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THE EXPRESSION *ǰÖB ESE BOL-* IN THE *SECRET HISTORY OF THE MONGOLS*

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In the passage of the *Secret History of the Mongols* (*Mongγol-un niuča* [= *ni'uča*] *to*[*b*]*ča'an*) in which it is told how Tolui, the fourth son of Činggis *qaγan*, committed suicide with a potion prepared by the shamans in order to spare the life of Ögödei, the third son, who was seriously ill, the text runs *in parte* as follows: [1]

. . . ünen-ber qahan aqa minu ǰö[*b*] *ese bolu'asu, olon Mongγol ulus öne-čirekün, Kitad irgen kib qangqun, qahan aqa-yu'an orun-a bi bolsu . . . ke'eǰü . . . ügülerün soγtaba bi . . . ali-ber üge-ben ügülele'e bi, soγtaba ke'e'ed γarču odču; ǰöb ese boluγsan yosun teyimü.*

On page 144 §272 of his translation of the *Secret History* [2] Erich HAENISCH has rendered this text:

". . . Wenn wirklich mein kaiserlicher älterer Bruder gestorben wäre, dann wäre das Mangḫol-Volk verwaist, und das Kitat-Volk wäre hochbeglückt! Ich will zum Vertreter meines kaiserlichen Bruders werden . . ." So sagte er, . . . und sagte dann: " Ich bin trunken . . . Alles, was ich zu sagen habe, habe ich gesagt. Ich bin trunken." Nachdem er so gesprochen, ging er hinaus und starb auf der Stelle. So war der Hergang.

On page 193 §272 of his translation of the *Secret History* S. A. KOZIN has rendered the same text in the following manner:

[1] *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* 元朝秘史 (1908) (hereinafter referred to as *YCPS*), *Hsü chi* 續集 [*Supplement*], 2.23b3-5; 24a4; 24b1; 24b4-5. Cf. also Erich HAENISCH, *Mangḫol un Niuca Tobca'an* (*Yüan-ch'ao pi-shi*). *Die Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen* (Leipzig, 1937) (hereinafter referred to as [Text]) 96 §272, and S. A. KOZIN, Сокровенное сказание. Монгольская хроника 1240 г. под названием *Mongγol-un niγuča tobčiyan.* Юань чао би ши. Монгольский обыденный изборник [*Secret History. Mongolian Chronicle of the Year 1240 Under the Title Mongγol-un niγuča tobčiyan. Yuan' čao bi ši. Mongolian Daily Selection*] 1 (Moscow-Leningrad, 1941) (hereinafter referred to as [Text] or [Translation]). 512-513 §272.

[2] *Die Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen* [= *Das Mongolische Weltreich. Quellen und Forschungen* 1] (Leipzig, 1941) (hereinafter referred to as [Translation]).

'. . . И именно сейчас я заступлю своего брата и государя, когда на самом деле с ним еще ничего не случилось, но все Монголы уже полны сиротской скорби, а китайцы—ликования . . .'' Когда он так сказал . . . и говорит . . . "Опьянел я сразу! . . . Все, что хотел сказать, я сказал. Опьянел!" И проговорив эти слова, он вышел вон. Дело же обстояло так, что в действительности (кончины Толуя) не последовало.

["". . . And right now I shall replace my brother and sovereign, when, in reality, nothing has happened yet to him, but all the Mongols are already full of orphan grief, and the Chinese—of rejoicing. . ." When he so spoke . . . and says . . . "I have become drunk straightway! . . . All that I wished to say I have said. I have become drunk!" And having uttered these words he went out. The matter stood so that in reality there did not result (the death of Tolui).]

It will be observed that the two translations of the Mongolian text differ to the extent of contradicting each other, for according to the German translation Tolui died at this point, but according to the Russian translation he did not. The problem in this case hinges on the interpretation of the expression *ǰöb ese bol-* which appears twice in this passage and is not found elsewhere in the *Secret History*.

In the literal, interlinear Chinese translation of this passage of the *Secret History* (*YCPS, Sup.* 2.23b4) the words *ǰö*[*b*] *ese bolu'asu* are glossed as 是不做呵 "right not become if" (i. e., "if . . . not become right"). In the smooth, abridged Chinese translation of the passage these words are not rendered. Again, in the interlinear translation (*YCPS, Sup.* 2.24b5) the words *ǰöb ese boluγsan* are glossed as 是不曾做了的 "right not did become [manner]" (i. e., "[the manner] in which he did not become right"). In the abridged translation (*YCPS, Sup.* 2.25b8) these words are rendered 遂死了 "Thereupon, he died."

