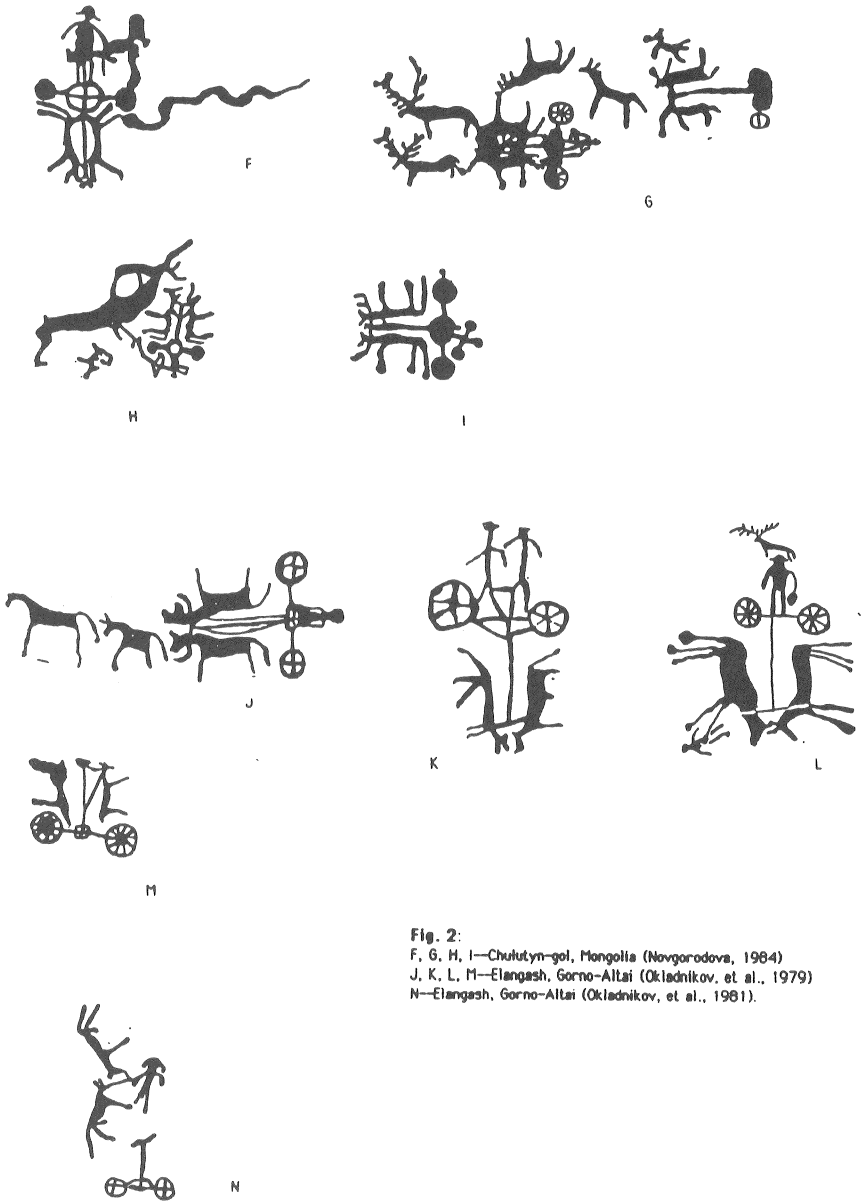


Fig. 2:
F, G, H, I—Chulutyn-gol, Mongolia (Novgorodova, 1984)
J, K, L, M—Elangash, Gorno-Altai (Okladnikov, et al., 1979)
N—Elangash, Gorno-Altai (Okladnikov, et al., 1981).

