ones] who have destroyed." In support of this interpretation of the word *bara-* we may cite the example found in *YCPS* 5.19b1, where we have *baraγsan* with the interlinear gloss 廢盡的 (*fei-chin-ti*) "exterminated." In this instance, *baraγsan* is rendered 殺 (*sha*) "to kill" in the free translation (*YCPS* 5.21b2). The text in which the word appears reads: *erde üdür-eče* [19b] *Tatar irgen ebüges ečiges-i baraγsan büle'e.* HAENISCH rendered this (52 § 154): "„In früherer Zeit haben die Tatar unsere Ahnen und Väter getötet . . ." " PELLIOT rendered it (*op. cit.*, p. 175 § 154): "« Depuis des jours anciens le peuple Tatar a fait périr [nos] aïeux et [nos] pères. . . .»." Here PELLIOT's translation of *bara-*, a word which is much stronger than *ala-* ("to kill"), is correct.

Both translators rightly refer the first five verses to Temüǰin. There is, however, no justification for HAENISCH's "Der Eine." HAENISCH makes the next two refer to Qasar and the next two (as well as those which follow) to both Temüǰin and Qasar. PELLIOT makes all the verses after the first five refer to both boys. In this case his interpretation is right and that of HAENISCH is wrong. In other words HAENISCH's "Der Andere hier gleicht einem Chasar = Hund, . . ." is incorrect. There is nothing in the Mongolian text which could be rendered "Der Andere hier," a fictitious antithesis in his translation to the indefensible "Der Eine" above. I should render these lines as follows: ". . . [Ye] who have destroyed!

When he issued fiercely
From my womb (lit. 'heat'),
This one (i. e., Temüǰin) was born clutching
A black blood-clot
In his hand!
Even as the *qasar* dog

Which bites its own afterbirth;
Even as the *qablan* (i. e., panther)
[11b] Which rushes to the cliff;
. . . . . .
[Ye] have destroyed! "

For the word *baraba* which I have rendered " [Ye] have destroyed " see " Page 15 § 78 " below.

The words *boroγan-tur šiqaγu / čino metü* (*YCPS* 2.11b4-5) are rendered ". . . wie ein Wolf, der im Regensturm sich auf sein Opfer stürzt, . . ." " Regensturm " must be a *lapsus* for " Schneesturm " which is the translation of *boro'an* and *boro'on* on page 19 of the *Wörterbuch*. (Cf. also page 27 § 108 of the translation where *boro'an* [*YCPS* 3.12a3] is rendered " Schneesturm.") The Chinese gloss on the word (*YCPS* 2.11b4) is 風雪 " snow storm " (lit., " snow in the wind "). A somewhat closer translation of the Mongolian text would read: ". . . even as a wolf, which relies on a snow storm . . ." Pelliot (*op. cit.*, p. 136 § 78) translated these words: ". . . tel le loup qui prend appui sur la tempête, . . ." (The word " tempête," in my opinion, is too general, for it does not evoke in the reader's mind the picture of a snow storm.) The word for " rain " in the *Secret History* is *qura*. Cf. Haenisch, *Wörterbuch*, p. 72.

Page 15 § 78

The final verses of the scolding by Hö'elün Üjin run (*YCPS* 2.12a2-3):

barïǰu ülü sa'araγu
bars metü
balamud dobtulγu
baruγ metü
baraba

Haenisch rendered these verses: " „ . . . seid ihr . . . wie ein Tiger, der beim Zupacken nicht fehlt, wie ein Barus = Tier, das blindlings anstürmt! . . ." " Pelliot translated the same verses (*op. cit.*, p. 136 § 78): " «. . . tel le tigre qui saisit sans tarder, tel le *chien baraq* qui se jette à l'aveuglée [*sic*], vous vous êtes épuisés. . . .». " Haenisch did not translate the word *baraba* " [ye] have destroyed." Pelliot rendered it " vous vous êtes épuisés " which, of course, is incorrect. In note 3 Hambis states: " [Le texte mongol écrit *baruq* avec la traduction interlinéaire (II, 12*a*) 獸名 *cheou ming* « nom de quadrupède », après correction de 思 *sseu* en 黑 *hei*. L'auteur traduit par « chien *baraq* » en se basant sur l'interprétation de Gomboiev qui rend le même mot dans l'*Altan Tobči*[1], 12[4] par « chien de garde », et suppose qu'il est l'équivalent du turc *baraq*.] " Pelliot's correction of the text is ingenious. So far as I know, there is no word *barus* attested elsewhere. It may be that the copyist was influenced by the word *bars* immediately above and thus altered *baruγ* to *barus*. For *baraq* in Turkish cf. " *baraq* (R. IV, 1477) langhaarigen Hund, der nach dem Volksglauben aus einem der beiden letzten Eier eines alten Adlers entsteht I, 315, 13 (AM II, 120, 7) " (C. Brockelmann, *Mitteltürkischer Wortschatz*, p. 31). If Pelliot's correction is to be accepted, Haenisch's " Barus = Tier " must disappear. I should render these verses as follows:

" Even as the tiger,
Which, in seizing [its prey], does not hesitate;
Even as the *baruγ* (i. e., dog),
Which rushes headlong [upon its prey],
[Ye] have destroyed! "

Page 17 § 83

Delete the number " 84 " before the words " Im Einverständnis . . ." and intercalate it before the words " Er, Temudschin wartete, . . ." at the beginning of the next paragraph.

Passing close by Temüǰin who is hiding in the water Soryan (or Sorqan) Šira says to him: *edö'e mani tarqa'ulun baraǰu ekeben de'üner-iyen erin od* (*YCPS* 2.20b5-21a1). Haenisch translated this " Warte jetzt, bis wir richtig auseinandergegangen sind, und dann geh und suche deine Mutter und Brüder! " Pelliot rendered the same text (*op. cit.*, p. 138 § 83): " « A présent, quand nous achevons de nous disperser, va chercher ta mère et tes frères cadets . . .». " In this instance, Haenisch's translation is right and Pelliot's is wrong. We have here an interesting use of

the causative to express the idea of " to wait until . . ." The words *mani tarqa'ulun baraǰu* are literally " finishing causing us to disperse," i. e., " letting us completely disperse." For this use of the causative in the Ordos dialect cf., e. g., the expression " *sönö* Bolgo- attendre jusqu'à ce qu'il fasse nuit; DžoǤsolt'-ug^{u}ī *jawāt sönö* Bolgolā j'ai marché sans discontinuer jusqu'à ce qu'il fît nuit; . . ." (MOSTAERT, *Dictionnaire ordos* 1.77b).

Page 17 § 84

The words *ani tarqa'ulun baraǰu dotora-ban sedkiǰü* (*YCPS* 2.21b3) are rendered " Er, Temudschin, wartete, bis sie alle auseinander gegangen waren, und überlegte dann bei sich: . . ." PELLIOT (*op. cit.*, p. 139 § 84) translated the same text: " Comme ceux-là achevaient de se disperser, [Tämuǰin] songea en lui-même: . . ." Here again, HAENISCH's version is right and PELLIOT's is wrong.