On page 18 of his *Wörterbuch zu Mangḫol un Niuca Tobca'an* (Leipzig, 1939), *sub verbo* "*bolḫu* 做 sein, werden, . . . ," HAENISCH has registered the words "*ese — uhsan* YP 死了 gestorben sein 272 f." On page 91 *sub verbo* "job 正、是 gerade, recht, richtig . . ." there is a reference to "272, 23^{v}, f, . . ." From these entries, then, and from his translation of *ǰöb ese boluγsan* as ". . . starb auf der Stelle," it is clear that HAENISCH did not consider *ǰöb ese bol-* to be a single expression. Instead, he took only *ese bolu'asu* in the expression *ǰöb ese bolu'asu* to mean

" Wenn . . . gestorben wäre " and *ese boluγsan* in *ǰöb ese boluγsan* to mean " starb." [3] In the second case *ǰöb* is rendered by " auf der Stelle." We shall see, however, that the expression *ǰöb ese bol-* in the *Secret History* may not be split in this manner but must be taken as a unit.

KOZIN not only considered *ǰöb* to be separate from *ese bol-*, as is clear particularly from his translation of *ǰöb* in the expression *ǰöb ese boluγsan* by the words "в действительности " [" in reality "], but he also considered *ese bolu'asu* to mean " когда . . . с ним еще ничего не случилось " [" when . . . nothing has happened yet to him "] and *ese boluγsan* to mean " (кончины Толуя) не последовало " [" there did not result (the death of Tolui) "].[4]

Against this interpretation of the text there is, of course, the formal Chinese translation of *ǰöb ese boluγsan* by the words 遂死了 " Thereupon, he died." As a matter of fact, on page 155 of his Старинное монгольское сказание о Чингисханѣ [" Ancient Mongolian Account About Čingiskhan "] [= Труды членовъ россійской духовной миссіи въ Пекинѣ (*Works of the Members of the Russian Religious Mission in Peking*), Tome IV, S(aint) Petersburg, 1866] the Archimandrite Palladij translated the words 遂死了 quite exactly as ". . . вскорѣ померъ " [". . . died soon after "].

[3] It may be that HAENISCH considered *ese bol-* to be the same as *ügei bol-* " to become nonexistent, to disappear," an expression in the *Secret History* which means " to die." Cf., e. g., *YCPS* 1.7b1 (HAENISCH [Text] 2 §11; [Translation] 2 §11; KOZIN [Text] 400 §11; [Translation] 80 §11): *tedüi atala* [7b] *Duua Soqor aqa inu ügei boluba.* " In the meantime, [7b] his (i. e., Dobun Mergen's) elder brother, Duua Soqor, died (lit., 'became nonexistent, disappeared')." Cf. also *YCPS* 1.10a4-5 (HAENISCH [Text] 2 §17; [Translation] 3 §17; KOZIN [Text] 400 §17; [Translation] 80 §17): *teyin atala Dobun Mergen ügei bolba. Dobun Mergen-i ügei boluγsan-u qoyina Alan Γo'a ere ügeï'üi bö'ed γurban kö'üd töre'ülbi.* " In the meantime, Dobun Mergen died (lit., 'became nonexistent, disappeared'). After Dobun Mergen died (lit., 'became nonexistent, disappeared'), Alan Γo'a bore three sons without a husband." Although, as is clear from these examples, *ügei bol-* means " to die," *ese bol-* does not, for, as we shall see, it is the expression *ǰöb ese bol-* and not *ese bol-* alone, which is the equivalent of *ügei bol-*.

[4] In spite of his translation, KOZIN must have considered what Tolui says in this passage to be his final words, because on pages 34-35 of the introduction to his translation and edition of the *Secret History*, he specifically refers to them as " предсмертное [35] слово Толуя" [" the pre-death word of Tolui "]. The unusual spacing of the letters in the last line of this passage in KOZIN's translation is, perhaps, also of some significance with respect to his interpretation of the text.

If the literal, interlinear Chinese translations of *ǰö[b] ese bolu'asu* and *ǰöb ese boluγsan* respectively appear enigmatic and if the rendering of *ǰöb ese boluγsan* by 遂死了 in the abridged Chinese translation appears inconclusive as evidence that *ǰöb ese bol-* in the *Secret History* must be taken as a single expression meaning "to die," we may cite other examples of this expression in the old Mongolian written language, for the *Secret History* is not the only text in which the expression is attested. First of all, it appears twice in the great Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1335.[5] There in line 25 of the Mongolian text we read: *qoyin-a eǰen inu ǰob es-e bolǰu köbegün inu Diu-a-bala-yi ečige-yügen or-a tüsi-besü* . . . "Afterwards, when his (i. e., ǰang's) lord died and [the Emperor] appointed his (i. e., the lord's) son, Diuabala, to the place of his father, . . ." In this case *ǰob es-e bol-* renders the word *hung* 薨 "to die"[6] of the Chinese text, where in line 17 we have 主薨、子諦瓦八剌立. "When his (i. e., Chang's) lord died, his (i. e., the lord's) son Ti-wa-pa-la (Diuabala) was set up [as