THE YÜAN SHIH AND MIDDLE MONGOLIAN

by

Ruth I. Meserve

In 1369 the Ming emperor T'ai-tsu (reign title Hung-wu, 1368-1398) ordered that the history of the Yüan dynasty be composed. Having already obtained the records of the Mongol rulers, sixteen Yüan scholars were invited to compile the history under the editorship of Sung Lien (1310-1381) and the Bureau of Historiography. Completed two years after the fall of the Yüan dynasty, the Yüan-shih is often criticized for its lack of detailed commentary on the people, places, and events of Mongol China. This dryness is most apparent in what should also be viewed as a rich source for Mongol scholars: the text is filled with long lists of Mongol names in Chinese transcription. Equally important are the many Mongol terms for titles or official positions, for social organization and, at times, even a highly specialized, technical vocabulary for particular occupations. While many scholars (e.g. Pelliot, Hambis, Ligeti, Cleaves, de Rachewiltz, Hung, Hsiao, Murakami, H. Franke, H. Serruys, D. Farquhar, Schurmann, and most recently W. Abramowski and E. Endicott-West)[1] have dealt with some of this vocabulary when it occurred in their discussions of Mongol history, biography or as a part of selected translations, few have looked at the Yüan-shih as a major, lexical source for Middle Mongolian.

The concern here is for material in Chinese script and, more specifically, with those texts written in Chinese that have Mongol words embedded in them. It should be noted that items such as these do not appear in Weiers' list of Mongol monuments.[2] This type of material should, however, be examined, because many of the terms found in Chinese transcription do not survive in the more well-known documents of Middle Mongol. One good example is the Yin shan cheng yao, a

dietary compendium compiled by an imperial physician of the Yüan court and presented to Tuγ Temür (i.e., the emperor Wen-tsung) in 1330. It contains numerous Mongol terms for food-stuffs, animals and plants, some borrowed from Turkic forms or from Persian, and all transcribed into Chinese. The work done on this text by Yan-shuan Lao[3] and Herbert Franke[4] can serve as a model for material found in the much larger and well-known dynastic history for the Yüan period itself: the Yüan shih.

According to Lien-sheng Yang, "when the Yüan History was compiled in 1369 major decisions about the rules were made by one authority, the Emperor himself. Among other things he stipulated that the language need not be in the traditional literary style, so that as much of the History as possible could be based on Yüan documents, many of which were written in the vernacular.[5] This, perhaps, helps to account for the extensive use of Mongol terms, beyond the mandatory presence of personal names and topynyms in the Yüan shih.

A brief and selected sample of Mongol words embedded in the Yüan shih (in this instance, all are found in chapters 90 and 100) is representative of the various types of Mongol words that are transcribed in Chinese:

(1) Wo erh to > ordo "place, camp" and wo t'o > oto' > otoγ "clan, tribe" are examples of social organization or kinship terms.

(2) T'ieh mu erh > temür "a personal name, iron"; wu lu wu > uru(d) "a tribal name"; k'uo k'uo > kökö "blue, a personal name, a toponym" are all used as proper nouns in the text and may have additional meaning. This category is by far the largest source of Mongol words in Chinese transcription in the Yüan shih.

(3) Wu nu hu ch'ih > unuhuči(n) "one who tends mares with foals" and hsi pao ch'ih > siba'uči "falconer" are professional occupations which may also be used as official, ceremonial titles.[6] It is this category and the next which are the most interesting in terms of adding new lexical items to the knowledge of Middle Mongol.

(4) A t'a ssu > a'tas "geldings"; wo luan > orun "digit, the name for a type of brand"; yün tu > ündü(r) "milk cart, milk container" are examples of highly specialized vocabulary.

(5) Ch'ih > -či (nomen actoris) and ssu > -s (a plural marker) are examples of grammatical elements.

One of these terms may be used to illustrate in a more thorough manner why the Yüan shih should be considered as a major lexical source of Middle Mongol. This is ündü(r) meaning "milk cart" or "milk container".