Page 18 § 87

After those, who had come to the home of Soryan (or Sorqan) Šira in search of Temüǰin, had left, Soryan (or Sorqan) Šira, who had hidden Temüǰin in a cart full of wool, said to him: *namayi hünesü'er keyisgen a[l]daba* (*YCPS* 2.25b1). HAENISCH rendered these words quite exactly as " „ Fast hättest du mich als Asche in alle Winde wehen lassen! . . ." " PELLIOT's translation reads (*op. cit.*, p. 139 § 87): " « Tu as failli nous faire disperser au vent comme de la cendre. . . . » " In the latter " nous " is a *lapsus* for " me." There is, however, a nuance in these words which is not apparent in either of these translations. On page 186 of his article " Contributions à l'histoire de l'Asie Centrale " in *RO* 15 (1948).159-195, Władysław KOTWICZ wrote (pp. 186-187):

> Le foyer familial est dans la vie des nomades de l'Asie Centrale le point le plus important de l'habitation et ce qui assure l'unité de la famille. C'est là que le feu est continuellement maintenu afin d'être prêt et à disposition au moment voulu. . . . Les éléments du foyer sont donc le feu et la cendre; leur entretien est une tâche de première importance pour la vie de la famille. Disperser la cendre et éteindre le feu mérite le plus grand châtiment; c'est le plus grand malheur, car c'est la fin du nomade et de sa famille. On lit dans l'*Histoire secrète* que Soryan (Soryan)-šira obligé de sauver le jeune Témutchin qui cherchait chez lui refuge, fuyant les ennemis et exposant son hôte au danger—lui reprochait plus tard: » tu as failli me faire jeter à tous les vents, comme les cendres (de mon foyer) « [60] [60] *Histoire secrète*, éd. de Haenisch, p. 14; *namayi hünesü'er keyisgen aldaba* (§ 87).], car si l'on découvrait l'acte que *Soryan-šira* venait de commettre, la [187] cendre de son foyer aurait été dispersée au vent et il périrait, lui-même et sa famille.

The mere addition of the words " (de mon foyer) " in the translation by KOTWICZ brings out clearly the nuance of the original.

Page 22 § 100

The words *böken qara'utai tergen-tür unu'uǰu* (*YCPS* 2.44b1) are rendered: ". . . setzte . . . auf einen schwarzen Deichselkarren, . . ." The word *böken* is not translated. KOZIN (*op. cit.*, p. 96 § 100) rendered the same words: ". . . усадила ее в крытый возок [seated her in the covered *vozok* (i. e., coach on runners)]." Again, the word *böken* is not translated. PELLIOT's version reads (*op. cit.*, p. 143 § 100): ". . . la fit monter dans une charette « noire.» [*sic*] . . ." His text (*op. cit.*, p. 22 § 100) has " nikän." The translators have been faced with a difficult problem, because the word *böken* is not glossed and, so far as I know, is not attested elsewhere. In such a case, the translators should indicate in some manner that a word is not being rendered. Tacit omission is not fair to the reader. I should prefer to include the word in my translation, rendering the text ". . . having [her] ride in the *böken* black wagon " and indicating in a note that the meaning of *böken* is unknown.

The words *ger či oyira buyu* (*YCPS* 2.45a4-5) are rendered " „ Die Jurte ist ganz nahe. . . ." " A closer translation would be: " As for the yurt, it is near." In his *Wörterbuch* (p. 26) HAENISCH observed that *či* is " e. hervorhebende Partikel " and translated these words " die Jurte, die ist ganz nahe." The word " ganz," of course, corresponds to nothing in the Mongolian. The word *či* is the same as the word *ču* of the later written language. In the Ordos dialect we have "*-tš'i* partic. concessive; partic. corroborative; s'emploie parfois par euphonie dans les chansons; l'équivalent français est parfois: « aussi », « quant à » | . . . [mo. *ču*; cf. *Hist. secr.*, II, f. 45r. (Haenisch, 100) *ger či* quant à la maison] " (A. MOSTAERT, *Dictionnaire ordos* 2.700a-b). PELLIOT (*op. cit.*, p. 114 § 100) rendered the same text: " « Pour ce qui est de la demeure, elle est près. . . . »."

Page 22 § 101

Upon orders from their seniors the younger brothers and sons of the Merkid soldiers seeking Temüjin dismount to search the wagon of Qo'aγčin Emegen,—the wagon in which Börte Üjin is concealed. At this point the text reads (*YCPS* 2.47a1-3): *de'ü-ner kö'üd inu ba(u)'uǰu qa'atai tergen-ü qa'alγa abqui-lu'a dotora qatuγǰe gü'ün sa'uǰu* . . . HAENISCH rendered this: "Die jüngeren Brüder und Söhne sassen ab, und als sie die Tür des Karrens aufrissen, sass darin ein Frauensmensch." This translation fails to account for the word *qa'atai* which is used as an epithet of *tergen*. This word is written 忓阿台 (*qa a tai* = *qa'atai*) (*YCPS* 2.47a2) and is not glossed. HAENISCH reconstructed it as "ha'altai" in his edition of the text (p. 17 § 101). In his *Wörterbuch* (p. 54) he translated it "mit Tür versehen?" Such a reconstruction is, however, open to question. We have just encountered the word *qara'utai* in *YCPS* 2.44b1 above in the expression *böken qara'utai tergen-tür*, which HAENISCH translated (p. 22 § 100) "auf einen schwarzen Deichselkarren." The first appearance of the word *qara'utai* in the *Secret History* as an epithet of *tergen* is in *YCPS* 1.4a4 where it is written 合 (error for 忓)剌 (error for 舌剌)兀台, i. e., *qa ra u tai* = *qara'utai*. There, as in *YCPS* 2.44b1, the Chinese gloss is 黑 (*hei*) "black." For the term *qara'utai tergen* cf. VLADIMIRTSOV, *Le régime social*, p. 41, note 4. The significance of the term poses a problem which I cannot discuss here. Whether the word written 忓阿台 (*qa a tai* = *qa'atai*) in *YCPS* 2.47a2 may be considered a corruption of 忓舌剌兀台 (*qa ra u tai* = *qara'utai*) is, however, extremely doubtful. As in the case of *böken* in the entry "Page 22 § 100" above, tacit omission of a difficult word is not fair to the reader. I should prefer to include the word in my translation, rendering the text ". . . the younger brothers and sons dismounted and, when they took off the door of the *qa'atai* wagon, [they discovered that] a lady was sitting within. . ."

