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Naqshbandiyya and the *dhikr-i arra*"; (7) "Turco-Mongolian monarchic tradition in the Ottoman Empire"; (8) "The biography of Khwush Kipä Beg (d. 1781) in the Wai-fan Meng-ku Hui-pu wang kung piao chuan"; (9) "The Mongols: ecological and social perspectives"; (10) "Integrative history: parallels and interconnections in the early modern period, 1500–1800"; (11) "The Naqshbandiyya in northwest China" [previously unpublished: edited by Jonathan N. Lipman].

It will be seen that these are in part detailed textual studies, in part wide-ranging essays. Many will find the latter the more interesting; but of course if Fletcher had not had a foundation of highly accomplished textual scholarship it is perhaps unlikely that he would have had much of interest to say on broader issues. As it is, the most memorable articles, to my mind, are nos. 7, 9, 10 and 11. In no. 7 he discussed what he called (perhaps unfortunately, since it is a word with an established and rather different meaning) "tanistry", the process by which Central Asian nomadic polities determined succession to the throne. Fletcher argued that this was a question of deciding which member of the royal clan was the most able, this to be settled by a usually violent struggle between the contenders: the winner had thus demonstrated his suitability. This seems to fit the early history of the Mongol Empire, for example, very well indeed. Fletcher attempted, however, to apply it by way of explanation to the succession struggles of the Ottoman Empire: an extremely interesting exercise though he has not convinced everyone. It could well be that the Ottoman state was a much more bureaucratic polity much earlier than he may have allowed. No. 9 may, in my opinion, be said simply to be the best single discussion of the Mongol imperial phenomenon ever written. Everyone who has an interest in that subject should read and ponder its astonishing wealth of ideas – most of which still strike me as right, though I have a few reservations: for example I think Fletcher is too optimistic about the likely survival of pre-existing Mongol and Turkish tribal structures beneath Chinggis Khan's decimal military reorganisation. No. 10, alias "Fletcher's plane ride", is a splendidly daring and stimulating dash across the centuries and the continents. And the last article, which was also the last piece of work Fletcher completed, is a fascinating indication of one of the directions in which his research might have gone, had he lived.

Not long after Fletcher died, I wrote that this was "in my judgement the greatest loss suffered by the study of Inner Asian history in my lifetime". The passing of a further decade has not caused me to change that view. Joe Fletcher was a very remarkable scholar indeed, who would in all probability have become a great one: his influence will live on. We are much in the debt of Professor Manz and her colleagues (especially Jonathan Lipman, who prepared the last article for publication) for making this body of work so conveniently available. If there was ever an essential Variorum volume, this is it.

D. O. Morgan

Histoire secrète des Mongols. (Mongghol-un ni'uca tobciyan). Chronique mongole du xiiie siècle. Translated, introduced and annotated by Marie-Dominique Even and Rodica Pop, preface by Roberte N. Hamayon. (Connaissance de l'Orient. Collection UNESCO d'Oeuvres Représentatives, 85.) pp. 350, 2 maps. Paris, Gallimard, 1994. 140 FF.

The Secret History of the Mongols (*Mongghol-un Ni'uca Tobciyan*), the Mongols' own account of the creation of their early Empire and of the life of its founder, Chinggis Khan, was written, from Mongol oral tradition, in the Uighur-Mongol script of the mid-thirteenth century; the compilation probably began initially in 1228 and was completed in 1260. The current editors believe that stylistic variations in the text may indicate that it was originally the work of several authors.

The *Secret History* survived only through Chinese transliterations and translations, becoming known in the West in the mid-nineteenth century when a first Chinese copy was obtained by Archimandrite Palladius, a member of the Russian Orthodox Church Mission in Peking. Palladius's original work (*Starinnoe Mongol'skoe Skazanie o Činggis-xane*) published in 1866, was based on an

abridged Chinese translation only and although a few years later Palladius obtained a copy of the full interlinear Chinese phonetic transcription, the *Yuan-cha'o pi-shih*, his probably incomplete reconstruction of the Mongol original, was lost on his death in 1878. It was, I believe, only in 1902 that a woodblock copy of the full *Yuan-cha'o pi-shih* was produced in China and 1920 before this became widely available and its value as a historical source was fully recognised in the West.

During the century since its western "discovery" *The Secret History* has been reconstituted in Mongol and has been translated, annotated and commented upon by a number of specialists. The best known English version was for many years the 1956 translation, "For the First Time Done into English out of the Original Tongue" by Francis Woodman Cleaves (actually typeset in 1957 but "for personal reasons" only published in 1982!), although there have been other English versions such as *The Origins of Chinggis Khan* by Paul Kahn and *The History and the Life of Chinggis Khan* by Urgunge Onon. Dr Igor de Rachewiltz's many contributions on the subject from 1971 to 1985, mainly in *Papers on Far Eastern History*, are soon to be consolidated into an eagerly awaited, fully annotated new English edition. In German there was a reconstitution of the Mongol text in 1937 by Professor Erich Haenisch, followed by his excellent German translation in 1948.

The text of the Secret History was also reconstituted by the famous French orientalist, Professor Paul Pelliot – who had written as early as 1913 on the significance of the Mongol title of the *Yuan-cha'o pi-shih*. [*The Secret History* was "secret" only because it was written and kept solely for use by the Great Mongol Khans and the "Golden Family". The original title may well have been simply "The History" (*Tobchi'an*), the current title probably being conferred in the Chinese transliteration "*Yüan-cha'o pi-shih*" *The Secret History of the Yüan*]. Pelliot, however, translated only six of the twelve chapters, these appearing together with his reconstructed Mongol text in 1949.

The present editors modestly suggest that theirs is no work of academic research, but rather an attempt to make *The Secret History* readily accessible to francophone readers – and have, for example, rejected the phonetic symbol γ, so valuable in Mongol transcription, as being "too disconcerting for modern readers". From this laudable "reader-friendly" attitude (and perhaps also from the "internationalising" role of the book's sponsors, UNESCO?) may stem the most striking aspect of this translation, the decision to translate into French as many Mongol names as possible. Experts are warned in the preface, by the French sinologist Roberte N. Hamayon, not to criticise this innovation but to profit from the pleasure which it will bring to the ordinary reader ("le lecteur profane").

The often strange soubriquets so regularly applied to the Mongols and others of the early Mongol period can indeed be confusing and a glossary translating such names would certainly always be of considerable value to those whose command of Mongol is deficient; but this reviewer finds it difficult to recognise the Great Khan's father, Yisugei, in the form Neuvain, or Börte, bride of the youthful Ferret (Temujin) as Dame Bleutée; the valorous deeds of Subtil-Le-Preux and Flèche (Subodei-bagatur and Jebe) smack to the writer more of the Adventures of Tin-Tin than of *The Secret History* and while Généreux, Ardent and Éternel are obviously persons of high degree it is difficult – even for modest Francophones – immediately to relate them to the Mongol Kha'ans Ögödei, Güyük and Möngke!

Nevertheless, the translation reads well, the annotations are sound and meet admirably the limited aim set for them, the two maps (adapted, and furnished with the new French tribal titles, from the official history of the Mongolian People's Republic published in 1969) complement and often elucidate the text. The publication of the present version of *The Secret History of the Mongols* is also a significant event in the distinguished history of Mongol studies in France, building as it does on the earlier work of Pelliot and representing the first complete translation of this old Mongol masterpiece into French.

THOMAS NIVISON HAINING