THE HISTORY AND THE LIFE OF CHINGGIS KHAN

(The Secret History of the Mongols)

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(THE SECRET HISTORY OF THE MONGOLS)

Permalink

TRANSLATED AND ANNOTATED BY

URGUNGE ONON



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LEIDEN • NEW YORK • KØBENHAVEN • KÖLN
1990



ISBN 90 04 09236 6

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TYPESET IN ENGLAND BY THE UNIVERSITY PRINTING SERVICE AT THE UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS
PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS BY E. J. BRILL

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INTRODUCTION

SECTION ONE:

THE NATURE OF THE HISTORY

Until now, no scholars or specialists have been able to determine the possible authors of the Tobchi'an (the History).

However, we do know the time, place and circumstances under which this History was written. We know these facts from the colophon to the last section (see 282) of the History. It reads 'At the time when the great assembly gathered in the Year of the Rat[1] in the month of the Roebuck (1228, 7th month) the palaces were set up at Dolo'an-boldaq at Köde'e-aral on the Kelüren (River) . . . and we finished writing (this History).' There were in fact many rat years after 1228 such as 1240, 1252, 1264, 1276, 1324 and so on – the question is – in which rat year was the History written? Only in 1228 did all the above mentioned events take place in the same year, (ie a great assembly, in a rat year and specifically at Köde'e-aral). Therefore this History would have been written in 1228, 7th month, at Köde'e-aral.

Some scholars have thought that this History was written in 1240, because it contains no record of the death of the second Great Qahan Ögödei (reigned 1228–41). However, the Mongols, led by Batu (the future ruler of Russia) were campaigning in Eastern Europe and Russia; they could not have had a great assembly in 1240. In fact the Mongolian author(s) of the History, apart from recording the birth and death of Chinggis Qan, never recorded the deaths of the later khans – the second Great Qahan Ögödei, the third Great Qahan Güyük (reigned 1246–48) and the fourth Great Qahan Möngke (reigned 1251–59).

[1] Shu-Hsiang are the twelve symbolic animals representing the Twelve Branches (or the Horary Characters), starting with the Rat and ending with the Boar, forming a full cycle. Each animal represents the year in which a person is born. People whose age difference is twelve or a multiple of twelve years have the same symbolic animal as their 'shu-hsiang'. (The Year of the Rat falls in 1228, 1240 and 1252 AD and so on.)

Some events which took place during their reigns were however recorded, for example: the Mongols' sending of an army to Korea in 1258 (see Section 274).

The History was written in the Uighuro-Mongol (Uighurjin Mongol) script by Mongol scholars. Long before 1206 when the Mongol State adopted the Uighur script, a tribe called Naiman was already using the Uighur script for its alphabet.[2] A Uighur scholar called Tatatungga who submitted to Temüjin (the future Chinggis) in 1204, was appointed as a high ranking official in charge of official seals and taught the Uighur script to the young nobles of the Mongol tribe. Now, the scholars who work on the History agree that the History was written in the Uighuro-Mongol (Uighurjin Mongol) script.

We know from source materials that each Mongol Qan (from Chinggis onwards) had the Tobchi'an – the History – to record some of the events during his reign. Unfortunately we do not have any biographical or historical records other than the History (which covers the period from the late 8th century to the middle 13th century). There are two events which illustrate the nature of the History:

(A) Qutuqtu Qahan (1329), having banished his son, whom he thought was illegitimate, summoned one of his ministers who was head of the College of Literature, and ordered him, together with another minister, to record the facts about his son in the Tobchi'an (the History). This suggests that important events of the Mongol imperial court were recorded in the Tobchi'an (for details see Bibliography: No 2, p 2). This record shows that each Qahan had a Tobchi'an in which some important events of his imperial court were recorded.

(B) In April 1331, Jaya'atu Qahan (1304–32)[3] decreed that a book entitled *Delekhei-i Jarchimlakhu Ikhe Dürim* (Ching shih Ta Tien (in Chinese) – Compendium of Government) should be written. A famous Chinese scholar named Yu-chi was in charge of the project and because of the lack of fresh materials on Chinggis Qan and his period, memorialised Jaya'atu Qahan, saying that he would like to read and use the royal book – Tobchi'an – the History, especially those sections dealing with the time of Chinggis Qan. These were to be the source materials for the project. The Qahan granted the request but two Mongol scholars named Tashiqaya and Yabuqa who were the keepers of the Tobchi'an at the imperial library refused to give the book (Tobchi'an) to the Chinese scholar Yu-chi, arguing that the contents

[2] The Mongolian tribes: Naiman and Önggüd adopted the Uighurjin Mongol script around the 10th century. For details see bibliography No 20 pp 537–559.
[3] For this date, see Bibliography (=B) No 14 p 111.

of the Tobchi'an were most private in nature and should not be seen and copied by any foreigner (see Bibliography: 8 pp 38–9).

An original copy (or a copy of an original) of the Golden History – known as Lo. *Altan Tobchi*[4] was discovered in the Mongolian People's Republic in 1926 and subsequently published by Harvard University Press in 1952. As stated in the Bibliography (No 19, p 77) two-thirds of the main body of the Golden History was drawn from the Tobchi'an, the History. This fact was actually stated as early as 1936 by Z. TS. Zamsarano in his "*Mongol'skie letopisi XVIII veka*" (English translation 1955). Therefore the *Altan Tobchi* was derived from the original Tobchi'an. This History – the Tobchi'an consists of 282 sections. The first stage of writing it was finished in 1228 and, in my opinion, consisted of sections 1–268 plus section 282 (the colophon). Later on (after 1228), during the second stage of writing the History which was completed by 1258 or later as demonstrated by a reference to the dispatching of the Mongol army to Korea in 1258, the author(s) inserted the sections 269–281 between sections 268 and 282. Therefore the main body of the History, as I stated above, consists of sections 1–268 plus section 282. This explanation supports the theory that the Golden History includes a revision of the Tobchi'an, *the History*, which has never been discovered. During the second stage of the writing of the History the authors could have changed the original text, in order to suit their own political doctrine at the time. It is also likely that various authors unintentionally confused the dates of events.

After the Mongols withdrew to Mongolia from China in 1368, a copy of the History reached China some time between 1368 and 1382. The Mongols left the original *tobchi'an* in Mongolia while they were in power in China. The Mongols always kept hidden in Mongolia the location of the graves of the Qahans, the great seals of the Mongol dynasties and secret documents such as the History.

When the Mongol scholar Go'a Uqa'an-qee of Gorlos and the Uighur scholar Masha-Yi-hei Mahamad[5] in China during the Ming dynasty compiled the Sino-barbarian Glossaries in 1382, they used the History – Tobchi'an – as a reference book. Between 1368 and 1382 they also made a complete transliteration, an interlinear translation (of each word), and a brief translation of each section of the History in order to train the officials of the Ming dynasty to be translators and interpreters. They also arbitrarily divided the History into 12 (or 15)

[4] There are four possible dates for the writing of this Golden History: 1601; 1649–1736; 1651–75; 1736–95. For details see Bibliography (=B) No 20, p 52 and B. No 21, p 3, n 1.

[5] For this name 'Mahamad' see B. No 19 p 78.

chapters and 282 sections and gave a new title to the History – The Secret History of the Yuan Dynasty (in Chinese) and a sub-title in Chinese transliteration – Mongqol-un Niucha To(b)chaan (The Secret History of the Mongols). They (Go'a Uqa'an-qee and Masha Yi-hei Mahamad) used the term 'secret' in the new Chinese titles, because they knew the History was kept in secret at the Mongol imperial library.

On reading the opening sentence of the Chinese transliteration of the History, some scholars considered that 'The origins (ancestors) of Chinggis Qahan' could have been the title of the History. As we know, it was an old Chinese tradition to start a new line when mentioning high-ranking or senior persons. In my opinion, the author(s) of the History simply recorded the factual information in continuous prose form without any formal chapters or sections. There was just one simple title – *Tobchi'an*.

SECTION TWO:

ABOUT THE CONTENT OF THE HISTORY

In the 6th century, Turkic nomadic tribes, later known as Orqon (Orkhon) Turkish, moved into the territory of present-day Mongolia and ruled the area until the middle of the 7th century, when they were replaced by the Uighurs who ruled during the 8th and 9th centuries. By the 10th century, (−916 AD) the Liao Dynasty (also known as Kitan) was established in the eastern part of the region, present-day Manchuria. The Kitan were in power from 916–1119 when they in turn were replaced by another nomadic people, the Chin Dynasty, also known as Altan Ulus (1115–1234).

The Mongols were a small nomadic tribe in the area of Ergön (the Ergüne River) and Kölen Na'ur (Khölön Buir Lake). This Mongol tribe moved to the Kelüren (Kherlen), Onon, and Tula (Tu'ula) districts around the years just preceding or following 786 AD,[6] and was one of the many tribal peoples shifting about nomadically during this period. Others: the people of the felt walled tents were the Tatars, the Onggirad, the Kereyid, the Naimans, the Tayichiud and the Merkid. All these groups spoke a language akin to that of the Mongols, but they were only later to be included in the category of Mongols when they had been conquered by, or accepted alliance with, the Mongol tribe. Chinggis Qahan's ancestors belonged to the Kiyad group of the Borjigin clan of the Mongol tribe.