Page 24 § 104

Ongqan, recalling his promise of the previous year to Temüjin, says (*YCPS* 3.2a4): *edö'e tere üge-dür-iyen gürün* . . . HAENISCH rendered these words "Jetzt komme ich auf jene Worte von mir zurück: . . ." This is certainly not the meaning of the Mongolian. The expression *üge-dür-iyen gür-* means "to keep one's word." See my remarks on "Page 38 § 127" below. PELLIOT's translation (*op. cit.*, p. 146 § 104) "« A présent, fidèle à ces miennes paroles, . . . »" is much better. I should render it: "Now keeping those my words, . . ."

Page 25 § 105

The words *önör nikentan busutu bida* (*YCPS* 3.4a2) are rendered "Sind wir nicht eines Stammes?" PELLIOT (*op. cit.*, p. 146 § 105) rendered the same words with a *lacuna*: "'est-ce que nous ne sommes pas d'une même . . . . . [1] ?'" In note 1 on pages 146-147, HAMBIS remarked: "[Le texte mongol écrit *önör*; malheureusement la traduction interlinéaire (III, 4*a*) ne donne rien. HAENISCH, *Wörterbuch*, p. 125, traduit par Geruch? « odeur », ce qui est assez peu probable, bien qu'il veuille que dans ce passage « d'une même odeur » soit l'équivalent « d'un même peuple ». L'auteur ne pense pas qu'il doive [147] s'agir du même mot que *hünür* du § 55. Il en rapproche le *önür* donné par Ramstedt dans son *Kalm. Wört.*, 296[b], que celui-ci traduit par: « zahlreich », « zahlreiche familie ».]" It is true that HAENISCH registers *önör* in his *Wörterbuch* (p. 125) as follows: "onor (Glosse fehlt) Geruch?, ~ nikantan, von einem Geruche = von einem Volke 105, 4." On page 144 of the *Wörterbuch* under the entry "-tan pl. v. -tai, tu" we find "onor nikan- ~ Leute von demselben Geruch (Klan?) 105, 4[r]." His translation, however, in both the first edition (p. 26) and the second (p. 25) is "Stamm." This is only one of the many differences between the *Wörterbuch* and the translation. It is, therefore, fair to assume that HAENISCH, too, came to identify the word *önör* with the word *önür* to which reference is made above. In any case, he could hardly have failed to notice that in the free Chinese translation the word is rendered 宗族 (*tsung-tsu*) "clan" (*YCPS* 3.6b5). There can be no question that the word is, indeed, the *önür* of the written language. The Kalmuck form is "*önr* zahlreich, zahlreiche familie, mit vielen kindern | ö. *bajn balχ*ᴅ reich an kindern und gut werden.

[önür zu *ön-, s. *öndēχə*]*" RAMSTEDT, *op. cit.*, p. 296b). In Ordos the form is precisely that of the *Secret History*: " *önör* qui est en grand nombre, nombreux, abondant, qui a une famille nombreuse; famille; n. pr. m. | . . . [mo. *önür*]" (MOSTAERT, *op. cit.*, p. 534b).

For " Boschaft " read " Botschaft."

Page 32 § 117

The words *qurimlan toyilan ǰirγalduǰu* (*YCPS* 3.28b 2-3) are rendered " . . . und feierten dann miteinander bei Mahl und Tanz, . . ." In note 1 on pages 65-66 of his article " Une tribu méconnue . . ." PELLIOT remarked (p. 66) " L'*Histoire secrète*, § 117, parlant du temps où Gengis-khan et J̌amuqa étaient en termes affectueux, les montre *qurimlan toyilan ǰirqaldaǰu*; *qurimla-* est le verbe dénominatif tiré de *qurim*, " festin "; *ǰirqaldu-* signifie " se réjouir ensemble "; quant à *toyilan*, M. Haenisch (*Wörterbuch*, 152, et *Die geheime Geschichte*, 32) l'a traduit hypothétiquement par " danser "; mais le sens est évidemment " festoyer "; même en mongol classique, nos dictionnaires connaissent encore l'expression double *toi qurim* au sens de " repas de noces "; c'est exclusivement au sens de " repas de noces " que *toï* (avec son dérivé *toïluq*, " les éléments du repas de noces ") a survécu en turkī du Turkestan chinois (cf. Shaw, *Vocabulary*, 82, 136)."

Page 33 § 123

The phrase *olon dayin-tur* (*YCPS* 3.43a2) is rendered " gegen die Feinde." The word *olon* is not translated. It is accounted for in PELLIOT's " contre les ennemis nombreux " (*op. cit.*, p. 156 § 123).

Pages 33-34 § 124

After Temüǰin was proclaimed Činggis Qahan, Degei said in verse (*YCPS* 3.45b1-2):

šilegü irge
šülen bolγaǰu
manaγar bu
megüdesü.
qonoγ-tur bu
qoǰidasu.

HAENISCH rendered this: " „ Ich will die zweijährigen Hammel als Suppe kochen und so am Morgen [34] nicht zu wenig bieten und zur Nacht sie nicht zu spät bieten . . ." " KOZIN's versified version of the same text reads as follows (*op. cit.*, p. 109 § 124):

« Жирного барашка
Супу наварить
Утром не замедлю,
В ужин не забуду. . . .»
[" To make soup
Of a fat lamb
In the morning I shall not be slow,
At supper I shall not forget. . . ."]

His prose version, however, reads: " « Поутру не упущу я сварить супу из отборного барана, к ужину (с едой) не опоздаю. . . .» " [" In the morning I shall not fail to make soup of a choice ram, for supper I shall not be late (with food). . . ."] PELLIOT's version (*op. cit.*, p. 156, § 124) reads as follows: " En préparant ta soupe avec un mouton châtré de deux ans, le matin je ne t'en laisserai pas manquer, à ton coucher je ne serai pas en retard."

None of these translations is satisfactory, but that by KOZIN, particularly the prose version, is the closest to the text insofar as the general sense is concerned. Two words in particular have troubled the translators: (1) the verb *megüdesü* (HAENISCH's " megusdesu " [Text], p. 25 § 124, and KOZIN's " megüsdesü " [Text], p. 428 § 124, are unnecessary emendations) and (2) the substantive *qonoγ*. KOZIN alone rendered *bu megüdesü* correctly in his prose version by " не упущу я " [" I shall not fail "]. HAENISCH's " Ich will . . . nicht zu wenig bieten " and PELLIOT's " je ne t'en laisserai pas manquer " are incorrect. The word *qonoγ* was rendered as " ужин " [" supper "] by KOZIN. It is true that the word has this meaning. Cf., e. g., the Ordos " ¹ *χonoḳ* un jour et une nuit; action de passer la nuit; le repas du soir | . . . *χonoḳ* ɪᴅe- manger le repas du soir; . . . [mo *qonuγ*]" (A. MOSTAERT, *Dictionnaire ordos* 1.353a). Against this interpretation, however, is the Chinese gloss (*YCPS* 3.45b2) on the words

qonoγ-tur, which reads 宿的時 (*su-ti shih*) "nighttime." Consequently, while admitting that KOZIN's interpretation is reasonable, I do not believe that KOZIN could justify his failure to follow the gloss. HAENISCH's "zur Nacht" is entirely correct; PELLIOT's "à ton coucher" is, perhaps, misleading. Aside from these considerations, we must observe that Degei is merely assuring Činggis Qahan that he will not fail to prepare his broth twice a day. I should render the text into English as follows:

"In making broth
Of a two-year-old wether,
May I not fail
In the morning;
May I not be negligent
At night."