[5] This inscription is in memory of a Chinese, Chang Ying-jui 張應瑞. Cf. page 11 and Plates I and II of my article "K'uei-k'uei or Nao-nao?" in *HJAS* 10 (1947-1948). 1-12. For some Japanese bibliography on this inscription cf. page 326 of the article "Ein Ming-Druck einer chinesisch-mongolischen Ausgabe des Hiao-ching" by Walter Fuchs and Antoine Mostaert in *MS* 4 (1939-1940). 325-329. Cf. also the remarks by Fuchs in *MS* 11 (1946). 56. I am preparing for publication an annotated translation of each of the texts of the inscription.

[6] For the classical usage in Chinese of words meaning "to die" cf. *Li chi* (*Ssŭ-pu ts'ung-k'an* ed.) 1 (*ts'ê* 1). 25a8-9: 天子死曰崩、諸侯曰薨、大夫曰卒、士曰不祿、庶人曰死. James Legge, *The Lî Kî* I—X [= *The Sacred Books of the East* 27 (1885)]. 117, translated this text as follows: "5.11. The death of the son of Heaven is expressed by păng (has fallen); of a feudal prince, by hung (has crashed); of a Great officer, by ʒû (has ended); of an (ordinary) officer, by pû lû (is now unsalaried); and of a common man, by sze (has deceased)."

This usage, however, is not strictly observed in the *Ch'un-ch'iu* and *Tso chuan*. Cf. e. g., page 43a of the article by George A. Kennedy, "Interpretation of the *Ch'un-Ch'iu*," *JAOS* 62 (1942). 40-48, where, with reference to the *Ch'un-ch'iu*, it is stated: "Three different terms are used, *peng* regularly for the king, *hung* regularly for dukes of Lu, and *tsu* regularly for all others. These terms are obviously in a descending order of honorific value." Cf. also *ibid.* 43a, note 1.

In this and the other texts cited below the word *ǰöb* is written *ǰob*, the usual orthography of the word in thirteenth and fourteenth century texts, which are written in Uigur script. Cf., e. g., the orthography *mongke* for *möngke* in line 1 of the letter of Arγun to Philippe le Bel.

his successor] . . ." In line 28 of the Mongolian text we find: *nayan qoyar nasulaǰu ǰob es-e boluγsan-u qoyin-a* . . . "After he (i. e., ǰANG) died when he was eighty-two years old . . ." Here *ǰob es-e bol-* renders the word *chung* 終 "to die" of the Chinese text where in line 18 we have 壽八十二以終 "He (i. e., CHANG) died when he was eighty-two years old."

Again, in the Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1338 [7] the expression appears three times. We find it first in line 9 of the Mongolian text: *ǰii ǰi γutuγar on γurban sara-yin arban sinede döčin qoyar nasun-daγan Daidu balγasun-dur ǰob es-e bolǰuγu.* "On the tenth *sine* ('new [moon]') of the third moon of the third year of ǰii ǰi (Chih-chih [15 April 1323]) he (i. e., ǰigündei) died in the city of Daidu in his forty-second year." Here *ǰob es-e bol-* renders the word *tsu* 卒 "to die" of the Chinese text where in line 10 we have 至治三年三月十日年四十二卒于[京]師之仁壽里. "On the tenth day of the third moon of the third year of Chih-chih [15 April 1323] he (i. e., Chu-wên-t'ai [ǰigündei]) died in Jên-shou li of the capital (i. e., Ta-tu), when he was forty-two years old." Next, in line 20 of the Mongolian text we have: *gergei inu Adar neretei. nasun ǰalaγu-duriyan ere-yügen ǰob es-e bolbasu* . . . "His wife was called Adar. When her husband died in her prime, . . ." In this case the Mongolian translator rendered somewhat freely the Chinese (line 16) 夫人阿答而氏.以盛年而失其所天... "His wife was called A-ta-êrh (Adar). When in her prime she lost her husband,[8]

[7] This inscription is in memory of a Mongol, Chu-wên-t'ai 竹溫台 (ǰigündei). Cf. page 11 and Plate III of my article cited in note 5 above. Cf. also the other bibliographic indications in the same note. I am preparing for publication an annotated translation of each of the texts of the inscription.