Tribal feuds and struggles for power continued for many generations amongst the tribes, whilst foreign enemies such as the Liao Dynasty first, and then the Chin Dynasty ruled them from the east. The Tangqut nation (1002–1227) to the south and the Uighurs to the west were waiting their turn to attack.

However, by the 12th century, the nations surrounding the area (that is present-day Mongolia) were growing weaker; this was especially the

[6] For this date see Page 1. Note 7.

case with the Chin Dynasty which was also at war with the Sung Dynasty of southern China. At the same time the Mongols, along with the other nomadic tribes, were becoming stronger economically through their vast herds of livestock.

In order to enjoy this new prosperity they wanted to put an end to tribal warfare and live in peace with each other, and at the same time present a united front to enemies from outside. Chinggis Qahan, who was born in 1162, fulfilled a need for his people. The many tribes were strong, but lacked a leader to weld them into one.

First named Temüjin, he emerged after a hard childhood a natural leader and born diplomat. Though illiterate,[7] he knew instinctively how to deal with other tribal chiefs, and being a born leader himself, was raised first to the position of a tribal Qan (Khan) in 1189, and then to the exalted role of Great Qahan (Khaan) of Mongolia in 1206, when he was given the title of Chinggis Qahan. By that time he was married (*c* 1178) with a son, Jochi (-Jüchi) (see Bibliography 10: p 217).

Chinggis Qahan established his empire and held it together on three vital ties, expressed in the words quda, anda and nökör. These were familiar concepts to the nomad tribes, but he used them with enormous skill and foresight as the means of uniting a sprawling and shifting population and making them into a superb fighting machine.

Quda was the tie of marriage. Chinggis Qahan made many skilful marriage alliances, as for instance when he gave one of his daughters to Arslang Qan of the Qarlu'ud because the Qan had submitted to him without a fight. A potential enemy was now a son-in-law. (See Section 235).

Anda was the tie of sworn brotherhood, ratified by a valuable gift such as the black sable skin jacket Chinggis presented to To'oril Qan of the Kereyid tribe, who was his father's anda (see Section 104). In this case too, an unbreakable bond was created that only death could sever.

Nökör was the tie of friendship and held Chinggis's followers to him in a relationship rather like that of medieval lord and liegeman. With these three ties he created a vast network of loyalty, and had the confidence of knowing that he could rely on many and far flung tribesmen when he needed their support, held as they all were in the strong web he had woven so skilfully.

Chinggis Qahan also used his intimate knowledge of tribal affairs and his natural flair for diplomacy to manipulate the Mongols under him. For instance, he joined with the Nestorian Önggüd (who lived

[7] It is generally assumed that he was illiterate, but there is no written evidence to prove this.

in the southern part of Ulaanchab League and the northern part of Ikh Juu League of present-day Inner Mongolia) by a marriage alliance (see Section 202) and later they were able to act as guides when he attacked the Chin Dynasty in 1211. He used the Uighurs in the same way in his attack on the Kara Kirad in 1218, and then those same Kara Kitad were adroitly able in their turn to act as guides for him and his armies when they moved to the Khwarizm (Kwarizm) area.

Before sending in his army to attack, Chinggis despatched agents to discover everything they could of the political, economic and tactical situation of the country or people he meant to move in on. When he learnt of the religious conflict between Buddhists and Muslims in the Qara Kitad region, for example, he instructed his commander-in-chief, Lord Jebe to proclaim complete religious freedom in 1218.

These agents or spies played a vital part in all his wars, and on more than one occasion saved his own life, as when Badai and Kishiliq gave him vital information (see Section 169) and when Qoridai of the Gorolas tribe prevented a crisis by providing crucial facts (see Section 141). These spies, it seems, were everywhere as becomes apparent in the context of Tayan Qahan's lady and her saying that 'The Mongols smell bad' (see Section 189).

In fact, news flowed through four main channels, as well as through spies. These were the Mongolian caravans, always on the move; prisoners of war forcibly made to hand over information; those who voluntarily surrendered and were happy to do so; and the subjugated natives of countries or tribes who were neighbours of those about to be attacked.

Himself a Shamanist, Chinggis Qahan nevertheless saw the wisdom of allowing religious freedom, recognising what a powerful part of society was its religious belief, as when Teb Tenggeri challenged his authority (see Section 245–6). He preferred to make his pleas direct to heaven without a shaman priest as intermediary (see Sections 80, 103). His own power was so immense that to add heaven's blessing to it made him indestructible.

But Chinggis Qahan was not only a conqueror and uniter of divided tribes, and he transformed the Mongol tribal systems into the military feudal systems (see Section 202) then he established laws. He introduced the Uighur script as the national Mongolian written language to make it easier for his laws or precepts to be widely diffused among the many tribes and clans who were the people of the nation he was forging.

Although he understood the tribal and clan system very well, he was strong enough and wise enough to know when to break through it, and to organise his army in units with commanders who owed

their position to merit and not to inherited chieftanship. There were 95 units in this new Mongolian Army, and some of the commanders were herdsmen; Badai and Kishiliq, for example, had proved themselves through outstanding service (see Sections 169–170). Not only did they get positions of authority, but also valuable rewards such as the golden coloured tent of the enemy To'oril Qan they helped to defeat (see Section 187).

Chinggis despised anyone who betrayed his own rightful master, even if that master was his own enemy (see Section 206) and rewarded the enemy who fought bravely against him so that their own leader had the chance to escape. His high standards of loyalty were applied to the other side, and he was ready to see in everyone, friend or foe, the qualities he admired which he generously acknowledged. But he was also fierce in punishing the lapses of his foes.

The Mongols never fought undeclared wars. If they collected too late to attack, they slept beside their enemy until the morning, giving full warning of their intentions (see Sections 142, 159). However, once battle was engaged, no quarter was given, and there was no concept of a 'gentleman's' war. There were no rules of war that could not be broken. Statistics of slaughter are, however, exaggerated. This is perhaps because they were provided by the losers rather than the winners. Careful analysis of the claimed dead and the actual populations of the largest town of the time, such as Herat and Merv, reveals that more people were supposedly slaughtered than actually lived in the places (see Bibliography: 4, p 454).

The Mongols built their empire on the horse, just as the British 700 years later built theirs on ships. The mobility of the Mongol cavalry was matchless, the speed of their horse-relays breathtaking. An imperial decree took 40 days (see Bibliography: 13, p 114) to arrive in the extreme western part of the Golden Horde (about 4,000 miles distance) in 1241, carried there from Mongolia, by men and horses bred to exertion and hardship with iron discipline for the men. On the backs of their wonderful ponies the Mongols carried bows with a drawing strength of 166 pounds, and an accurate shooting distance of 200–300 metres.

Chinggis Qahan never fought a battle that he was not sure of winning, and used his troops with cunning as well as power, sending one section to attack from the front while he and his picked forces galloped seemingly impassable roads and poured down on the enemy from behind. The strategy and tactics of Mongolian warfare were described briefly in Section 195, but Chinggis's two great battles of Chabchiyal (Section 247, Bibliography: 4 p 565, map 9, p 263) and

Kwarizm (Bibliography: 4, p 566; map 19, p 430)[8] are perfect examples of his style. He adopted his tactics in the second battle and being so far away from his homeland, he decided to adopt the tactics of a lightning strike. This was aided by newly acquired techniques in bridge-building and gun powder usage, a surgically precise solution. He was the best strategist the world has ever produced. He, with his Mongol army, facilitated communication between Asia and Europe, increasing the cultural interchange which occurred.

Chinggis and his armies moved with the momentum they had created, and his desire to attack further afield resulted in success which in turn encouraged him to continue his campaigns. With his new nation to secure and consolidate, he had to protect his northern (Siberian) and eastern (Manchurian) frontiers, and his southern borders with the Chin. Then he turned his attention westwards where he was well aware that nomadic tribes (including the Muslims) might imitate him in becoming united and strong, and must be dealt with before they grew powerful and aggressive. He also knew very well the possibility that nomadic peoples would be absorbed into the southern lands of the Chin and Sung Dynasties.

He needed to keep his armies moving for a further reason: left to themselves, in the new and powerful country he had created, they would quite possibly become involved in power struggles that might well lead to civil war. Their energy must be turned outward. Like empire builders before and after, he persuaded himself that since he had the means he also had the right to conquer and provide for his men and his horses rich livings (especially women!) and fresh pastures as far as they desired.

Chinggis Qahan once said that 'every man has his use, even if only to gather dried cow dung in the Gobi for fuel', and perhaps his greatest skill was to make his diverse peoples feel necessary and appreciated. At the time of his death he had 129,000 Mongol soldiers at his command, his empire builders. The population of Mongolia at that time was about 2 million.[9] As well as the three bonds of quda, anda and nökör, there was also a wider bond of pride in a new nation, however dimly this was understood or formulated. Ruthless as he was with his enemies, he had a strict code of honour towards his allies, his own people, knowing that he relied on them as implicitly as they on him.