Page 34 § 124

The words of Dodai Čerbi which read *ger dotora gergen tudqar-i basa'alasuγai* (*YCPS* 3.46a5) are rendered "Ich werde die Dienstleute in der Jurte beaufsichtigen." KOZIN (*op. cit.*, p. 109 § 124) rendered this line as follows: "Додай-черби получил в свое ведение всех домочадцев и слуг." ["Dodaj-čerbi received into his keeping all the domestics and servants."] PELLIOT (*op. cit.*, p. 157 § 124) rendered the same text with a *lacuna* as follows: "«Je gouvernerai les .....[4] et les serviteurs à l'intérieur de la maison.»" Note 4 by HAMBIS reads: "[*Gärgän* est glosé avec le mot *tutqar* (III, 46*a*) 人口 *jen k'eou* «personnes d'une famille». Haenisch, *Wörterbuch*, p. 49, traduit par «Einzelpersonen», «Familienmitglieder», et combiné avec *tutqar*, p. 156, «Leute und Dienstleute». Pour *tutqar*, cf. § 39.]." The definition of *gergen tudqar* on page 156 of HAENISCH's *Wörterbuch* is not just "Leute und Dienstleute," but "Leute (Angehörige) und Dienstleute." His translation "Dienstleute" is certainly correct, but I prefer KOZIN's "домочадцев и слуг," because in *gergen tudqar* we have two words, not one.

The words *gergen tudqar* are attested in the Mongolian translation of the *Hsiao ching* (unpublished).15a2. It might prove useful to cite and translate the whole passage in which these words

are found. It reads as follows (14b6-15a3): *noyalaqu kümün ger-iyen ǰasar-un boγol sibegegčid-tür törü-yi ülü endegülün bögetele em-e* [15a] *köbegüd-i yaγun ügületele bui. tegüber gergen tudqar-un bayasqu sedkil-i anu abun čidaγsabar ečige eke-dür inu tabiγlan čidaǰuγui.* "When an officer administered his household, inasmuch as he did not let one contravene the norm towards the slaves and female servants, why go so far as mentioning the wife [14a] and the sons? Therefore, whereas he was able to gain (lit., 'to take') the joyful hearts of the *gergen tudqar*, they were able to do service to his father and mother." This renders the Chinese 治家者不敢失於臣妾而況於妻子乎.故得人之懽心以事其親. James LEGGE, *The Hsiâo King* [= *The Sacred Books of the East* (2nd ed., 1889) III], p. 475, translated the Chinese text as follows: "'The heads of clans did not dare to slight their servants and concubines;—how much less would they slight their wives and sons! Thus it was that they got their men with joyful hearts (to assist them) in the service of their parents." In this text, the words *gergen tudqar* render the single Chinese word 人 (*jên*) which LEGGE, as we have seen, translated by "men." The word 人 (*jên*) refers, of course, to all members of the household—the 臣妾 (*ch'ên ch'ieh*) and 妻子 (*ch'i tzŭ*) / *boγol sibegegčid* and *em-e köbegüd*. And so the words *gergen tudqar*, which are used to translate it, also refer to all members of the household.

The word *gergen* is an archaic plural in *-n* of *gergei*. Cf. *noqan* (*YCPS* 7.10a1 and 10b1) which is a plural of *noqai* "dog" and *qulaγan* (*HIIY* IIB.22b2) which is a plural of *qulaγai* "robber." Cf. MOSTAERT, "Ordosica," p. 40 (87).[1] The only definition of *gergei* in KOWALEWSKI (3.2518) is "épouse, épouse légitime." The word is composed of *ger* "house" + the suffix *-gei*. For the denominal suffix *-γai* / *-gei*, cf. pp. 108-109 § 22 of N. POPPE's article "Die Nominalstammbildungssuffixe im Mongolischen," *KS*

[1] In note 2 on pages 240-241 of his article "Note sur les *Tuyuγun" in *JA* 236 (1948).239-241, Louis HAMBIS remarks (p. 241) with reference to the name of the Ch'i-tan 契丹: "il semble difficile de déterminer la valeur de la finale; on peut en rapprocher les alternances qu'offrent le nom du mouton: *qoy*, *qon* du turc et *qoni(n)* du mongol, ou le nom de l'or: *altun*, *altyn*, *altan* et *altai*." As a matter of fact, *Ch'i-tan* < *Kitan* < **Qïtan* is also a plural in *-n*, as demonstrated by MOSTAERT (*ibid.*), who wrote: "Cf. aussi le mot *kitan* "K'itan" qui est un pluriel de **kitai* . . ."

20 (1923-1927) .89-125. Hence, *gergei* must have meant originally " one who is connected with the house," " a domestic," " a servant " and from that " she who stays at home," " the wife." Cf. also the Chinese 家裏人 (*chia-li-jên*) " women; a wife." Cf. *Mathews' Chinese-English Dictionary* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1943) p. (79), no. 594.65. In the expression *gergen tudqar* both in the *Secret History* and in the *Hsiao ching* the word *gergen* means " domestic," " servant."

On page 29 of his article " О тибетско-монгольском словаре Li-çihi gur-khaṅ " (" A propos du dictionnaire tibétain-mongol Li-çihi gur-khaṅ "), Доклады Академии Наук СССР 1926 (*Comptes-Rendus de l'Académie des Sciences de l'URSS*), pp. 27-30, B. Ya Vladimircov wrote:

6. *gergen* « муж и жена »; *khyo · šug · ri · bz'a · cho* ere eme inu gergen* (f. 4v). Как известно в этом значении слово *gergen* нигде отмечено не было.

[6. *gergen* " husband and wife "; *khyo · šug · ri · bz'a · cho ere eme inu gergen* (f. 4v). As is known, the word *gergen* has not been observed anywhere in this meaning.]