1. Ündü(r) does not appear in the more well-known monuments of Middle Mongol such as the Secret History, the Hua i i yu, or the Muqaddimat al-Adab. In fact, it appears in very few Mongol dictionaries, the major exception being Mostaert's Dictionnaire ordos, where it is listed in the compound boro ündür and defined as a "nom d'un seau de bois", or "a wooden bucket or pail", used in the julaγ or milk sprinkling ceremony.[7] In the Yüan shih, ündü(r) is specifically defined, in great detail, with reference to the "Golden Tombs' Mare-Milking" ceremony,[8] in which milk is offered to the Mongol emperors who have died. According to the passage in the Yüan shih, chapter 100:[9]

> When the Imperial entourage returns to the capital, the Chief Minister of the Court of the Imperial Stud first sends ahead envoys to collect horses and fifty yün tu [i.e. ündü(r)] and then to come to the capital. As for this yün tu, it is the name of milk-containing carts.

Serruys has indicated that ündü(r) should not only be understood to means the carts in which the milk was carried (as the text states), but also should be applied to the milk containers which were made of birch bark.[10] The same passage in the Yüan shih then continues by distinguishing between various qualities of processed milk --

fine (hsi) and coarse (ts'u) -- and how many mares are necessary to make one ündü(r):[11]

> When (these) have arrived, the ha ch'ih ha la ch'ih[12] nobles at court personally feed the horses with grain and in the daytime brew black mare's milk (hei ma ju) as an offering to the emperor. This milk is called "fine" (hsi) milk. For each yün-tu (one needs) forty mares. To each mare, the official gives a bunch of hay and eight sheng of pulse. To each foal, a bunch of hay is given and five sheng of pulse. (If) the pulse is expensive, then it (can be cut in) half and (the remainder) made up with young rice (hsiao tao). Other princes, all officials, and those below them (in rank) themselves likewise get mare's milk (in which) each yün-tu, like the former, is calculated (but at a rate of) one-fourth less mares (necessary for the milk). (This) is called "coarse" (ts'u) milk.

This supports Serruys' contention that "milk container" should also be understood by the word ündü(r). One may carry this definition one step further and also consider ündü(r) as a term of measure. An ündü(r) is obviously a specific size given the above text on number of mares necessary to produce two different qualities of milk carried in the containers.

2. The first syllable, yün (酉盈), does not appear in Haenisch's list of characters used to transcribe Mongol as found in the Secret History of the Mongols.[13] This character can be added to a broader syllable list of Chinese characters used to transcribe Mongol words as can, for example, pao (寶) in hsi pao ch'ih or nu (奴) in wu nu hu ch'ih given in the sample above. One element that cannot be explained is the omission of the final -r in the Chinese transcription of ündü(r); Chinese transcription usually did render a final -r with erh (兒).

3. Because ündü(r) survives in the Ordos dialect of the Eastern branch of Mongol, the

transcription of yün tu is greatly simplified. The term also appears, for example, in two of the ceremonial texts on the selection of mares that have been collected and published in facsimile by Walther Heissig.[14]

* * * * *

It should be noted that by using ündü(r), an ideal example has been chosen from the Yüan shih: a term that is seldom found in dictionaries; a term that does appear in texts in Mongol written in the Uighur script; a term that is not only defined in the Yüan shih, but also embellished by a description of ceremonial practice; a term that, in its transcription, provides an additional character to the syllable list of Middle Mongol. Most Middle Mongol words embedded in the Yüan shih do not enjoy such distinction. Many appear in the well-known documents of Middle Mongol. Many of the words in the Yüan shih are not defined, but those that are, are frequently given a more detailed commentary than can be found in a dictionary. The reconstruction of the Mongol word from the Chinese transcription is not always so easy. For example, wo luan is defined in the Yüan shih as a "type" or "category" of brand, used to mark the horses of the imperial herds. The proposed reconstruction of orun as the Mongol word which can also mean "digit" when referring to numbers makes sense in terms of a tamgha for animals. The same part of the text in Yüan shih 100 lists the names for four additional brands; of these four, three present serious difficulties in reconstruction.[15] More often than not, it is this technical vocabulary, including official or ceremonial titles, that causes modern scholars the most difficulty in reading and translating Mongol texts. The presence of such vocabulary, exemplified by ündü(r), makes the Yüan shih, indeed, a major, untapped, lexical source for Middle Mongol.