[8] For the expression *so-t'ien* 所天 "husband" (lit., "[he] whom [she] regards as Heaven") cf. *Tz'ŭ-hai,* 卯集 77b. Cf. also *I li* (*Ssŭ-pu ts'ung-k'an* ed.) 11 (*ts'ê* 4). 8b2-3 故父者子之天也.夫者妻之天也. John STEELE, *The I-Li* 2 (London, 1917). 20 (*x*) translated this text as follows: "So the father is Heaven to his child as the husband is to the wife." The same text (without the word 故 and the first 也) is cited by F. S. COUVREUR in his *Dictionnaire classique de la langue chinoise suivant l'ordre alphabétique de la prononciation* (Troisième édition, Ho Kien Fou, 1911) 940, column 1, and translated "Celui qui mérite le plus grand respect, de la part d'un fils, c'est son père; de la part d'une femme, c'est son mari." Cf. also (*ibid.*) the text from the commentary by TU YÜ 杜預 on the *Tso chuan.* Cf. also note 24 on page 263 of the article "The Chinese Kinship System" by FÊNG Han-chi in *HJAS* 2 (1937). 141-269 where the author states: "所天 is based on the above [[23] *I Li*

. . ." Finally, in line 34 of the Mongolian text we find: . . . *ǰob es-e boluγs[an]-u qoyin-a* ". . . after he (i. e., J̌igündei) died, . . ." Here *ǰob es-e bol-* renders the word *mo* 沒 " to die " in line 26 of the Chinese text.

Again, in the Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1362 [9] the expression appears three times. We find it first in line 24 of the Mongolian text: *mön Ataibuq-a ǰob es-e boluγsan-u qoyin-a* . . . " After the same Atai Buqa died, . . ." Here *ǰob es-e bol-* renders the word *mo* 沒 " to die " of the Chinese text, where in line 14 we have 既沒之後 . . . " After he died, . . ."

We find it next in line 25 of the Mongolian text: . . . *ǰob es-e boluγsan gergei inu Šumaγ-a qadum eke inu Taγai qunčui-da soyurqaǰu öggügsen ner-e-yin yosuγar ner-e nemeǰü ögbei* ". . . to his (i. e., Atai Buqa's) wife, Šumaγ, who has died, he (i. e., the Emperor) has granted a title in accordance with the title which he had been pleased to grant to her mother-in-law, Taγai *qunčui*." In this instance there is no Chinese original for *ǰob es-e bol-*, for here, as elsewhere in this important inscription, the Mongolian translator, Esen Buqa, amplified the terse words of the Chinese text of which lines 15-16 read *in parte*: 夫人諱 [16] 書麻.初封同其姑. " His (i. e., A-t'ai Pu-hua's [Atai Buqa's]) wife was called Shu-ma (Šumaγ) . In the beginning her enfeoffment was the same as that of her mother-in-law."

Finally, in line 35 of the Mongolian text we have: . . . *ǰob es-e boluγsan-u qoyin-a* ". . . after she (i. e., Buyanǰin, wife of Indu [= Hindu]) died, . . ." Here again, *ǰob es-e bol-* renders the word *mo* 沒 " to die " in line 21 of the Chinese text.

From all this it is evident, I believe, that *ǰöb ese bol-* in the *Secret History* as well as in the other texts which I have cited

30.15b. *T'ien* (heaven) is used in the sense of the " positive " or " male " principle], employed only in literary usages, i. e., non-vocative and non-referential."

[9] This inscription is in memory of a Turk, Indu (= Hindu), whose son, Oron, was a distinguished official toward the end of the Yüan dynasty. In May of 1942 I presented a study of the inscription under the title of " A Sino-Mongolian Inscription of 1362 " as a doctoral dissertation at Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts. Cf. *Summaries of Theses Accepted in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy* 1942 (Cambridge, 1946). 130-131. [On page 131 *Buyan Temür* is a *lapsus* for *Esen Buqa*.]

must be taken as a single expression meaning "to die." Apparently it is a euphemism which, literally translated, is "not to become right."

We may, then, retranslate the passage in question as follows:

. . . saying . . . "Verily, if my [10] elder brother, the *qahan*,[11] should die,[12] the numerous Mongol people would become orphaned and the Kitad people [13] would rejoice.[14] I shall substitute myself for my elder brother, the *qahan* . . ." [15] . . . he spoke and having said, "I have become drunk [16] . . . I have

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[10] The interlinear Chinese translation of 米訥 *mi nu* (= *minu*) is 你的 (*ni-ti*) "thy," an obvious error for 我的 (*wo-ti*) "my." Cf., e. g., *YCPS* 1.12b2 where *minu* is correctly translated as 我的. Cf. also *ibid.* 13a2 (2), 14a2, etc.