The Reverend Antoine Mostaert has kindly brought to my attention a passage in the *Sidi⟨n⟩tü kegür-ün čadig* (Peking, undated) in which the word *gergen* is attested twice. The passage reads (f. 44a and b): *tegün-ü manaγar ber darasun-u iruγar-taγan urinam ǰe kemen sedkibesü ber ese uriγdaǰu qorusuǰu eyin sedkirün: edüge ene söni gergen anu soγtoqui čaγ-tur, bi oduγad gerteki sayin ed-i anu qulγusuγai kemen sedkiǰü yorčiγad, ger-tür inu oroǰu, sang-un dotur-a niγuǰu kebtebei. tendeče* [44b] *gergen anu bürü tügüsi boltala darasun uγuǰu soγtoγad umtabai.* " The day after that [day], although he said to himself: ' He will invite me for [a drink of] what remains of his brandy (lit., " the bottom of his brandy ") ,' as he was not invited, he became angry and, when he reflected thus, he said to himself: ' Now this [very] night, at the time when their servants are drunk, I shall go and shall steal their precious (lit., " good ") objects which are in the house,'

* The Tibetan text is printed in Tibetan letters in Vladimircov's article.

having gone, entering the house, he hid himself inside the storeroom. Then their servants, having becoming drunk by drinking wine until twilight, fell asleep." [2]

As for *tudqar*, the Chinese gloss in *YCPS* 1.23a4 is 使喚 (*shih-huan*) " servant," lit., " [he who is] at one's beck and call." Thus, *gergen tudqar* is literally " domestics and servants."

Page 36 § 127

The words *ügülegsen üges-tür-iyen gürün* are rendered " haltet euer gegebenes Wort . . ." Pelliot (*op. cit.*, p. 159 § 127) rendered the same words " « . . . rappelez-vous les paroles que vous avez prononcées . . . » " In note 1 it is stated: " Traduction incertaine. [Le texte mongol: *ügüläksän ügäs-tür-iyän gürün* a été traduit par Haenisch, *Die Geheime Geschichte*, p. 37, « haltet euer gegebenes Wort », ce qui n'est pas plus satisfaisant, le verbe *gür-*, étant glosé IV, 1*b*) par 到 *tao* qui a le même sens de « parvenir ». [*sic*] « atteindre ».] "

As a matter of fact, Hambis' statement is inaccurate, for Haenisch's translation is absolutely correct. The literal rendering in English would be " arriving at your words which [ye] did speak." The meaning is " keeping the words which [ye] did speak." For the Mongolian idiom *üge-dür-iyen kür-*, cf. the words *ünen üge-dür-iyen kürün* in line 18 of the letter of Aryun to Philippe le Bel. Here, too, the literal rendering would be " arriving at thy true word," which means " keeping thy true word."

It is curious that, whereas Haenisch mistranslated the same expression in *YCPS* 3.2a4 and Pelliot translated it correctly (see " Page 24 § 104 "), in this case Haenisch translated it correctly and Pelliot mistranslated it.

Page 38 § 131

Belgütei, wounded by the sword of Büri Bökö, assures Činggis Qahan that the wound is not serious and, in the words of the text (*YCPS* 4.9b2), says: *bi ülü alǰaγu*, which Haenisch rendered " Mir ist nichts weiter geschehen." This translation is not correct.

[2] In this passage the younger brother (*degüü*) is speaking with reference to his elder brother (*aqa*). The use of *anu* (" eorum ") instead of *inu* (" eius ")—the latter form does appear once in the passage—is, consequently, somewhat peculiar.

PELLIOT (*op. cit.*, p. 161 § 131) rendered the same words " Je ne m'épuise pas." Note 1 on the same page reads: " Traduction incertaine. [Le texte mongol: *bi ülü alǰaqu*, a été traduit par Haenisch, *Die geheime Geschichte*, 39) « Mir ist nichts weiter geschehen », ce qui n'est plus satisfaisant; *alǰaqu* est glosé (IV, 9*b*) par 礙 *ngai* « nuire » a « offrir du danger ».] " As a matter of fact, the word *alǰaγu* is glossed 礙事 (*ai-shih*), not just 礙 (*ai*) alone. The whole gloss reads (*YCPS* 4.9b2): 我不礙事, which, literally translated, is: " As for me, nothing obstructs (or hinders) anything." In other words, " There is nothing wrong with me." For the expression *pu-ai-shih* in Chinese cf. *Mathews' Chinese-English Dictionary*, p. (4), no. 23.7: " 不碍事 unimportant; ' it doesn't matter.' "

The verb *alǰa-* is literally " to be tired," " to be worn out," " to be exhausted." It is true that there is no such verb registered in our dictionaries. In line 18 of the Mongolian text of the Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1362, however, we find the word *alǰangγu* in the sentence *qoyin-a elinčüg inu Qar-a yiučing ebedčin kürteǰü alǰangγu boluγsan-dur* . . . " Afterwards, when his great-grandfather, Qara, the *yiučing* (*yu-ch'êng* [右丞]), fell sick and became feeble, . . ." The word *alǰangγu* is a deverbal adjective in *-ngγu* from the same verb *alǰa-*. (With the form *alǰangγu* we may compare the forms *alǰiyangγu / alǰiyangγui* " fatigue, épuisement, accablement " in KOWALEWSKI 1.93b.) Hence, we see that the words *bi ülü alǰaγu* which, literally translated, are " I am not exhausted," really mean " There is nothing wrong with me." Cf. also the free Chinese version (*YCPS* 4.10a2): 雖傷了不曾十分重, which Palladij (*op. cit.*, p. 65) rendered: « Хоть я и раненъ, но неопасно; . . . » [Although I am wounded, still not dangerously [so]; . . ."]. Whereas the translation by HAENISCH is entirely incorrect, that by PELLIOT is correct only as a literal translation which does not give the real meaning.

Page 63 § 172

The words *bidanu-ai söni-de a[γ]tas-iyan bariǰu qonoǰu* (*YCPS* 6.11b1-2) are rendered: " Unsere Leute hatten neben den Pferden geschlafen, Trense in der Hand." PELLIOT (*op. cit.*, p. 188 § 172) rendered them: " Les nôtres passèrent la nuit en tenant [avec eux] leurs chevaux." Neither translation is correct. These words were correctly rendered, however, by Antoine MOSTAERT on page XXXVI of his *Textes oraux ordos* (Peip'ing, 1937) as " les nôtres, la nuit venue, ayant ramené du pâturage leurs hongres, passèrent (ainsi) la nuit (prêts à tout événement)."

Page 65 § 174

The words *je teyin bö'esü kö'ün* [17b] *alǰa'uǰai* (*YCPS* 6.17a5-17b1) are rendered " Gut, wenn dem so ist, dass dann nur mein Sohn keine Angelegenheiten hat! " HAENISCH did not catch the nuance of the words *kö'ün alǰa'uǰai*. As a matter of fact, they were correctly rendered by MOSTAERT as " " le garçon pourrait se fatiguer " (= " je crains que le garçon ne se fatigue ") " on page XLVII of his *Textes oraux ordos*. PELLIOT's translation (*op. cit.*, p. 188 § 174) " mon fils doit être fatigué " is much better than that by HAENISCH, but it, too, misses the nuance of the *dubitativus* I in *'uǰai* which is caught in that by MOSTAERT.