There is a need to compile the Mongol vocabulary that is embedded in the Yüan shih in a systematic fashion. It is not an particularly easy task; there are, afterall, 210 chapters in the Yüan shih and the terms are scattered throughout the history. The three-volume Japanese Index to Historical Terms in the Standard History of the Yüan (Genshi goi shusei)[16] is, as suggested by Endymion Wilkinson,[17] totally unreliable. Many terms are not indexed. Frequently, the compilers seemed so confused by the plethora of personal names, titles and place names, that they simply put in entire sentences, disregarding the individual elements. Despite this problem, such a project could greatly increase our knowledge of Middle Mongolian.

NOTES

1. The works of these scholars are well-known to Mongolists. Complete references as well as additional sources may be found in Denis Sinor, Introduction à l'étude de l'Eurasie Centrale, (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1963); Henry G. Schwartz, Bibliotheca Mongolica I, Western Washington University Occasional Papers, Vol. 13, (Bellingham, 1978); Mongolovedcheskie issledovaniya (k V kongressu mongolovedov v Ulan-Bator) ukazatel' literatury, Mejdunarodnaya Informatsionnaya Sistema po Obshestvennym Naukam, (Ulan Bator, 1987); Akademiya Nauk SSSR Ordena Trudovogo Krasnogo Znameni Institut Vostokovedeniya, Bibliografiya po sovetskomu mongolovedeniyu, (Moskva: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka" Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoi literatury, 1987) and reissued under the title Mongol Studies in the Soviet Union: A Bibliography of Soviet Publications 1981-1986 (In Russian), Indiana University Uralic and Altaic Series, Volume 152, (Bloomington: Research Institute for Inner Asian Studies, 1988); and most recently, Denis Sinor, "Notes on Inner Asian Historiography IV", Journal of Asian History 23 (1989):26-79, devoted entirely to Mongol historiography.

2. Michael Weiers, Untersuchungen zu einer historischen Grammatik des präklassichen Schriftmongolisch, (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1969).

3. Yan-shuan Lao, "Notes on Non-Chinese Terms in the Yüan Imperial Dietary Compendium Yin-shan chang-yao", Academia Sinica 39, pt. 2 (1969):399-416.

4. Herbert Franke, "Additional Notes on Non-Chinese Terms in the Yüan Imperial Dietary Compendium Yin-shan cheng-yao", Zentralasiatische Studien 4 (1970):7-16, also published in the Proceedings of the Second International Congress of Mongolists, II, (Ulan Bator, 1973), pp. 182-188. See also the more recent study by Paul

D. Buell, "The Yin-shan Cheng-yao, A Sino-Uighur Dietary: Synopsis, Problems, Prospects", in Approaches to Traditional Chinese Medical Literature: Proceedings of an International Symposium on Translation Methodologies and Terminologies, edited by Paul U. Unschuld, (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1989), pp. 109-127.

5. Lien-sheng Yang, "The Organization of Chinese Official Historiography: Principles and Methods of the Standard Histories from the T'ang through the Ming Dynasty", in Historians of China and Japan, edited by W. G. Beasley and E. G. Pulleyblank, (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), p. 55. For an additional, important study on the transmission of the Yüan shih see, Francis Woodman Cleaves, "The Memorial for Presenting the Yüan shih", Asia Major, 3rd series, 1 (1988):69. For another version see, Sun Ch'eng-tse, Ch'un-ming meng-yü lu, which can be found in Ssu k'u ch'üan shu chin pen liu chi, volume 225, chapter 13.

6. It should be noted here that these terms often do not appear in Charles O. Hucker's very useful Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985).

7. Antoine Mostaert, Dictionnaire ordos, (Peking: Catholic University, 1941-1944; 2nd ed. New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1968), pp. 80-81. Brief mention of ündü(r) has also been made by Paul Pelliot, "A propos des Comans", Journal asiatique (1920):171; Paul Pelliot and Louis Hambis, Histoire des campagnes de Gengis Khan. 'Cheng-wou ts'in-tcheng lou', (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1951), p. 181. For a more extensive treatment of the term see, Gerhard Doerfer, Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen, I-IV, (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1963-1975), I., #58 (p.179).