I have translated the 1980 collated edition of *The Secret History of the Mongols* which was collated by Eldengtei and Oyuundalai (published

[8] For details see Bibliography No 20 pp 708–9.
[9] See Bibliography No 20 pp 564–5, note I.

by the Inner Mongolian People's Publishing House, Khökn Khot, 1980. See also Bibliography: 10).

The second main source of material was *Selected Translation of the Vocabulary of the Secret History of the Mongols* (Bibliography: 1) by Eldengtei, Oyuundalai and Asaraltu. I am grateful to the collators and translators of the above mentioned two books.

I would particularly like to remember with gratitude the late Mr Eldengtei whose academic achievements were outstanding. His father the late Duke Chend, (Tsend Gün) was the first Mongolian scholar to transliterate *The History* into modern Mongolian in 1915–17. (For details, see Bibliography: 16, p 749, Note 46). Without these two books I could not have made a satisfactory translation myself. A further transliteration worthy of mention was carried out by Bökekeshig in 1941, in Kailu, Manchuria.

Here I would like to make some observations on the original text of *The History*. I have checked the text and the interlinear translation and have found very few mistakes in the former. There are, however, one or two, for example there is a two-word sentence – dabchitu qor (see Section 105) for which the interlinear translation is 'a quiver with a cover'. This must be a mistake, for dabchi means the nock (end) of a bow. In any case I doubt very much if a quiver had a cover. Thus I have translated dabchitu qor as 'bow end and quiver', ignoring the word tu, which means 'with'. There are, however, many mistakes in the interlinear translations, and I will mention only two as examples. In Section 106 the interlinear translation for the words qara'atu tuk is 'standard visible from afar', but the correct meaning is 'spear tipped banner'. In Section 251 the interlinear translation of Ile and Qada is (correctly) that they are the names of the two commanders of the Chin Dynasty, but in Section 272 the same two words are said to mean 'open' and 'visible'.

In this question of translation, I feel I have a great advantage in being a Dawr Mongol. The Dawrs were isolated from the main body of the Mongols for over a thousand years; scholars of Inner Mongolia confirmed in 1955 that they (the Dawrs) speak an independent dialect of the Mongolian language, untouched by Orqon (Orkhon) Turkish and akin to the language of *The History*. For example, the word kasoo, for iron, is retained in Dawr and the Kitan language, but in the Altaic language is temür. Words that appear in the History are familiar to me, for instance the words with fricative 'H' in the initial position, eg harban (arban) meaning 'ten' are retained in the Dawr dialect.

I did my basic research on *The History* at my former University of Leeds from 1981–85, but the complete translation has been done at

King's College and the Department of Social Anthropology at Cambridge University from 1985–86. I am grateful to Dr Caroline Humphrey, of the Department, for making arrangements for me to work at both these places.

I wish to thank Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd for their permission to reproduce a map from Bertold Spuler, *History of the Mongols* (1972).

I am also most grateful to Dr Marcus Banks of the Department of Social Anthropology for his help with my Mongolian English. Without this help I would have been unable to complete the translation.

Although I completed the original introduction in 1986 the reader may find that new details have been added to the text as late as 1987–88.

The History is a history of the winners. The losers' version might well have been different. I dedicate this book to my people, the Mongols of all time.

The portrait of Chinggis Qahan on the dust jacket was painted by a Court painter named Qoriqosun in 1278–9 (for details see Bibliography No 20, Vol 1 pp 61–7. For the painting see Ibid *PJ6*).

At this point I would like to propose a new explanation of the meaning of the words 'Chinggis' and 'Mongol'. The word 'Chinggis.' Before Buddhism penetrated into Mongolia in the 13th century, the religion of Mongolia was Shamanism. For this reason, to some extent, the political, economical and spiritual life of the country was dominated by Shamanism.

Very briefly, Shamanism as a religion can be explained as follows. The Shamanist respected and worshipped the Heavens and said that everything including happiness and sufferings derived from the Heavens. In this sense, there was an inseparable relationship between the Heavens and human beings (the worshippers). However, the Shamanists believed that there was not just one almighty spirit but ninety-nine almighty spirits in these Heavens.

Buddhism had never penetrated the Dawr (– Dagur) area and in fact the Dawrs worshipped the religion – Shamanism – until the 20th century. Until this time they believed that there were at least nine levels of Heaven.

The Mongols, in 1206, at the source of the River Onon, elevated Temüjin as the Khan (Qahan) of Mongolia. This was the second coronation, the first was in 1189 AD (for which see Section 123, p 46).

The scholars and other specialists who worked on *the History* (commonly known as *The Secret History of the Mongols*) have put forward various opinions on the meaning of the word 'Chinggis'. However there is general agreement that it means 'firm', 'strong' or Chinggis = tenggis, which means either a huge lake or ocean.

From ancient times through the 13th century to the 20th century, the Mongol lords who ruled the feudal society used two titles for themselves, namely the Qan, Qahan, or Gür Qan. The meaning of Gür in the Gür Qan meant 'all'. Thus Gür Qan meant 'the Qan of all People', but after the 13th century, the title of Gür Qan gradually disappeared.

In Shamanism, the Tenggeri (Almighty Spirits) ruled all above (in other words all space and heaven). The Chinggis (Almighty Spirits) ruled all below (in other words, the land).

The Mongols, however, in order to have Temüjin rule the land, offered him the title 'Chinggis'. It was not proper for the Mongols to offer the title Gür Qan to Temüjin, because Jamuqa (one of the personages in this book) already held it after 1201.

In 1189 and 1206, in order to distinguish between the ruler of the above-space, and the ruler below – the land, the Mongols created the new title Činŋgis (Chinggis) which they offered to Temüjin. The meaning of Činŋgis, just like the meaning of Tenggeri means Almighty spirits.

Thus:

Teŋri (Almighty Spirits)

Teŋri → Tenggeri → Tenggeri → Tenggeri → Tenggeri

Teŋri → Tenggeri → Tiŋgeri → Čiŋgeri → Činŋgis

r(i) → s

A singular pronoun or a singular noun ends in the letter 'r': when it becomes a plural pronoun or noun, the letter 'r' is replaced by 's'. For example: Qorilar was a surname, when it became a tribal name, it became Qorilas. (For Qorilar see Section 9). Uighur was a singular noun; Uighus (Uighud) was the plural noun. (For details see Bibliography No 21, p 24, Note 6.)

The word Mongol could have derived from the Onongol (-Onon River). There are no written sources to confirm the meaning of 'Onon', but we do know that 'gol' is 'river'. It is possible that Onon could have meant 'boy', in the period before the 13th century, when the Mongols had no written documents.

We do know that in Mongol, an initial vowel o or u would be dropped before an n or m, also n and m are interchangeable.

Around 1228 the word Onon was pronounced 'nu'un' (see section 65) and meant 'boy'; around 1662 it was pronounced 'nigun' (see the 1981 edition of *Erdeni Tobchi*, Inner Mongolia, pp 285, 324, 351) still with the meaning 'boy'. In the Dawr Mongol dialect today, Onon is pronounced 'no'on' and means 'boy'. When the Dawrs moved down

from the River Onon (-northern bank of Amur River) in 1644 to Manchuria they settled along the river which they called 'Na'un' (Onon), it was called 'Na'u' in 1213, for which see section 253 of the History.

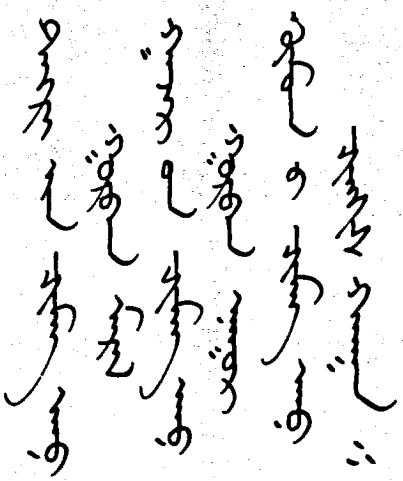
Thus we see that the word 'Mongol' may have the derived meaning of 'Boy River' by the way of the transformations from Onongol to Nongol to Mongol.

These transformations which are outlined above, can be illustrated by the following examples:

Onokhu to Nokhu (meaning to hit the target);
Umartakhu to Martakhu (meaning to forget).
Tansag ⟷ Tamsag (meaning beautiful);
Dumda ⟷ Dunda (meaning meddle).

For further information about the word 'Mongol' see p 1 note 1.

In 1962, on the 800th anniversary of his birth, the Mongols erected a monument to Chinggis Qahan on the banks of the Three Lakes at Deliün Boldaq in the Dadal Sum of the Mongolian People's Republic. I went to Deliün Boldaq on 20 August, 1966 and wrote the following three-line poem:



The Beauty of the sky is the Three Stars (of Orion)
The Decoration of the Earth is the Three Lakes
The Ornament of Mankind is Chinggis Qahan.