Page 65 § 175

The words *yaras-iyan ana'ai üdü'üi-e* (*YCPS* 6.18b4-5) are rendered: " der seine Wunden noch nicht ausgeheilt hatte, . . ." In his *Wörterbuch* (p. 7) the words *ana'ai üdü'üi-e* are translated " bevor er geheilt war." Neither of these translations is quite accurate. The verb *ana-* " to heal " is intransitive. The subject of *ana'ai* is *yaras-iyan*. It is true that *-iyan* is the *accusativus* of the *possessivus-reflexivus*, but the use of the *accusativus* instead of the *nominativus* as subject of a verb in a subordinate clause is extremely common in the *Secret History*. PELLIOT's translation (*op. cit.*, p. 188 § 175): " dont les blessures n'étaient pas encore guéries . . ." is correct. A still closer rendering of the text is " Alors que ses blessures n'étaient pas encore guéries " found on page 126 § 140 of A. de SMEDT and A. MOSTAERT, *Le dialecte monguor, II^e partie, Grammaire* (1945).

Page 71 § 182

The name *Ala | Quš | Digid | Quri* (*YCPS* 6.44a1) is transcribed " Alachu schidigitchuri." *Ala* means " Mottled " in Turkish. Cf.

A. von Gabain, *Alttürkische Grammatik* (Leipzig, 1941), p. 293a ("*ala* bunt, aussätzig, Aussatz"). *Quš* means "Bird" in Turkish. Cf. A. von Gabain, *ibid.*, p. 331b ("*quš* Vogel"). *Digid* = *Tigit*, plural of *Tigin* which means "Prince" in Turkish. Cf. A. von Gabain, *ibid.*, p. 341b ("*tigin* [Plural: *tigit*] Prinz"). *Quri* = ? *Quri* which means "West" in Turkish. Cf. A. von Gabain, *ibid.*, p. 331a ("*quri* [*o* ?] Westen"). In 1914 Pelliot reconstructed the name from Chinese sources as "Alaquš-tägin-quli" on page 631 of his article "Chrétiens d'Asie Centrale et d'Extrême-Orient," *TP* 15 (1914) .623-644 + plate on 644*.

Page 77 § 190

The name *Ala Quš Digid Quri* (*YCPS* 7.13b4; 14a3, 5; 15a2) is transcribed "Alachu schidigitchuri" in the first two instances (13b4 and 14a3); it is replaced with the pronoun "er" in the third (14a5); and is transcribed "Schidigitchuri" in the fourth (15a2). "Schidigitchuri" is certainly a *lapsus* for "Alachu schidigitchuri." For the correct form of this name see "Page 71 § 182" above.

Page 79 § 193

When Činggis was in the Sa'ari Steppe in the summer of the rat year (1204), Dodai Čerbi proposed that, before engaging in battle with the Naiman, he let their thin horses graze on the Steppe and, to quote the text, *amitu ele gü'ün tutum ere-yin tabun anggida γal-nu'ud tüleǰü γal-iyar oγǰadγaya* (*YCPS* 7.23b2-3). Haenisch rendered this: "„. . . . Und wir wollen durch Puppen und durch Feuer, indem wir für jeden Mann (dieser Puppen) an fünf Stellen Feuerbrände anzünden, den Feind täuschen und in Furcht halten. . . ." " In his "Erläuterungen" (page 158 § 193) Haenisch remarks: "Von der Kriegslist mit Puppen, die an die Lagerfeuer oder gar auf die Pferde gesetzt werden, spricht Plano Carpini S. 124, Nr. 4, und auch d'Ohsson nach Berichten Raschid ed Dins." In the case of Fr. Iohannes de Plano Carpini, Haenisch is referring, of course, to the famous passage in the *Ystoria Mongalorum* which reads (P. Anastasius van den Wyngaert, *Sinica Franciscana* 1 [1929].82): "et faciunt aliquando ymagines hominum et ponunt super equos. Hec ideo faciunt ut multitudo magna

bellancium esse credatur." It is not immediately apparent how Haenisch could have translated *amitu ele gü'ün* as "Puppen." In his *Wörterbuch* (p. 7) he rendered these words as "alle Mann, die am Leben sind, etwa lebende Männer, YP 疑兵 Maskierungstruppen 193, 23." It must have been the free Chinese translation 疑兵 (*i-ping*) "Maskierungstruppen" which inspired "Puppen." There is nothing about "Puppen" in the text, which simply says: "'. . . We shall, each living person, light fires in five places per man and we shall terrify them (i. e., the Naiman) with the fire. . . .'" An error of this sort is particularly unfortunate, because it becomes established in the literature. Thus on page 192 of René Grousset's *Le conquérant du monde* (*Vie de Gengis-khan*) (Paris, 1944) we find "'. . . De plus, afin de donner le change à l'ennemi, dressons des mannequins pour le jour et que, la nuit, chacun allume cinq feux bien espacés. . . ." This not only propagates Haenisch's error, but introduces a new element "pour le jour" which is entirely unwarranted. Immediately below, the words *tediii Sa'ari ke'er-i delgen ba (u) 'uǰu amitu ele gü'ün tabun anggida γal-nu'ud tüle'ülba* (*YCPS* 7.24b2-3) are rendered "So lagerten sie über die ganze Sa'ari-Steppe verstreut, und bei jeder Puppe liess er an fünf Stellen Feuer anzünden." Here again, *amitu ele gü'ün* is rendered "bei jeder Puppe." However, we must translate the passage as follows: "And so, spreading over the Sa'ari Steppe, they camped and he (i. e., Činggis Qahan) had [every] living person light fires in five places."

Page 96 § 202

The name *Ala Quš Digid Quri* (*YCPS* 8.26b3-4) is transcribed "Alachu schidigitchuri." For a discussion of the name see "Page 71 § 182" and "Page 77 § 190" above.

Page 109 § 230

The words *uyilsun qor / ubis kikü-tür / udal ügei bayidaltan / uriyaryun kebte'ül minu* (*YCPS* 10.2a2-4) are rendered ". . . meine flinken Nachtwachen, die ihr ohen Säumen auf eurem Posten waret, wenn die Birkenholzköcher auch nur die schwächste Bewegung machten . . .'" On page 79 of his article "Les formes