[11] Here, as elsewhere in the *Secret History*, with some exceptions, the word *qaγan* is written *qa han* (= *qahan*). The transcription with 罕 (*han*) without a small 中 on the upper lefthand side is probably a manner of marking the hiatus which certainly existed in this word, as is clear, for example, from the transcription *qa a nu* (= *qa'an-u*) in *YCPS* 4.40b2.

[12] The Chinese transcription has 勻 *ǰö*, as indicated by HAENISCH in the "Anmerkungen" to his *Manghol un Niuca Tobca'an* (123 §272, note 8), where we have *jo* in his system. It is clear, however, when this transcription is compared, for example, with that immediately below (*YCPS, Sup.* 2.24b5), that a small 卜 has disappeared from beneath the righthand side of 勻 and that we must read *ǰö*[*b*].

[13] *Kitad*, as we have seen, was rendered as "Kitat-Volk" by HAENISCH and "китайцы" by KOZIN. In the smooth Chinese translation (*YCPS, Sup.* 2.25b) *Kitad* is rendered by 金人 ("Chin people"). The name as used in this text undoubtedly includes both the Chin and the Chinese under their rule. I believe that the translation by HAENISCH as "Kitat-Volk" is preferable to that by KOZIN as "китайцы."

[14] The Chinese transcription has *kibkangqun*, as indicated by HAENISCH in his "Anmerkungen" (123 §272, note 9), where we find *kibkangḫun* in his system. In his *Manghol un Niuca Tobca'an* (96 §272) HAENISCH has *kibḫangḫun*. In his *Wörterbuch zu Manghol un Niuca Tobca'an* (101) he has "*kibḫangḫun* (*ḳangḫun*, vgl. *ḫanghaḫu*) 意快足 hochbeglückt, voller Freude 272, 23v." KOZIN in his text (513 §272) has "*KibχangχunЪ*" and in his "Словари" ["Glossary"] (574 §272) has "*kibkaŋqu* возрадоваться" ["to rejoice"]. (Cf. also *ibid.* 616.)

In a letter to me dated 2 January 1948 the Reverend Antoine MOSTAERT wrote: "*kibqangqun* doit être écrit en deux mots. *qang-* est le verbe *qanu-* ~ *qang-* (devant un suffixe à initiale gutturale) 'être satisfait'. *kib*, que je sache, n'est pas attesté ailleurs, mais doit être l'équivalent du mot ordos *t'awaḳ* 'désir de voir arriver un malheur à quelqu'un' et *kib qang-* équivaut à l'expression ordos *t'awaḳ χan-* ~ *χaŋ-* (devant un suff. à initiale gutturale). On a en mong. écrit le verbe *tabala-* (ordos *t'awala-*) qui a tout à fait le sens de *kib qang-* et de *t'awaḳ χan-* 'se réjouir de voir arriver un malheur à quelqu'un'."

[15] A remarkable parallel to this offer of Tolui is found in classical Chinese literature in the chapter of the *Shu ching* called "Chin-t'êng" 金縢 "The Metal-Bound *Coffer*." Cf. James LEGGE, *The Chinese Classics* 3 (1865). 351-361. In LEGGE's words

said all that I had to say; I have become drunk," he went out and departed.[17] Such is the manner in which he died.[18]

(*ibid.* 351): "King Woo is very ill, and his death seems imminent. His brother, the duke of Chow, apprehensive of the disasters which such an event would occasion to their infant dynasty, conceives the idea of dying in his stead, and prays to 'the three kings,' their immediate progenitors, that he might be taken and king Woo left. Having done so, and divined that he was heard, he deposits the prayer in the metal-bound coffer, where important archives were kept. The king gets well, and the duke is also spared." In his prayer the Duke of Chou said: 以旦代某之身 which LEGGE (*ibid.* 353-354) translated: "let me [354] Tan be a substitute for his person."

That this parallel did not escape the notice of LIU Kêng 劉賡, author of the "Jui-tsung huang-ti chia-shang tsun-shih ts'ê-wên" 睿宗皇帝加上尊謚册文 ["Text of the Patent for Conferring an Honorary Posthumous Title on the Emperor Jui-tsung (= Tolui)"] in *Kuo-ch'ao wên-lei* 國朝文類 (*Ssŭ-pu ts'ung-k'an* ed.) 10 (*ts'ê* 3).5a2-5b7 (cf. also *Yüan-wên lei* 元文類 10 [*ts'ê* 2].3a4-14), is evident from the allusion in that passage of the patent which reads (*KCWL* 5b1-3; *YWL* 3a10-12): 適英文之違豫、圖中夏之底寧.毋作神羞、請以身代.爰俟金縢之啟、已知寶祚之歸. "When it happened that Ying-wên (i.e., Ögödei) was seriously ill, he (i.e., Jui-tsung = Tolui) [only] thought of the peace of Chung-Hsia (i.e., China). [Invoking the spirits saying,] 'May nothing turn out to your shame,' [cf. *Shu ching* 無作神羞 *apud* LEGGE, *op. cit.* 314] he requested that he replace him (i.e., Ögödei) with [his own] person. [Cf. *Shu ching* 以旦代某之身 *apud* LEGGE, *ibid.* 354.] With the opening of the 'metal-bound coffer' [cf. *Shu ching* 以啟金縢之書 *apud* LEGGE, *ibid.* 359], one already knew to whom the precious throne would go (i.e., Ögödei)."