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16 June 1986

THE HISTORY AND THE LIFE OF CHINGGIS KHAN (THE SECRET HISTORY OF THE MONGOLS)[1]

CHAPTER ONE

1. Chinggis[2] Qahan was born with his destiny ordained by Heaven Above,[3] his origins were from (ie his ancestors being) Börte Chino (whose name means 'wolf').[4] His wife Qo'ai-maral (means a beautiful doe). They came, crossing the lake,[5] and after they had settled at the source of the Onon river at Burqan-qaldun,[6] Batachi-qan[7] was born (to them).

[1] The word 'Mongol' was used as a tribal name until 1206 when Temüjin (Chinggis Qahan) was elevated to the position of Great Qahan. The name then became synonymous with the state until 1271 when the Great Qahan Qubilai renamed it the 'Yuan Dynasty'. Since then, 'Mongol' has been used as the name of the people in general sense.

[2] In my opinion, the word 'Chinggis' derives from *tenggeri* which means 'Heaven' or 'Almighty'. For details, see the Introduction, pp, xii, xiii.

[3] This phrase is not exclusively used of Chinggis Qahan's ancestry and could in fact be used of any person or even animals (see Sections 197 and 281).The phrase conveys a Shamanist idea that everyone carries a heavenly spirit in their heads. Formerly,in the Dawr area of Mongolia, a Shamanist ceremony was held when a child fell sick, in which the protection of Heaven was invoked.

[4] Taking their guidance from Chinese interlinear notes, most previous translators of the History have translated *börte* as 'bluish' (Bibliography 11: 1), 'blue-grey' (B.12, vol 4: 118) etc. In fact, *börte* is more accurately translated as 'wolf' in the Orkhon (Orqon) Turkish dialect. Börte Chino was probably born in 758 AD for which see Bibliography No 10, p 271.

[5] The original interlinear note indicates that a specific lake, 'Tenggis', is meant – a convention adhered to by previous translators (B.12, vol 4: 118; B.14: xvii; B.11: 1), although some note the more general meaning of 'sea' or 'large lake' (eg B.14, B.11). In Orkhon (Orqon) Turkish and in the Uighur dialect *Tenggis* has just this meaning, and therefore I have rendered it 'lake'. According to B.IV:111, the ancestors of the Chinggis Qahan moved to the huge area about one thousand years ago. It is my opinion that the lake referred to was therefore Khölön Na'ur in Khölön Buir. Other scholars favour Lake Baikal (see for example, B.10:1, no 2).

[6] Burqan-qaldun is the name of a place. In Dawr dialect, *burqan* (pronounced *barken*) is a Shamanist term meaning 'The spirit of a Shamanist'. It therefore differs from the modern term *burkhan* (Buddha or Buddhist god). Qaldun (Qaldut in section 164) means 'rocky mountain' or 'cliff'. De Rachewiltz (B.12 vol 4: 151) thinks the mountain in question may be either Tsagaan Öndör (White Heights) or Khentei Qan, both in the Khentei Mountains, Northern Mongolia.

[7] Batachi-qan was born probably in 786 AD, for which see Bibliography No 10, p 271.

2. The son of Batachi-qan was Tamacha; the son of Tamacha was Qorichar-mergen; the son of Qorichar-mergen was A'ujam-boro'ul; the son of A'ujam-boro'ul was Sali-qacha'u; the son of Sali-qacha'u was Yeke-nidün; the son of Yeke-nidün was Sem-sochi; the son of Sem-sochi, Qarchu.[8]

3. The son of Qarchu, Borjigidai-mergen, had Mongqoljin-qo'a as his wife. The son of Borjigidai-mergen, Toroqoljin-bayan, had a wife called Boroqchin-qo'a, a young manservant called Boroldai-suyalbi, and two fine geldings,[9] Dayir ('big') and Boro ('grey'). Toroqoljin had two sons, Duwa-soqor and Dobun-mergen.[10]

4. Duwa-soqor had a single eye in the middle of his forehead, and with it he could see three journeys' distance.[11]

5. One day, Duwa-soqor with his younger brother Dobun-mergen climbed up Burqan-qaldun. Duwa-soqor, looking down from Burqan-qaldun, saw a group (of) people moving camp coming towards him downstream along the Tünggelik rivulet.[12]

6. He said, 'Among those people moving camp coming (this way) there is a girl of beauty in the front seat of a black wooden-framed

[8] Personal names: Some, but not all, of the names in this paragraph, carry secondary meanings. For example: Qorichar-mergen – Qorichar was a personal name, but the epithet *mergen* means 'good or wise hunter', thus Qorichar-mergen is 'Qorichar the good hunter'; A'ujam-boro'ul – *a'ujam* means 'wide'; Yeke-nidün – 'big eye'.

[9] As used in the history *külü'üt* means 'fine horses' or 'great heroes'. However, in Dawr dialect *hülüg* (*Külük*) means a team of four oxen which pull a plough. It is a colloquialism, if you have four sons, to say, 'I have one *hülüg*'. The history tells us that Chinggis Qahan had four *külü'üd* (four great marshals, see Section 163) and also four dogs of great generals (Section 193) and it is possible that this meaning of 'four (items) in a team' was developing at this time (see also B.1: 219).

[10] More personal names: (1) Borjigidai – Borjigin was the name of Chinggis Qahan's clan (see Section 42; B.1: 153). The suffix *-dai* indicates a male of the clan, equivalent perhaps to referring to a man from Yorkshire as a 'Yorkshire lad'! (2) Mongqoljin-qo'a – 'the beauty of the Mongols'. The suffix *-jin* indicates a female of the clan (although not if attached to a personal name, for example, Temüjin, mentioned in Section 59. See also B.1:257), while *go'a* means 'beauty' or 'beautiful'. (3) Toroqoljin-bayan – *bayan* means 'rich', hence 'Toroqoljin the rich'. (4) Boroqchin-qo'a – *boro* means grey; the suffix *-qchin* is another female marker, used today only for animals (see B.1: 153). (5) Boroldai-suyalbi – *boroldai* means 'grey bird' in Orkhon Turkish (cf. Mongol *boroldai-boljouwr* – 'sky pipit'). See B.1: 153. The meaning of *suyalbi* is unclear. (6) Duwa-soqor – *duwa* in Uigur means 'to express good wishes', *soqor* means 'blind' or 'one-eyed'. See B.1: 284.

[11] The distance of one journey (*ne'üri*) was about ten miles, the 'journey' being that of the nomadic camp (see B.1: 135).

[12] Tünggelik or Tönggelik means 'roundabout' or 'ring'. Thus, 'a stream which winds round and round'. De Rachewiltz (B.12 vol 4: 135) notes that the stream was a 'small affluent of the upper Khelüren, not yet identified' (see B.1: 268). It is also suggested that this word 'Tünggelik' is derived from *Tün* (Tüng) meaning 'forests'. For details see bibliography 18 pp 26–7 note 6.

covered cart. If she is not given to anyone, let us ask her for you, young brother Dobun-mergen!' He sent his younger brother Dobun-mergen to take a look.

7. When Dobun-mergen reached those people he found a girl of true beauty and good reputation. Her name, Alan-qo'a, was well known and she had not yet been given to any man.

8. From that group of people there was a girl, Barqujin-qo'a, the daughter of Barqudai-mergen, Lord of the Köl Barqujin lowland,[13] who had been given to Qorilartai-mergen, the Lord of the Qori-Tümed. In the land of the Qori-Tümed, at Ariq-usun ('clean river') that girl, named Alan-qo'a, was born to Barqujin-qo'a, wife of Qorilartai-mergen.

9. Because Qorilartai-mergen's people put a ban on each other hunting in the Qori-Tümed lands for sable, squirrel and other wild animals, (he) fell out with them; because of this ban they became the Qorilar clan. They thought that Burqan-qaldun, which was rich in wild animals and gazelles, was a good place. Shinchi-bayyan established (shamanistic) deities as the spirit-lords[14] of the Sacred Mountain (Burqan-galdun) while he was moving towards Uri[y]angqai. Alan-qo'a, daughter of the Qori-Tümed Qorilartai-mergen, born at Ariq-usun, was begged in marriage, and this is how she came to be married to Dobun-mergen.

10. When Alan-qo'a came to Dobun-mergen she bore him two sons, who were named Bügünütei and Belgünütei.

11. Duwa-soqor, his older brother, had four sons. Not long afterwards older brother Duwa-soqor died. After Duwa-soqor was no more, his four sons did not make their uncle Dobun-mergen a member of the family. Despising him they left him and moved away. They became four clans and these became the Four Peoples (Dörben irgen).

12. One day after that, Dobun-mergen set out hunting on Toqochaq-Peak and in a forest he met an Uri[y]angqad[ai] man who had killed a three-year-old deer and was roasting its ribs and bowels.

[13] Köl in the Orkhon Turkish dialect means 'lake' or 'branch of a river', while Barqujin is the name of a large river flowing into Lake Baikal from the north-east. The word translated here as 'lowland' (*töqüm*) means a hollow, valley or basin. For further information on the area see B.1: 217. De Rachewiltz identifies the area as a lowland region between the Selenga and Barguzin rivers (B.12 vol 4: 153).