8. "Golden Tombs' Mare-Milking (chin ling chi ma) is the name of the ceremony; for more information on this see, Chung wen ta tz'u tien, (Taipei,

1962-1968), Vol. 9, p. 597; Paul Ratchnevsky, "Über den mongolischen Kult am Hofe der Grosskhane in China", in Mongolian Studies, edited by Loius Ligeti, (Amsterdam: Verlag B. R. Grüner, 1970), pp. 426-429, but he does not discuss ündü(r) in detail.

9. Yüan shih 100:2a. The following editions of the Yüan shih have been used for this study:

1. Pai [Po] na pen edition of the Yüan shih as a part of the Erh shih ssu shih, (Shanghai, 1935; rpt. 1981).
2. Ch'in ting edition of the Yüan shih as a part of the Erh shih ssu shih, (Shanghai, 1903).
3. Jen shou pen edition of the Yüan shih as a part of the Erh shih wu shih, (Shanghai, 1955-56).
4. The modern, punctuated edition of the Yüan shih, (Peking: Chung hua shu chü, 1976).

10. Henry Serruys, Kumiss Ceremonies and Horse Races. Three Mongolian Texts, (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1974), p. 4.

11. Yüan shih 100:2a-b.

12. Some controversy has arisen over these five Chinese characters (ha ch'ih ha la ch'ih) and just exactly what the Mongol word or words are that are so transcribed in Chinese. Pelliot attacked the problem with characteristic thoroughness in "A propos des Comans" (pp. 125-185). His initial concern was to distinguish qumis and/or black qumis (qara qumis) and the various distilled liquors (usually differentiated by the number of times a given liquor was distilled) and the names for these beverages in Chinese transcription, drawing on discussions of Mongol drinks made by early travelers, particularly Rubruck, Marco Polo, and Pallas. Rubruck gave a description of qara qumis, which he called caracosmos

(Anastasius van den Wyngaert, Sinica Franciscana I., Quaracchi - Firenze, 1929, p. 178), on which Pelliot comments, citing the Chinese biography of T'u-t'u-ha: "Et le texte ajoute: 'A cause de cela, on a nommé ceux qui dépendant de lui [c'est-a-dire ses sujets qui sont chargés avec lui de ce service du qara-qumyz] des ha-la-tch'e.' Il est évident que l'auteur invoque le nom du qara-qumyz pour expliquer celui de ha-la-tch'e, où il retrouve donc manifestement qara; les ha-la-tch'e sont pour lui des *qarači, ce qui, avec le suffixe régulier d'agent en -či, signifie 'ceux qui sont en charge der qara [-qumyz]'" (p. 170). Pelliot could consider ha ch'ih ha la ch'ih as one word: "il étaient appelés ha-la-tch'e (qarači) ou ha-tch'e-ha-la- tch'e (*ači-qarači)" (p. 171), reconstructing the first part of the latter word but not positive of its exact form or meaning.

He also stressed that "ce terme de *qarači dérivé de qara n'a pas survécu et n'est attesté jusqu'ici dans aucun document mongol ancien...." (p. 171) Pelliot's opinion, apparently, had not changed up to the time of his death in 1945. In his posthumously published commentary on the Rubruck passage about qara qumis in the first volume of Wyngaert's Sinica Franciscana in Recherches sur les chrétiens d'Asie centrale et d'Extrême-Orient (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1973), Pelliot simply refers one to his comments in "A propos des Comans", adding here only "'koumis noir' n'est nullement noir. Mon impression est qu'on l'appelait 'noir' parce que, dépourvu de toute lie, il était plus transparent et moins blanc que le koumis ordinaire" (p. 90). In stating this, Pelliot merely draws attention to what Rubruck had already noted: "Illud clarum bibunt domini, et est pro certo valde suavis potus et bone efficacie." (Wyngaert, I., p.178). The account in the Hei ta shih