[16] *soγtaba* "I have become drunk" means "I begin to feel the effect of the potion prepared by the shamans." In the text of the *Secret History* the potion is called *ǰügergen usu* "water over which a formula of incantation has been pronounced."

[17] The transcription *ogču* on page 513 §272 of KOZIN's text is certainly a misprint, for we find *otču* on page 314 §272.

[18] According to this account Tolui died in China in 1231. However, in his biography in *Yüan shih* (*Pai-na-pên* ed.) 115 (*ts'ê* 37).1a4-3b9 we read (3b3-7): "In the fifth moon [of (the cyclical year) *jên-chên* (22 May-19 June 1232)] T'ai-tsung 太宗 (i.e., Ögödei) was not well. In the sixth moon [20 June-19 July] he was seriously ill. T'o-lei 拖雷 (Tolui) praying to Heaven and Earth, requested that he replace him (*i.e.*, Ögödei) with [his own] person 請以身代之. Furthermore, taking the water with which the shamans 巫覡 exorcised and purified, he drank it. Some days later, T'ai-tsung (i.e., Ögödei) was better. T'o-lei (Tolui) returned to the North in his suite. When he reached the land of A-la-ho-ti-ssŭ (Ala [?] Qadïz) 阿剌合的思, he fell sick and died. He was . . . lacuna and forty years old." Cf. also the translation of this passage by HAENISCH in note 272 on page 179 of his translation of the *Secret History*.

Thus according to this account in Tolui's biography he died in Mongolia in 1232. I do not propose at this time to do more than invite attention to these contradictions. In so doing, I shall cite also the brief text in *Yüan shih* 2 (*ts'ê* 1).3a10 where we read: 九月拖雷薨.帝還龍庭 "In the ninth moon [of the fourth year (16 September-

The affirmative form of *ǰöb ese bol-*, that is *ǰöb bol-* "to become right," is also attested once in the *Secret History* (*YCPS* 8.41a2) in the passage in which Činggis *qaγan* rewards Qorči for his loyalty. There we read: [19]

Činggis qahan Qorči-da ügülerün. ǰöngleǰü namayi üčügen bükü-eče eǰi'e turuγ noyitan no[b]šilduǰu köyiten kö[b]šildüǰü nendü qutuγ bolǰu [41a] *yabuba ǰe či. Qorči tere čaγ-tur ügülerün. ǰöng ǰöb bolu'asu tenggeri-de sedkil-tür gürgegde'esü nama γučin emestü bolγa ke'ele'e či. edö'e ǰöb tula soyurqaǰu. ede oroγsad irgen-ü sayin eme-yi sayin öki* [41b] *üǰeǰü γučin emes songγuǰu a[b] ke'en ǰarliγ bolba.*

Činggis *qahan* spoke to Qorči.[20] He ordered saying, "Thou didst [once] make a prophecy [to me][21] and, from the time when I was [22] young until now, for a long time thou hast suffered the wet and hast suffered the cold together with me,[23] and [thou] hast conducted thyself [41a] as a spirit which confers

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13 October 1232)] T'o-lei (Tolui) died. The Emperor (i. e., Ögödei) returned to the *lung-t'ing* ('Dragon Court')." [For the term *lung-t'ing* cf. *Tz'ŭ-hai*, 亥集 164a. F. E. A. KRAUSE, *Cingis Han* (Heidelberg, 1922), translates (p. 28) . . . 龍庭 in *Yüan shih* 1 (*ts'ê* 1).15a5 as "nach seinem kaiserlichen Hoflager."] There is no record in the *pên-chi* of the illness of Ögödei.

[19] *YCPS* 8.40b5-41b2 (HAENISCH [Text] 67 §207; [Translation] 99 §207; KOZIN [Text] 478-479 §207; [Translation] 161 §207).

[20] The text has *Horči*, as indicated by HAENISCH in his "Anmerkungen" (117 §207, note 1). A small 中 has disappeared from the upper lefthand side of 豁 *huo*, as is clear, for example, from the transcription immediately below (*YCPS* 8.41a1).