[14] Most previous translators have thought that these two words (*burqan bosqaqsan*) are a personal name, following the lead of the Chinese interlinear note. In fact *bosqaqsan* is a past tense of 'to establish'. Among Buriat Shamanists, the *gazaryn ejed* (Lords of the Land) are the spirit-owners of places. Their origin is usually from clan ancestors and they are contacted by Shamans.

13. Dobun-mergen said: 'Friend,[15] give me (some of the) meat from your roasting-spit.' 'I'll give (it to you),' said the hunter, and taking the lungs, head-part and skin,[16] he gave (the rest of) the three-year-old deer's meat to Dobun-mergen.

14. Dobun-mergen loaded up the three-year-old deer and while he was going on his way he met a destitute man who was leading his young son.

15. When Dobun-mergen asked him 'Who are you?', the man said 'I am a man of the Ma'aliq Bayya'ud and in a bad way. How about giving me part of that beast's flesh and I will give you this son of mine.'

16. On those words, Dobun-mergen tore off (separated) one of the three-year-old deer's hindlegs and gave it to him. (Then) he took the boy back to his Yurt (tent) where he worked as a servant.

17. Not long afterwards Dobun-mergen was no more. After his death, Alan-qo'a, in spite of having no husband, bore three sons. They were called Buqu-qadagi, Buqatu-salji and Bodonchar-mungqaq.[17]

18. Belgünütei and Bügünütei, the two sons born earlier to Dobun-mergen, talked together about their mother Alan-qo'a behind her back. 'This mother of ours, without (our father's) older brother, younger brother or cousins,[18] and with no husband, has produced three sons. In this house there is only the Ma'aliq Bayya'ud man. Most likely these are his three sons.' Alan-qo'a sensed what they were saying behind her back.

19. One spring day, after boiling some dried mutton, she made these, her five sons, Belgünütei, Bügünütei, Buqu-qatagi, Buqatu-salji and

[15] Nökör, the word translated here as 'friend', indicates one of the two important relationships in the History, the other being *anda* (see Section 96). As a noun, *nökör* can mean friend, 'mate', faithful follower, as well as a contrary meaning of 'enemy' (see Section 153, 267). It derives from a verb, *nökhökhü* (*nöqüqü*) meaning 'to patch things up'. For further information on *nökör* see B.1: 140.

[16] The head, innards and skin of an animal were consecrated to the spirits. A hunter did not give these away to another human being for fear that misfortune would befall him. The word *jildü*, here translated as 'lungs', but really including all the organs of the thorax – diaphragm, heart and lungs – has another form, *jüldü*, which is used in the Section 214 to mean 'best achievement' or 'outstanding merits'. (For *jildü* see B.1: 300; for *jüldü* see B.1:304).

[17] Badonchar 'The Fool' was probably born in 970 AD, for which see B.10 p 271.

[18] Literally, 'third cousins (on the father's side)'. The brothers are referring to the practice of the levirate where a widowed woman would be passed on to her husband's younger brother or other male relative in order to keep her offspring within the descent group.

Bodonchar-mungqaq sit down in a row. To each of them she gave an arrow-shaft, saying 'Break it!'

They each broke it easily and threw it aside. Again, she took five arrowshafts[19] and bound them together. She gave the five bound arrows to the five of them, saying 'Break them!' Each of them grasped them in turn but could not break them.

20. At this, their mother Alan-qo'a said, 'My two sons Belgünütei and Bügünütei, you have suspected me, talking together – 'These three sons she has produced, whose sons are they and how (have they come)?' It is correct for you to have suspicions.

21. Every night a shining yellow man came into the *yurt* (tent) through the light of the smoke-hole and the door-top. He caressed my belly and his light sank into my belly. When he went out, he slunk like a yellow dog by the light of the sun and the moon.

Why do you talk nonsense?
Once you understand the fact,
Its sign (is that)
They must be sons of Heaven.
Why do you compare them
To black-haired men?[20]
When they become lords of all
The common people must understand.

22. Again, Alan-qo'a instructed her five sons with these words, 'You five sons were all born of my one belly. When you are by yourselves, like the five arrow-shafts just now, you can be easily broken by anybody. When you are together and united, like the bound arrow-shafts, how can anybody easily overcome you?' Not long afterwards mother Alan-qo'a was no more.

23. After their mother Alan-qo'a died, the five elder and younger brothers divided the livestock and property amongst themselves. The four – Belgününtei, Bügünütei, Buqu-qatagi and Buqatu-salji – took their shares, but they thought that Bodonchar was stupid and dull[21] (so) they did not count him as a member of the family and did not give him a share.

[19] Alan-qo'a's demonstration holds additional force in the original language as the word for an arrow-shalf (*müsü*) also means 'a straight line' and carries moral overtones, as does 'straight' in English. For example, *müsütei khün* means 'a man of integrity' ('a straight man'). See B.1: 231. Additionally an arrow is also a sign of unity and authority – see B.2: 12–13.

[20] Because commoners had no hats to cover their black hair.

[21] His name means 'stupid and dull' ('The Fool'). See also note 17.

24. No longer being counted in the family, Bodonchar thought to himself, 'Why have I lived here until now?' He rode (off) on an off-white, mangy-tailed, fleet-footed[22] horse with sores on its black-striped back. 'If I am to die, let me die. If I am to live, let me live,'[23] he said and went away down the Onon river. Arriving at the island of Baljun, he made a *yurt* (tent) of grass to live in and he settled there.

25. While he was living like this, he saw a young female hawk catching and eating a black pheasant. Using the tail hairs of his off-white mangy-tailed, sore-ridden horse with the black striped back as a snare, he captured (the hawk) and reared it.

26. When he had no food to eat he would seek out wild beasts that wolves had penned in at the (foot of the) cliffs. These he shot and killed, eating them together (with the hawk). He picked up the wolves' left-overs and ate them. So he nourished his own gullet and his hawk while the year passed on.

27. Spring arrived, the time for the ducks to come. He starved his hawk and flew it at them. He spread out the ducks and geese (that it caught) until

> From every withered tree
> Wafted bad odours
> From every dried-up tree,
> Dank smells.[24]

28. From the rear[25] of Mt Düyiren a group of people moving camp came down the Tünggelik stream. After flying his hawk Bodonchar used to go and visit them, drinking kumis[26] (with them) in the day and returning to his own *yurt* of grass at night to sleep.

[22] This word 'oroq' means 'off-white'; the word Shingqula [-Shinggul] means 'a dive or swift penetration'. I have however translated those two words as 'an off-white fleet footed horse'. As the reader will see in Section 55, there are two words 'qurdun qubi', translated as 'a swift dun horse'. In both cases, 'shingqula' and 'qurdun qubi' could be the names of the horses. For details, see B. No 21, p 33 n 3.

[23] Literally 'If die, its let die; if live, its let live' ie 'If (I) die, it (is Fate)'s (wish to) let (me) die' etc. However, some other translators (for example, de Rachewiltz, B.12 vol 4: 122) think the passage should read, 'If he (the horse) dies, I shall die . . .'etc.

[24] The words translated here as 'bad odours' and 'dank smells'(*qonqshi'ut* and *höngshi'üt*) more literally mean 'bad smells of burning fat and wild onions'. See B.1: 177; 198.

[25] Direction was very important to the Mongolians. The word translated here as 'rear' (*gerü*) also means 'northern side', that is the cold, sunless side. It also means the forests that grow on the northern side of a mountain. Similarly, Öbör means the 'front side' or the 'southern side'. Houses for example are built to face south. For *gerü* see B.1: 203.

[26] Literally, 'eating a sour thing'. Kumis[s] (fermented mare's milk) and the associated verb, *esükchilejü*, that is used here derive from *esük* (*ösög*) meaning 'sour' (taste). See B.1: 104.

29. Those people asked for Bodonchar's hawk but he did not give it to them. They didn't ask Bodonchar whose son he was or what his tribe was, nor did he ask them what people they were, yet he kept coming and going.

30. His older brother Buqu-qatagi, thinking that his younger brother Bodonchar had gone downstream along the Onon river, came to look for him. He asked those people who were moving camp down the Tünggelik stream about such a man with such a horse.

31. Those people said, 'Both a man and horse similar to those you are asking for are here and there is a hawk with them. Every day he comes to us, drinks kumis and goes away, (but) it's not clear where he spends the night. When the wind comes from the north-west the feathers and down of the ducks and geese his hawk has caught scatter like snow and blow here. He can't be far from here. It is time for him to come, wait a while'.

32. After some time a man approached (slowly) upstream along the Tünggelik. When he arrived it turned out to be Bodonchar. On seeing him, his older brother Buqu-qatagi recognised him immediately, and, leading him, trotted off with him up the Onon river.

33. Bodonchar, trotting along behind his elder brother Buqu-qatagi, said to him, 'It's good for a body to have a head, for clothing to have a collar'.[27] His words had no effect on his older brother Buqu-qatagi.

34. Again he said the same words and they had no effect on his older brother who stayed silent. Travelling further, Bodonchar said the same words again, 'What were you going on about just now?' his older brother said.