lüeh by P'eng Ta-ya and Hsü Ting on their journey to the Mongols in 1237 also bears out the clarity of the qumis. Hsü T'ing wrote: "Als ich zum ersten Mal in die Goldene Ordo kam, gab mir der Tatan-Herrscher Stutenmilch zu trinken. Ihre Farbe war klar und ihr Geschmack süß. Sie war völlig anders als die gewöhnliche, welche weiß von Farbe und trübe ist, und deren Geschmack sauer und bockig ist. Man nennt sie 'Schwarze Pferdemilch'. Denn wenn sie klar ist, erscheint sie schwärzlich." (See Meng-Ta pei-lu und Hei-Ta shih-lüeh: Chinesische Gesandtenberichte über die frühen Mongolen 1221 und 1237, nach Vorarbeiten von Erich Haenisch und Yao Ts'ung-wu übersetzt und kommentiert von Peter Olbricht und Elisabeth Pinks, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1980, p. 179.) The Chinese text added to this note below also bears out the contention that qara kumis is not really 'black', but clear and of fine quality.

Pelliot did not connect the term to the Mongol tribe qaračin, which he considered to come from "qorči or 'porteur de carquois'" (Pelliot, "A propos des Comans", p. 171). Serruys, however, took the opposing view, linking qarači directly to the Qaracin clan, which was also a 'banner' during the Ch'ing dynasty. Neither comment on the fact that qarači was used in Classical Mongolian to denote an official administrative position defined by Kowalewski (Dictionnaire mongol-russe-français, I-III, Kazan, 1844-1849) as "le rapporteur d'un commissaire de district" (II, p. 836). The term also appears in G. J. Ramstedt, Kalmückisches Wörterbuch (Helsinki: Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura, 1976), p. 170, meaning "Diener" and in Ferdinard A. Lessing, general editor, Mongolian-English Dictionary, corrected reprint with a new supplement, (Bloomington, Indiana: The Mongolia Society, 1973), p. 932, where

qarači is defined as "messenger in a government office; clerk, scribe".

More recently S. Jagchid and C. R. Bawden -- in "Some Notes on the Horse-Policy of the Yüan Dynasty", Central Asiatic Journal 10 (1965): 246-268 -- deal briefly with ha ch'ih ha la ch'ih in a footnote (#19, p. 251) where they consider the term as two separate words, Ha-ch'ih and Ha-la-ch'ih, offering no explanation and not mentioning Pelliot's work, citing only material in the Yüan shih. Nor do Jagchid and Bawden make any attempt to reconstruct the original Mongol words. Henry Serruys, in Kumiss Ceremonies and Horse Races. Three Mongolian Texts (p. 5) cites the Jagchid-Bawden opinion that ha-ch'ih and ha-la-ch'ih are two separate words, but finds it "hard to accept", though Serruys' own opinion is clouded when he states "Pelliot . . . did not hesitate to consider ha-ch'ih-ha-la-ch'ih as one word although he remained uncertain as to the origin and meaning of the first part: hači, ači, qači? Qarači and Hači-qarači seem to have been relatively late names" (p. 5).

The confusion exists primarily because of the Yüan shih itself, where ha ch'ih ha la ch'ih seldom appears with all five characters. Most frequently just ha la ch'ih occurs; but ha ch'ih does appear a few times by itself; and, there is at least one instance where ha la ch'ih is given with the name of the office holder, T'o-hu-ch'a, immediately followed by the name of a man, Pu-tu-erh, who apparently held three positions, one of which was ha ch'ih. The textual evidence, therefore, argues for the theory of two individual Mongol words transcribed in Chinese as ha ch'ih and ha la ch'ih. This, then, would differ from Pelliot's conception of two forms reconstructed as *qarači and *ači-qarači, and supports that offered, however vaguely, by Jagchid and Bawden.