avec et sans *q-* (*k-*) initial en turc et en mongol" in *TP* (1943-1944) .73-101, PELLIOT translated the same words " „ Quand vous remuez à peine vos carquois en écorce de bouleau, vous vous tenez debout sans retard, alertes, ô mes gardes; . . ." " Without discussing here the problem presented by his translation, I only wish to observe that in note 1 on page 79 he remarked: " *Uyilsun*, mo. écrit *uyisun* (> kalm. *üsn̥*) et *uyilsun*, est bien l' " écorce de bouleau ", comme il est dit dans la traduction chinoise interlinéaire et dans Haenisch, *Wörterbuch*, 168. Ce ne peut être qu'une inadvertance lorsque Haenisch, *Die geheime Geschichte der Mongolen*, 114, parle de " Birkenholzköcher "; les carquois étaient ornés d'écorce de bouleau (cf. *uyisun qulda-*, " coller [des bandes] d'écorce de bouleau [sur un arc] ", dans Kowalewski, 330[1]), mais n'étaient pas en bois de bouleau. Le mss. d'Ulān-Bātor (f°. 104*b* de ma copie) a fautivement *uyilasun*." In note 3 on the same page he remarked: " On a bien aussi *uriyarqun* dans le mss. d'Ulān-Bātor. La traduction chinoise est 爽利 *chouang-li*, ce qui est plutôt " alerte ", comme l'a adopté Haenisch (" flink ") dans sa traduction (*Die geheime Geschichte*, 114), que " joyeux " ([*sic*] frohgesinnt ") qu'il avait indiqué dans son *Wörterbuch*, 116. Le mot n'est pas attesté en mongol classique, mais il a survécu, avec le même sens, dans le kalm. *urālγū*, *urālγ*ᴅ, qui semble remonter à un doublet *uriyarγui* de *uriyarqun* (cf. Ramstedt, *Kalm. Wört.*, 450 [2]) ." The word is also attested in Ordos where we have " *ųrālga* souple, habile, doux, docile, accueillant, acommodant | . . . [cf. mo. *uriyalγa ǰögelen* souple et doux au toucher; *Hist. secr.*, X, f. 2r. (Haenisch, 230) *uriyarγun kebte'ül* gardes de nuit alertes; mo. *uralγu* flexible, docile] " (MOSTAERT, *Dictionnaire ordos* 2.738a).

Page 113 § 239

In presenting the peoples of the forest to his eldest son J̌öči, Činggis says: *kö'üd-ün minu aqa či ger-teče* [16b] *sayi γarču mör sayitu. oduγsan γaǰar-a ere aγta-yi ülü ǰoba'an öljeitü hoi-yin irgen-i oro'ulǰu ireba* (*YCPS* 10.16a5-16b3). HAENISCH rendered this: " „ Du, der älteste meiner Söhne, bist zum ersten Male von Hause ausgezogen und bist einen guten Weg gegangen. Du bist

nach Unterwerfung des ‚glückhaften' Waldvolkes heimgekehrt, ohne dort im Lande Mann und Pferd geschädigt und überanstrengt zu haben. . . ." " With the exception of " Male " for " Mal " this version is identical with that in the first edition (p. 117 § 239). I have already presented a new translation of the text in note 64 on page 107 of " The Sino-Mongolian Inscription of 1362 in Memory of Prince Hindu " in *HJAS* 12 (1949) .1-133. It reads as follows: " ' Eldest of my sons, having just issued from the house, thou hast had good luck (lit., " a good way "). Without wounding or without causing men or geldings to suffer in the lands in which thou hast gone, thou hast returned (lit., " come "), having subjugated (lit., " caused to enter ") the fortunate peoples of the forest.' " The error in this translation arises from the fact that HAENISCH punctuated the text " mor sayitu oduhsan. ḥajar a " instead of " mor sayitu. oduhsan ḥajar a." (KOZIN makes the same error in his edition of the text [p. 492 § 239]; his translation [p. 175 § 239] is, consequently, also incorrect.) My translation of the words *mör sayitu* is based on that proposed by the Reverend Antoine MOSTAERT in a letter to me dated 25 July 1947 which I have also cited in note 64 on page 107 of " The Sino-Mongolian Inscription of 1362 . . ." The citation reads:

> Quant à l'expression *mör sayitu*, elle équivaut à *sayin mörtü* (cf. *Dict. ordos* sous les mots *sā'ṯ'ā*, *sā'ṯ'ų* où vous trouverez plusieurs expressions construites identiquement). Le sens littéral de *mör sayitu* est donc " ayant une bonne voie ", mais il ne s'agit pas de route, chemin: il faut prendre l'expression dans un sens figuré et comprendre: " ayant bien réussi dans ton entreprise, ayant eu de la bonne chance dans ton expédition ". D'ailleurs le mot *mör* a encore actuellement le sens de " bonne chance " chez les Kalmouks (Voir Ramstedt, *Kalm. Wört.*).
>
> A rapprocher le passage de la lettre d'Arghun: *tngri-de mör ögteǰü tede irge abubasu* " Si, bonne chance étant octroyée par le Ciel, nous nous rendons maîtres de ces peuples ". M. Kotwicz traduit: " le Ciel nous accordant aide ", mais ce n'est pas tout à fait cela.

Page 118 § 245

The words *dayir etügen-i danglasun-u tedüi bükü-eče* (*YCPS* 10.40a3) are rendered " „ Seit der Zeit, als die mächtige Erde so gross war wie ein Klumpen, . . ." " In note 1 on pages 58-59 of his article " Une tribu méconnue . . . ," PELLIOT wrote: " Dans l'*Histoire secrète* encore (§ 245), *dayir* reparaît comme une epi-

thète de la " terre "; la traduction chinoise interlinéaire le rend par 大 *ta*, " grand ", et cette interprétation a été conservée par Haenisch dans son *Wörterbuch zu Mangḫol un Niuca tobca'an* 34, et dans sa traduction (*Die Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen*, 123, " die mächtige Erde "). Mais il est [59] évident que les auteurs de la version chinoise ont interprété au hasard un mot qu'ils ne connaissaient plus. En turc, Kāšγarī (Brockelmann, 72) indique expressément *yaγïz*, " brun foncé ", comme une épithète de la terre, et *yaγïz yer*, " la terre brune ", s'est rencontré dans les textes de Turfan (cf. Bang et von Gabain, *Türk. Turfan-Texte I*, 245, 266) et dans le *Suvarṇaprabhāsa* (éd. Radlov et Malov, 529-530). On doit de même traduire " la terre brune " dans l'*Histoire secrète*. La correspondance phonétique mongol *dayir* (<**dayïr*) ∽ turc *yaγïz* est rigoureuse."

Page 129 § 257

The name " Semisgab " (*YCPS*, Sup. 1.38b5) is our " Samarkand." On page 159 of his review of " Die letzten Feldzüge . . ." (*AM* 9[1933].547-548) in *TP* 31 (1934-1935).157-167, Pelliot remarked in his comments on " P. 507, l. 2 ": " je montrerai ailleurs comment Sämisgab a dû naître, par altération graphique, de Sämisgänt = Sämiz-känt, Samarkand."