[21] Cf. *YCPS* 3.37b-40a (HAENISCH [Text] 24-25 §121; [Translation] 34 §121; KOZIN [Text] 426 §121; [Translation] 107 §121).

[22] The text has *büqüi*, as indicated by HAENISCH in his "Anmerkungen" (117 §207, note 2). 灰 *hui* with the small 中 on the upper lefthand side (= *qui*) is an error for 恢 *k'uei* (= *küi*).

[23] Although the text has *noyitan nošilduǰu köyiten köšildüǰü* it is perfectly clear from the transcription of the same expression in *YCPS* 8.8b1 as *noyitan nobšilduǰu köyiten* [由 is an error for 田] *köbšildüǰü* that a small 卜 has disappeared from under the righthand side of 那 *no* and under the righthand side of 闊 *k'uo* (= *kö*). HAENISCH retains the error in his text ("noyitan nośilduju koyiten kośilduju") and fails to comment on the discrepancy in his "Anmerkungen" either under §207 on page 117 or under §213 on page 118. In his *Wörterbuch*, however, he has "nośilduḥu l. nobśilduḥu 207" on page 119 and "kośildugu s. kobśildugu 207" on page 104. From his use of "l." = "lies" in the first instance I assume that he corrects his original reading "nośilduḥu" to "nobśilduḥu"; in the second instance, however, his use of "s." = "siehe" could hardly be interpreted as indicating a correction of his original reading of "kośildugu" to "kobśildugu." KOZIN in his text has:

> "Noitan nobšilduǰu (nošiłduǰu),
> Köiten kobšilduǰu (köšildüǰü) [*sic*]."

good fortune. At that time, Qorči, [thou] didst speak. Thou didst say, 'If the prophecy be fulfilled and if thanks to Heaven [thy] desires be realized,[24] let me [25] have thirty women.' Now, because it has been fulfilled, I shall favor [thee]. See [for thyself which are] the best women and best maidens of these people who have submitted (lit., 'entered') and select [26] [therefrom] thirty women."

The words *ǰöng ǰöb bolu'asu* [27] which I have translated: "If the prophecy be fulfilled . . ." are literally: "If the prophecy become right . . ." In the interlinear Chinese translation they are rendered 先兆是做呵 "prophecy right become if," that is, "If the prophecy become right." In the smooth, abridged translation (*YCPS* 8.42b2-3) they are rendered: 我先兆的言語若應呵 "If the words of my prophecy be fulfilled, . . ."

Thus, it is clear that in the affirmative *ǰöb bol-* means "to become right" in the sense of "to be fulfilled" (of a prophecy) and in the negative *ǰöb ese bol-* means "not to become right" in the sense of "to die."