In the biography of T'u-t'u-ha (Yüan shih 128) a little more information may be found regarding the origin of the ha la ch'ih:

> When Chinggis reduced the Mien-li-ch'i [i.e. the Merkit] to submission, its ruler Huo-tu ran away to Ch'in-ch'a, (where) I-na-szu received (him). Chinggis sent a messenger to proclaim, saying "How can you hide when my arrow goes to the tailed deer? Come back with haste; if you do not, calamity will still reach you." I-na-szu said in reply "Like small birds fleeing the sparrow hawk, even dense undergrowth can hide them; (do you think) I am not equal to grass and trees?" Chinggis then decreed to take (him). Because I-na-szu was already old and the center of his country was in great rebellion, I-na-szu sent his son Hu-lu-su-man as his personal messenger to return to the house of Chinggis. And since Möngke was content with his lot as commander of all and had already secured his boundaries, Hu-lu-su-man, his son Pan-tu-ch'a and the whole tribe were welcomed and submitted, (and) were followed in submitting by Mai-ch'ieh-szu (an act which) is meritorious. (Then) followed Ch'in-ch'a's one hundred men and Khubilai reduced Ta-li to submission, and through strength and bravery reduced the Sung to submission. When the autumnal offerings of the first fruits to the ancestors were served by the Left and the Right, (those who) control and manage horses and domestic animals in the time and season of agitating mares' milk offered as tribute, clear in color and fine of flavor (that which is) called black horse milk, consequently they are regarded as a class called ha la ch'ih.

Certainly the text telescopes events and time with the first part relating the deeds of Chinggis and a few lines later establishing, perhaps, the beginning or origin of the ha la ch'ih during the reign of Khubilai (or even later since the text's not precise on this point). See

also the Meng wu erh shih chi, (Taipei, 1962) 101:2.

It should also be noted that the positions of ha ch'ih and ha la ch'ih are hereditary. Though not completely clear from the text, it would seem that these positions should also be regarded as ceremonial during the Yüan. The text certainly cannot be taken in its most literal sense when it says herdsmen (mu jen) are called ha ch'ih ha la ch'ih; these men are far more than simple herdsmen. In fact, as the text continues it is apparent that these ceremonial, hereditary' offices' are all held by Mongol princes.

13. Erich Haenisch, Wörterbuch zu Manghol un Niuca Tobca'an (Yüan-ch'ao pi-shi). Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen, (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1962), pp. 185-187.

14. Walther Heissig, "Zwölf Zeremonialtexte zur Stutenaussonderung aus Qanggin (Ordus) (Faksimilia)", Zentralasiatische Studien 2 (1968):265.

15. The text from the Yüan shih reads as follows:

> The herds of horses number sometimes a hundred or a thousand, sometimes thirty to fifty. They are branded on the left side of the rump with the official seal, (and they) are called "horses with the great seal". Of these brands, there are ping-ku, pien-ku, k'uo-pu-ch'uan, yüeh-szu-ku, wo-luan, and other names.

These are all Mongol names for horse brands given in Chinese transcription. There are considerable problems in identifying these brand names. To date the search has proved fruitless in sources dealing with the brands used by either Mongol or Turkic peoples. For this topic see Emel Esin, "The Horse in Turkic Art", Central Asiatic Journal 10 (1965): 195-196; Pavel Poucha, "Mongolische Miszellen, XI. Einiges über das Pferd in der mongolischen Literatur und in der heutigen Mongolei", Central Asiatic Journal 10 (1965): 299; Bi. Rintchen, "Les signes de

propriété chez les Mongols", Archiv Orientálni 22 (1954): 467-473; Edward Tryjarski, "The Tamgas of the Turkic Tribes from Bulgaria", in Gyula Décsy and Christo D. Dimov-Bogoev, eds., Eurasia Nostratica. Festschrift für Karl Heinrich Menges, (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1977), I, pp. 189-200 [this article also appeared in Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher 47 (1975):189-200]; M. Shinexüü, "Orxon-Yenisyein bichig mongolyn malyn tamgatai xolbogdox n'", Mongolyn etnografiin asuudal 5, fasc. 8 (1977):60-71.

16. Genshi goi shusei, (Kyoto: Kyoto Daigaku Bungakubu, 1961-1963).

17. Endymion Wilkinson, The History of Imperial China: A Research Guide, Harvard East Asian Monographs 49, (Cambridge: East Asian Center, Harvard University, 1973), p. 84.

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Ruth I. Meserve

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