35. At that, Bodonchar said, 'Those people on the Tünggelik stream just now, they have no big or small, good or bad, head or hooves – everybody's equal. They are a simple people – let's plunder them!'

36. At which his elder brother said, 'Yes, if that's the case, then we'll reach an agreement with our brothers when we arrive at the *yurt* to plunder those people.'

[27] 'Collar' (*jaqa*) (or possibly something larger, such as a separate cape is meant here) was used as a metaphor for a leader. See B.1: 289–90. The gist of Bodonchar's words, explained more fully in Section 35, is that, without a leader, the group of people would be incapable of organising their defence. There is also an implication that without some form of hierarchy they are an inferior people who need to be led (ie dominated) by Bodonchar and his brothers.

37. After reaching the *yurt* the brothers talked (the matter over) together and then set out on horseback. Bodonchar himself was sent on ahead at a gallop as a scout.

38. Galloping ahead as a scout Bodonchar captured a woman, four or five months pregnant.[28] He asked her who she was. 'I am a Greater[29] Uriangqai woman of the Jarchi'ut tribe.'

39. The five brothers robbed those people and so came into livestock, property and people for servants with which they settled down.

40. The woman who was four or five months pregnant came to Bodonchar and had a son. As he was the son of a foreign people, they said, they named him Jajiradai and he became the ancestor of the Jadaran. Jadaraday's (Jajiradai's) son was called Tügü'üdei and Tügü'üdei's son was called Büri-bulchiru. Büri-bulchiru's son was called Qara-qada'an and the son of Qara-qada'an was called Jamuqa. So the Jadaran clan came about.

41. That woman also gave birth to a son by Bodonchar. Saying that she was a captured woman they named that son Ba'aridai; he became the ancestor of the Ba'arin clan. Ba'aridai's son was called Chiduqul-bökö. Chiduqul-bökö had many wives and his sons were born in profusion. So the Menen-Ba'arin clan came about.

42. From Belgünütei came the Belgünüt clan. From Bügünütei came the Bügünüt clan. From Buqu-qatagi came the Qatagin clan. From Buqutu-salji came the Salji'ut clan. From Bodonchar came the Borjigin.

43. To Bodonchar's principal wife[30] was born a son named Barim-shi'iratu-qabichi. Bodonchar also took as a concubine a woman as part of Qabichi-ba'atur's mother's dowry.[31] A son was born to her

[28] Literally 'half-pregnant' (*dumda ke'elitei*), it means she was four to five months pregnant.

[29] This word 'adangqan' in this section of the text should be read as 'nengdegsen' which means 'greater'. At the time of Chinggis Qahan, the Mongols called the Mongol Nation 'Nengdegsen Yeke Ulus' – The Greater Great Nation. For details, see Bibliography No 21 pp 40–1, n 3.

[30] Although other translators (for example, de Rachewiltz) have translated *ablin eme* as 'the wife (Bodonchar) chose himself' it in fact means first wife or principal wife, the one chosen for a boy in childhood. The children of this wife alone could inherit their father's position and property. (See B.1: 87).

[31] There were three forms of dowry current during the period of the History:
1. *Inje* (the word used here): this included housemaids, livestock and valuables such as gold and silver. The bride had absolute rights over this dowry. (See B.1: 109)
2. *Shitkül*: this appears in Section 96. It describes items given by the bride's parents to the groom's parents. The bride had no rights over these items. (See B.1: 252–253).
3. *Emüsgel*: this also appears in section 96. It consists of items of clothing given by the bride to the groom's parents when she meets them for the first time. (See B.1: 100)

named Jewüredei. Initially Jewüredei took part in the Jügeli ceremony.[32]

44. After Bodonchar died, it was said that a greater Uriangqad(ai) man had been constantly coming and going in the *yurt*. So Jewüredei was driven out of the Jügeli ceremony and made to form the Jewüreyit clan.[33] He became the ancestor of the Jeüred (Jewüreyit?).

45. Qabichi-ba'atur's son was called Menen-tudun. Menen-tudun had seven sons – Qachi-külük, Qachin, Qachi'u, Qachula, Qachi'un, Qaraldai and Nachin-ba'atur.[34]

46. Qachi-külük's son Qaidu was borne by Mother Nomolun. Qachin's son was called Noyagidai because, by temperament, he was lordly. From him came the Noyakin clan. The son of Qachi'u was called Barulatai because he had a big body and ate in a crude manner. From him came the Barulas clan. Qachula's sons also ate crudely and because of this were called Yeke ('Big')-Barula and Üchügen ('Small')-Barula. They (too) formed Barulas clans and these became the Erdemtü-Barula, the Tödö'en ('Tiny') Barula and the other Barulas. Qaraldai's sons had no leader (among them) to stir the millet porridge and because of this they formed the Buda'at clan. Qachi'un's son was named Adarkidai. He was obstinate with both his older and younger brothers and, because of this, formed the Adargin clan. The sons of Nachin-ba'atur were called Uru'udai and Mangqutai. From them came

[32] This ceremony consisted of hanging the complete skin, head and hooves of an animal (ox, horse or sheep) on a pole as an offering to the ancestors. As Jewüredei was the son of a concubine he could not inherit from his father. (See B.1: 305.) See also notes 30 and 33.

[33] A rather confusing passage. Jewüredei should not have taken part in the *jügeli* ceremony anyway, so the implication is that perhaps Bodonchar wished to make him a full son, but that this was rejected by Barimshi'iratu-qabachi after Bodonchar's death. The passage translated here as 'an Uriangqai man of the Adangqa had been constantly coming and going in the *yurt*' has been taken by other translators to indicate that he is therefore Jewüredei's father, taking their lead from the '*je*' ('perhaps') at the end of the statement. However, there is nothing to really support this assertion, especially since Jewüredei could be excluded from the clan because of his mother's status. The passage may simply mean that Jewüredei was in the wrong for encouraging a man of a foreign tribe to come and go in a *yurt* where Bodonchar's widow and other women were living alone.

[34] Some more names. Menen-tudun, means 'great chief' although it is used as a personal name here. It derives from the Mongolian '*mene*' – 'large' or 'many', and on Orkhon-Turkish title, '*tudun*', for a tribal commander. (See B.1: 224.) Qachi'un is also used here as a personal name, but it derives from an Orkhon-Turkish word, '*qatigun*', meaning 'strong, solid, hard' (see B.1: 176).

the Uru'ut and Mangqut clans. Nachin-ba'atur's sons borne by his principal wife were called Shiju'udai and Doqoladai.[35]

47. Qaidu's three sons were Bai-shingqor-doqshin, Charaqai-lingqu and Cha'ujin-örtegei. Bai-shingqor-doqshin's son was Tumbinai-sechen. Charaqai-lingqu's son was Senggüm-bilge and (his son) was Ambaqai; they formed the Tayyichi'ut clan. Charaqai-lingqu's sister-in-law became his wife and bore a son named Besütei, from whom the Besüt clan came. From Cha'ujin-örtegei's sons came the Oronar, Qongqotan, Arula(t), Sönit, Qabturqas and Geniges clans.[36]

48. Tumbinai-sechen's two sons were Qabul-qahan and Sem-sechüle. Sem-sechüle's son was Bültechü-ba'atur. Qabul-qahan had seven sons. Ökin-barqaq was his eldest, then came Bartan-ba'atur, Qutu[q]tu-mönggür, Qutula-qahan, Qulan, Qada'an and Tödö'en-otchigin. These were the seven.

49. Ökin-barqaq's son was Qutuqtu-yürki. Qutuqtu-yürki's two sons were Seche-beki and Taichu. From them came the Yürki clan.

50. Bartan-ba'atur had four sons – Mönggetü-kiyan, Nekün-taishi, Yisügei-ba'atur and Daritai-otchigin. Qutuqtu-mönggür's son was Büri-bökö. At the feast in the forest of the Onon he was the one who slashed Belgütei's shoulder.[37]

[35] In this section we have more folk etymologies for the names of clans. '*Noyamsiq*' – 'lordly', hence the Noyakin clan; '*baruq* – 'voracious, crude, uncivilised', hence the Barulas clan; see B.1: 145; '*buda'an*' – 'porridge' (of millet, rice not having been introduced at this period), hence the Adargin clan, see B.1:96. Most scholars are sceptical as to the accuracy of these etymologies, thinking it more likely that an explanation has been fabricated around an existing name.

[36] More names and titles. Bai-shingqor-doqshin: *shingqor* was a kind of falcon with white claws and a red beak (in Orkhon-Turkish it meant 'bird of prey'), while *doqshin* means 'furious, violent, wild'. Thus the name means 'untamed falcon'. (See B.1: 142.) *Lingqu* (as in Charaqai-lingqu) was a Liao Dynasty (916–1119 AD) title (*ling-wen*) given to the chief of a small tribe. (See B.4: 22). *Senggüm* was also a Liao Dynasty title (*Hsiang-wen*) given to the commander of a frontier army, while *bilge* was an honorary title from the Orkhon-Turkish word for 'wise'. Hence the name means 'the wise commander' (see B.4: 22; B.1: 237). *Beki* (in Seche beki) in Section 49, is also a title (for both males and females) from Orkhon-Turkish for a high-ranking official. (See B.1: 237–8).