Page 138 § 272

The words *olon ulus-i de'ere činu ačiju ögba* (*YCPS*, *Sup.* 2.23a3-4) are rendered " „ [Unser Vater . . . hat . . .] dir alle Völker auf deine Schultern gelegt. . . ." " The word *olon* does not mean " alle." It appears again immediately below in the expression *olon Mongγol ulus önečirekün*. In the latter instance it is not accounted for in Haenisch's translation which reads " ' . . . dann wäre das Mangḫol-Volk verwaist . . .' " Cf. my translation ". . . ' the numerous Mongol people would become orphaned . . .' " on page 317 of my article " The Expression *Jöb Ese Bol-* in the *Secret History of the Mongols* " in *HJAS* 11 (1948).311-320. As for the words in question, they were translated " ' [notre père] t'a chargé du gouvernement des nombreux peuples ' (litt.: a chargé sur toi les nombreux peuples) " by the Reverend Antoine Mostaert in a letter to me dated 8 August 1947, which I have cited

in note 133 on page 116 of " The Sino-Mongolian Inscription of 1362 . . ."

Page 146 § 280

On page 17 of his article " Autour de Gengis-khan " in *Bulletin de la Société Suisse des Amis de l'Extrême-Orient* 8 (1946). 3-22, Robert Fazy states that Pelliot's translation of the *Secret History* stops with § 185, but will be completed by Hambis. He adds: " « Elle présentera, m'écrit le savant français, de grandes différences [66]) [66]) Le hasard d'une lecture m'a permis de constater une de ces différences, non sans intérêt. Dans son travail sur *Les Mongols et la Papauté*, note 3 de la page 22 du tirage à part, Paul Pelliot observe que, dans le paragraphe 280 de l'*Histoire secrète*, Ogödäi, est qualifié de *dalai-in qu'an* [*sic*] . . . Khan océanique. Or, dans le paragraphe 280 de la *GG*, d'E. Haenisch, Ogödäi, est qualifié, simplement de han, sans l'adjectif caractéristique « océanique ».] avec celle de M. Haenisch, qui ne disposait pas de nombreux renseignements utilisés par M. Pelliot et traduisait sur un texte très fautif »."

Fazy read Haenisch's translation too rapidly. Although Haenisch renders the words *Ögödei qahan* of the original text (*YCPS*, *Sup.* 2.51b; Haenisch [Text] 100 § 280 [Ogodai ḫahan]) as " Ogodai ḫan " ([Translation] 152 § 280), the words *dalai yin qahan-u* (*YCPS*, *Sup.* 2.52a5; Haenisch [Text] 101 § 280 [*dalai yin ḫahan no*]) were rendered by Haenisch as " des Weltherrschers " ([Translation] 152 § 280). The interlinear Chinese translation is 海內的皇帝的 (*hai-nei-ti huang-ti-ti*) (*YCPS*, Sup. 2.52a5). The expression is not rendered in the smooth, abridged translation. In Haenisch's translation the word " Welt " is the equivalent of Pelliot's " océanique " and, I daresay, is more intelligible to the reader.

The statement by Hambis that Haenisch " traduisait sur un texte très fautif " is extremely misleading. Although Yeh Tê-hui's edition of the text has a number of errors which are not found in the edition reproduced photolithographically by The Commercial Press, they are, for the most part, clerical errors or misprints which Haenisch recognized and corrected. I do not believe that *Yeh*

Tê-hui's text should be called " très fautif." As a matter of fact, on page 256 of his review of *Manghol un niuca tobca'an* in *TP* 32 (1936) .355-359, PELLIOT himself referred to YEH Tê-hui's edition only as " souvent fautive." Of particular importance is his statement (*ibid.*): " Les mss. que j'ai eus entre les mains, meilleurs parfois, confirment les conjectures plutôt qu'ils ne fournissent des leçons nouvelles. Ceci en gros naturellement; chacun pourra juger du secours fourni par d'autres mss. quand M. Tch'en Yuan aura publié les variantes du mss. qui a appartenu à Palladius et dont j'ai remis un jeu de photographies à la Bibliothèque Nationale de Peiping (Pékin)."

Page 157 § 188

In line 10 of this note " gesprocchen " is a misprint for " gesprochen."

F. W. C.

FUNG Yu-lan, *A Short History of Chinese Philosophy*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1948. Pp. xvii + 368. $5.00.

This short history gives an authoritative and comprehensive account of the development of Chinese philosophy from antiquity to the present time. It is not an abridgment of the author's larger work, *Chung-kuo chê-hsüeh shih* in Chinese, of which the first volume has been translated by Professor Derk BODDE and published by Henri VETCH under the title *A History of Chinese Philosophy* (Peiping, 1937), and of which three chapters of the second volume have appeared in *HJAS*.[1] In this shorter work, which is intended for the general public, a new organization has been adopted and new materials have been added. The result is a well-balanced treatment of the important schools. The two chapters on Buddhism may seem too brief, but the author has explained that his discussion is centered on Chinese Buddhism rather than Buddhism in China. The headings of most of the chapters are neat and attractive. For example, the three phases of

[1] Chap. 1 of vol. 2 appeared in *HJAS* 9 (1947) .195-201, chap. 10 in *ibid.* 7 (1942) .89-125 and chap. 13 in *ibid.*, pp. 1-51.

Taoism (represented by YANG Chu, Lao-tzŭ, and Chuang-tzŭ), the idealistic and realistic wings of Confucianism (represented by Mencius and Hsün-tzŭ), and the rationalists and sentimentalists of Neo-Taoism (in the third and fourth centuries) are terms which will easily register in the reader's mind.

In a book by such a leading authority as Professor FUNG there is little for a layman to criticize. However, it may be pointed out that some of the remarks in the work are what the Chinese call *i-chia chih-yen* 一家之言, i. e., dicta of one master or one school. These include his new theory on the origin of the Six Schools in ancient China, his date of the system of thought represented in the work *Lao-tzŭ* as the second phase of Taoism, and his unconditional acceptance of the *Liu-tsu t'an-ching* 六祖壇經, or *Sūtra Spoken by the Sixth Patriach* as Hui-nêng's own autobiography. Controversal theories on these problems are still held by other authorities in the field.

The student of history may question the validity of Professor FUNG's generalization on the background of Chinese philosophy (Chap. 2). The linkage of Chinese philosophy to a continental country, an agricultural society, and a family state (in contrast with Greek philosophy which appeared in a maritime country, commercial society, and city-states) seems to be an oversimplified materialistic interpretation. To call Confucianism and Taoism " the rationalization of theoretical expression of aspects of the life of the farmers " (p. 20) is rather misleading. The statement may help to interpret the prominent position enjoyed by these two schools of philosophy, but it does not necessarily explain their origin. A study of the proverbs that may have been composed by the farmers would reveal a resemblance to some tenets of Confucianism and especially Taoism, but the date and authorship of such proverbs are very difficult to acertain. Professor FUNG has defined philosophy as " systematic, reflective thinking on life " and has admitted that " there are not many who think reflectively on life, and still fewer whose reflective thinking is systematic " (p. 10). The few Chinese philosophers did live in a society which was predominantly agricultural in character, but they were not farmers themselves. As members of the leisured class, their life