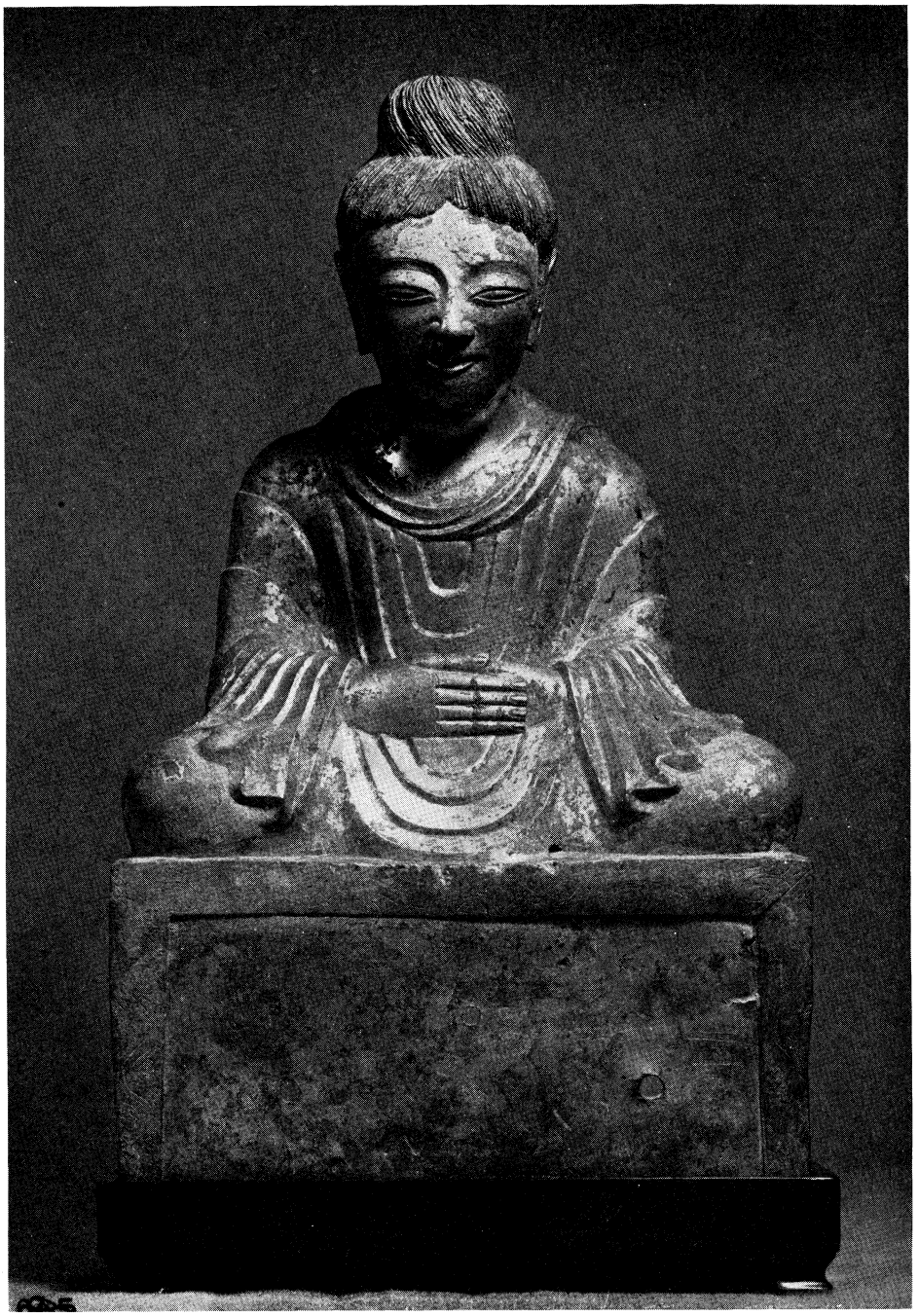
[24] The words *tenggeri-de sedkil-tür gürgegde'esü* are literally "if by Heaven it be realized according to [thy] desires."

[25] Although it is unusual to encounter the form *nama* for *namayi* < **nama-yi*, this is not a unique instance of its occurrence in the *Secret History*. For others, cf. Haenisch, *Wörterbuch* 113. Both in the *Wörterbuch* and in his "Anmerkungen" (117 §207, note 3) Haenisch has "namayi?"

[26] The words *songγuǰu a*[*b*] are literally "selecting take." In his text (67 §207) Haenisch transcribes *songγuǰu* as *so'ongḫuju*; Kozin (479 §207) transcribes it *soongγuǰu*. It should be observed, however, that the transcription *so'ongγuǰu* does not render a pronunciation which actually existed. As a matter of fact, the characters 莎汪 were used only because there was no character read *song* (with the open *o* vowel). The *Hua-i i-yü* 華夷譯語 also writes *so'ong*, not only in the word *songγu-* 莎汪古 "to select" (1.17b4), but also in the word *songgina* 莎汪吉納 "onion" (1.4b4).

As for *a*[*b*] the text has *a*, as indicated by Haenisch in his "Anmerkungen" (117 §207, note 4). A small 卜 has disappeared from under the righthand side of 阿 *a*. From the Chinese gloss 要 *yao* "want!" it is clear that we must read *a*[*b*] "take!"

[27] On page 93 of his *Wörterbuch* Haenisch has "jong (v. chin. 兆 chao?) 先兆 Weissagung" and under this entry has "~ job bolba, d. Weissagung trifft ein, erfüllt sich 207, 41r." Here "job bolba" is a *lapsus* for "job bolu'asu" and the German translation should be changed accordingly to "wenn die Weissagung eintrifft" as we find it on page 99 of *Die Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen*. It seems highly improbable that the Mongolian *ǰöng* can be derived from the Chinese *chao* 兆 "omen."



GILT BRONZE IMAGE OF THE BUDDHA ŚĀKYAMUNI

Dated 338 A. D. Height: 15 inches

Collection of C. T. Loo and Company

This image was the subject of a paper read before the American Oriental Society in 1940 by John A. Pope, now of the Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C. This paper, which has not been published, mentioned briefly the historical background, the images from India, Central Asia, and China which are related on chronological and stylistic grounds, and the microscopic examination of the bronze made by the technical section of the Fogg Museum of Art. All three factors point to the probably authenticity of the figure as dated; Mr. Pope informs me that he has examined it a number of times since then and has found nothing to upset his original conclusions. In the absence of definite proof to the contrary, this is the earliest known dated Buddhist image from China and the only one attributable to the time and place of Fo-t'u-têng's missionary activity.