[37] Further explanation of names. Nekün-taishi: although Nekün is here used as a personal name, it is used in section 200 to mean a house-maid or servant (see B.1: 136). There are two explanations for Taishi: one holds that it derives from the Chinese *Tai-tze* – prince, or crown prince (see B.3: 44 n 3); the other explanation is that it derives from the Chinese *Tai-shi* – 'great master', an honorific title used by northern nomadic peoples after the Liao Dynasty (see B.2: 22 n 22). The latter is more probable, given that the crown prince system was not established in Mongolia until after Chinggis Qahan was enthroned. *Tai-shi* eventually became *taiji* a Mongolian term for male nobles generally. Yisügei derives from *yisü(n)* – 'nine'. Nine was considered to be an auspicious and lucky number by the Mongolians and there are references in the History to 'nine horses' (section 267), 'nine nights' (section 80) etc (see

51. Qutula-qahan's three sons were Jochi, Girma'u and Altan. Qulan-ba'atur's son was Yeke-cheren, the lord of the two freedmen, Badai and Kishiklikz.[38] Both Qada'an and Tödö'en had no children.

52. Qabul-qahan ruled over all the Mongqols. After Qabul-qahan, Senggüm-bilge's son Ambaqai-qahan ruled over all the Mongqols because Qabul-qahan, in spite of having seven sons of his own, wished it.

53. Ambaqai-qahan gave his daughter to the Ayiri'ut-Buiru'ut Tatar people, who were on the river Urshi'un[39] between the two lakes Buyur and Kölen. While taking his own daughter (to them) Ambaqai-qahan was captured by the Jüyin[40] Tatar people and taken to Altan-qahan of the Kitad. Using a Besütei man, Balaqachi, as a messenger Ambaqai-qahan sent a message to Qutula the middle one of Qabul Qahan's seven sons, and to Qada'an-taishi, one of his (own) ten sons,[41] 'I became the Qahan of all, the Lord of the Nation.[42] Accompanying my own daughter myself, I have been captured by the Tatar people: do not follow my example. Until the nails of your five fingers splinter, until your ten fingers drop off, strive to take vengeance[43] for me (on my enemies).' So saying, he sent (the messenger) off.

B.1: 308). Ba'atur simply means 'hero'. Otchigin (Daritai-otchigin) is a compound of the Orkhon-Turkish word *ot*, meaning 'fire', and *chigin*, meaning a high ranking official; thus 'Guardian of the Hearth'. The Mongol word *otgon/otqon* is derived from *otchigin* and is used to refer to the youngest son of a family who inherited his father's possessions, but not his title, and who could not represent the family at ceremonies at the ancestor's graves (see B.1: 117). Büri-bökö: *büri* means 'wolf' in the Orkhon-Turkish dialect, while *bökö* means a wrestler or strong man. The incident referred to in this section is described in section 139. (See B.1: 160).

[38] Although Kishilik is used here as a personal name, in Orkhon-Turkish it meant 'huge; broad minded; boastful' (see B.1: 215). The word translated here as 'freedman' is *darqan*, an Orkhon-Turkish term and a title given to a commoner who achieved outstanding military merit. The privileges which went with the title included exemption from official taxes and impunity from punishment for up to eight crimes (see B.1: 277–8). The deeds of Badai and Kishiliq are told in sections 169, 170.

[39] The river Urshi'un flows from Lake Buyur (Buir) to Lake Kölen (Khölön). Today it is called the Urshun or Orshun (see B.1: 122). Kölen simply means 'large lake' in Orkhon-Turkish (see B.1: 217–8).

[40] The Jüyin was a frontier army of the Jin (Chin) Dynasty (1115–1234 AD) which consisted of Kitans and Tatars in the Khölön-Buir area (see B.1: 305).

[41] The reason for sending the message through an intermediary in this way may have been that it would have been politically inexpedient for the messenger to have passed through Qutula's territory without explaining his purpose, or simply that it was too far to go directly to Qada'an-taishi.

[42] Although '*ulus-un ejen*' is correctly translated here as 'Lord of the Nation' perhaps 'lord of the people' would be a more realistic description given the lack of overall political cohesion. This is the first of several occurrences of the word '*ulus*' ('nation') in the History. See B.5: 313–4.

[43] The word translated here as 'vengeance' (*hachi*) is another word, like *nökör* (see note 15 above), that has two apparently contradictory meanings – on the one hand it can

54. Yisügei-ba'atur was flying hawks on the Onon River when he met Yeke-chiledü of the Merkid who was just starting out for home with an Olqunu'ut girl he had married. Craning his neck forward to look, he saw a woman[44] of unique colour and complexion. He galloped home to his *yurt* and returned leading his older brother Nekün-taishi and his younger brother Daritai-otchigin.

55. When they arrived, Chiledü was scared. He had a swift dun horse which he beat on the thigh and they fled away over a hill. The three men pursued him. Chiledü came round the spur of the hill back to his cart. Lady[45] Hö'elün, who was there, said, 'Did you sense the intention of the faces of those men? They look as if they want your life. As long as you have your life, there are girls on the front seats of carts, (married) ladies who sit in the black wooden-framed covered carts. As long as you have your life you will perhaps find a girl or a woman for yourself. If she has another name, perhaps you will call her Hö'elün again. Save your life! While you live, smell my fragrance.'[46] Saying this, she took off her shirt and he leaned forward from his horse to take it. As he did so the three men came round the spur of the hill and approached. Chiledü beat the thigh of his swift dun horse and fled, escaping upstream along the Onon river.

56. The three of them pursued him over seven[47] hills before returning. Yisügei-ba'atur took the tether[48] of Lady Hö'elün('s cart). His older brother Nekün-taishi led, while his younger brother Daritai-otchigin

mean 'favour, kindness, grace' whilst on the other it can mean 'foe, enemy; hatred; vengeance'. A more neutral translation might be 'debt' or 'a thing that is owed' (whether good or bad). (See B.1: 191.)

[44] Usually the text of the History distinguishes between unmarried girls (*oki*) and married women (*qatun* in respectful usage, the wife of a *qan*). Here, both words are used as a compound, *oki qatu* indicating that her status was uncertain to Yisügei-ba'atur (see B.2: 26 n 4). Alternatively it could simply indicate her newly-married state.

[45] 'Lady' is the common translation for *üjin* (though some translators, such as Cleaves (B.11), leave it untranslated). The common explanation is that the title comes from the Chinese *fu-jin* (*fu-ren*) – 'lady', which is pronounced *ü-jen* (*ü-jin*) in Mongolia, there being no 'f' in Mongolian. (See B.3:52 n 1.) However, in the thirteenth century the Mongols created certain exclusive honorific titles. For example, Höelün, Börte (see Section 66) and Huja'ur Üjin (see Section 177) were referred to as *üjin*, meaning 'lady' or queen'. Temüjin, after whom Chinggis was named, bore the title *üge*, which means 'senior' or 'sir' (for *üge* see Section 59, note 52).

[46] 'Smell' means 'kiss' when Höelün says 'smell my fragrance' she means that she wants him to remember her.

[47] Just as nine was a lucky number for the Mongolians, so was seven an unlucky number.

[48] Strictly speaking the word given (*delbege*) is not so much a tether as a rope attached to the bridle of a cart-pulling animal which was used to whip the animal into greater speed. See B.7: 17 n 13.

walked beside the cart-shaft. As they were going along, Lady Hö'elün said, 'My older brother[49] Chiledü

In the wind
His tuft has never blown.
In the wild land
His belly has never hungered.

Now what will happen to him?' Sometimes her two plaits[50] were flung against her back, sometimes flung against her chest, as first (she fell) forward and then (threw herself) back. 'What is happening to me?' she said. The Onon river churned and the forest echoed to the sound of her loud crying. As he walked alongside (the shaft) Daritai-otchigin said:

'The one you embraced
Has crossed many ridges
The one you cry for
Has crossed many waters
Even if you cry out
Looking from afar, he will not see you,
Even if you search for him,
You will not find his path.

Calm down,' he advised. Then Yisügei brought Lady Hö'elün into his *yurt*. This is how Yisügei took the Lady Hö'elün.

57. As Ambaqai-qahan had sent (the message) naming both Qada'an and Qutula, all the Mongqols and the Tayyichi'ut gathered together in the Qorqonaq forest by the Onon and made Qutala (their) qahan. Dancing and feasting in enjoyment, the Mongqols celebrated. Qutula was raised up as qahan and they danced around the Saqlaqar (many-leaved) Tree of Qorqonaq[51] until they (wore) tracks up to their chests, until they made dust up to their knees.

[49] Although the text says 'older brother' (*aqa*), this is simply a respectful reference to her husband.

[50] Most previous translators have assumed that this is a reference to Childeü's plaits (*shibülger*) but in fact it refers to Lady Hö'elün's. At the time of the History girls in Mongolia never cut their hair before marriage but instead, plaited it into ten or more braids. On marriage they combined these into two large braids which hung behind the ears.

[51] *Saqlaqar* simply means a willow-like tree with many leaves and branches that hang down (see B.1: 233). Although some translators (for example, Cleaves and de Rachewiltz) have taken the passage to refer to some particular, special tree (as is done here) it is not clear if the tree is special for some reason now lost or forgotten, or simply because it is associated with Chinggis Qahan. (There are also references to the tree in sections 117 and 206.)

58. After becoming qahan, Qutula rode out with Qada'an-taishi against the Tatar people. Thirteen times they fought with the two Tatars Kötön-baraqa and Jali-buqa, but they were unable to avenge Ambaqai-qahan (against the enemy), unable to gain revenge (on the foe).

59. Then Yisügei-ba'atur plundered Temüjin-üge,[52] Qori-buga and others of the Tatars. When he came (back) Lady Hö'elün was pregnant. They were at this time at Deli'ün-boldaq on the Onon, and it was at that very time that Chinggis-qahan was born. At the time of his birth he held in his right hand a clot of blood as big as a knuckle bone. (As) he was born when the Tatar Temüjin-üge was taken, they thought to name him Temüjin.[53]

60. From Lady Hö'elün these four sons were born to Yisügei-ba'atur – Temüjin, Qasar, Qachi'un and Temüge. A girl was also born and named Temülün. When Temüjin was nine years of age, Jochi-qasar was seven, Qachi'un-elchi[54] was five, Temüge-otchigin was three and Temülün was in the cradle.

61. When Temüjin was nine years old Yisügei-ba'atur decided to find a wife for him from the Olqunu'ut relatives of his mother Hö'elün, from his mother's brothers. They set out together, and while they were travelling they met Dei-sechen[55] of the Onggirat[56] between Chekcher and Chiqurgu.

[52] The suffix *-üge*, as in Temüjin-üge, exists today in Mongolian only in the Dawr dialect. It has the specific meaning of 'mother's older brother' but more generally, used of anyone who seems older than one's parents or over fifty years old, it has the sense of 'elder' or 'senior'. See B.1: 130. Temüjin was born on the sixteenth (day) of the first month of the summer (4th lunar month) on the red circle day. For details see B.18 pp 37–9. For the 'red circle day' see section 81, note 76 and section 193, note 241.

[53] The personal name of Chinggis Qahan derives from the Orkhon-Turkish word *temür*, meaning iron, attached to the agent suffix *-jin*; hence 'blacksmith'. See B.1: 257–8.

[54] While Qachi'un is a personal name, the suffix *elchi* was an official title in the Orkhon-Turkish dialect meaning an ambassador of high rank or a prophet. It has already been used in this sense in the History in section 53 (translated there as 'messenger'). See B.1: 102.

[55] While the suffix *-üge* (note 52) meant 'mother's older brother' the prefix *dei-*, derived from an Orkhon-Turkish word, meant 'mother's younger brother' and also, by extension, a title for elders generally ('sir' or 'senior'). *Sechen* meant 'wise, enlightened one' and was also used as an official title. Thus Dei-sechen meant 'wise uncle'. At a later date, the name came to mean a queen's younger brother. See B.1: 280.

[56] The Onggirat, a tribe frequently mentioned in the History were an important tribe located in the Khölön Buir area. They had frequent marriage alliances with the Borjign, Chinggis Qahan's tribe (see B.1: 114).

62. Dei-sechen said, 'Yisügei-*quda*,[57] whom are you going to see?' Yisügei-ba'atur replied, 'I'm going to the Olqunu'ut people with this son of mine to ask his mother's brothers for a wife.' Dei-sechen said, 'This boy of yours has fire in his eyes and light in his face.[58]

63. Yisügei-*quda*, in the night I had a dream. A white gerfalcon, grasping both the sun and the moon, came flying and perched upon my hand. I talked to the people about my dream. (When we) gazed at the sun and moon, they were (merely) seen. Now this gerfalcon, grasping them, brings them to my hand and perches; (it is) the white (one) coming down. But what good does this show? Yisügei-*quda*, this, my dream, showed you coming, leading your own son. I dreamt a good dream. What kind of dream (was it but one) that showed a good omen coming to you Kiyat people?

64. From former days we Onggirat people with

The colour of our sisters' children,
The complexion of our daughters,
Have not been a nation to compete (with others).
Our fair-faced daughters,
For you who become qahans,
We make them sit on the two-wheeled cart,
Harnessing to it a black camel,
And we send them off at a trot.
On the throne of the qatan (ie queen)
We make them sit together (with you).
We have not been a nation to compete (with others)
Our own fair-complexioned daughters,
We have reared up and sat on the cart's front seat,
Harnessing to it a dark-grey camel,
And sent them forth.
On the high throne,
We make them sit by your side.
From of old the Onggirat people have been
Shielded[59] by the qatun,
Pleaded for by daughters,

[57] The term *quda* was used to address affines (those related to one by marriage). It was derived from *qudaldaqu* – to sell, which reveals the contractual nature of such marriages. See B.1: 186.

[58] That is, he looks intelligent.

[59] Although 'shielded' is here given as a verb the original text uses a modification of the noun *qalqa* – shield. Specifically this refers to a shield, about 45 inches long and 30 inches wide, made of leather or willow branches. See B.1: 169. The whole of Dei-sechen's speech is describing the political expedience of cunning marriage alliances in which the daughters of weaker tribes will act as 'shields' against the more powerful tribes into which they are married.

Because of the colour of our sisters' children,
Because of the complexion of our daughters.
65. Our sons are assessed by their camping places,
Our daughters are regarded for their complexion.'

'Let's go to my *yurt* Yisügei-*quda*. My daughter is young, take a look at her, *quda*.' he said. Dei-sechen took him to his *yurt* and made him dismount.

66. When he (ie Yisügei) saw his daughter there was light in her face and fire in her eyes. After seeing the girl, he kept her in his thoughts. She was ten years of age, a year older than Temüjin, and her name was Börte. When, after spending the night, he asked for the girl the next day, Dei-sechen said, 'If, after being asked many times, I give (the girl), then I will be respected. If, after being asked only a few times, I give (the girl), then I will be ill thought of. (But) It is not the fate of a girl to grow old in the doorway in which she was born. I would like to give you my daughter. You leave your son here as my son-in-law before you go. They agreed on this, and Yisügei-ba'atur said, 'I leave my son as a son-in-law, (but) my son is afraid of dogs. *Quda*, don't let my boy be frightened by dogs!'[60] After saying this he gave his spare horse as a present, and leaving Temüjin as a son-in-law, he departed.

67. On the way, at Chekcher in the Shira-ke'er (Yellow Steppe) Yisügei-ba'atur met some Tatars who were feasting. As he was thirsty he dismounted at their feast. The Tatars recognised him, 'Yisügei-Kiyan has come here' they said, and remembered their insult when he had robbed them previously. Harbouring a grudge to harm him, they mixed poison (in his food) and gave it to him. On the way he felt sick, and, on arriving at his *yurt* after three days' travel, he became worse.

68. (in AD 1170) Yisügei-ba'atur said, 'I feel sick inside. Who is nearby?' 'I am close by' said Mönglik,[61] the son of the old Qongqotat man, Charaqa. He called him in saying, 'Mönglik my child, I have small children. I left my own Temüjin as a son-in-law and on my

[60] The reference to dogs seems curious as there is no hint elsewhere in the History of Temüjin having such a fear. It is probably a reference to Yisügei-ba'atur's enemies (a well-founded fear as it turns out – see section 67) and a warning to Dei-sechen to watch over Temüjin with care.

[61] 'Mönglik' – literally, 'mole (naevus)' in the Orkhon-Turkish. See B.1: 224–5. Yisügei-ba'atur refers to Mönglik later in this section as *chaqa* – literally, child or infant, but here used more generally as 'my boy', 'sonny' etc (see B.1: 312).

return journey some Tatars harboured a grudge to harm me. I feel so sick inside. I leave you to take care of the little ones left behind, your younger brothers, and your widowed sister-in-law. Bring back my son Temüjin quickly, Mönglik my child', and so saying, he passed away.

CHAPTER TWO

69. Not countermanding the words of Yisügei-ba'atur, Mönglik went to Dei-sechen and said, 'My master Yisügei is missing Temüjin greatly and his heart aches. I have come to take Temüjin away'. Dei-sechen said, 'If *quda* is missing his son then let him go. After he has seen him let him return swiftly.' Father Mönglik brought Temüjin back.

70. That spring, the two qatut (ie wives) of Ambaqai-qahan, Örbei and Soqatai went up to (the boundary of) the ancestors' land. Lady Hö'elün went but arrived late as they had not waited for her. To Örbei and Soqatai, Lady Hö'elün said, 'As Yisügei-ba'atur is dead and because my children are not grown up, is that why you think to keep from me the share of the ancestors' offerings, the *bile'ür* offerings and the *sarqud* offerings? As I watch, you eat (before me); without waking me you will move out!'[62]

71. At these words the two qatut, Örbei and Soqatai said,

> There's no rule that after calling someone you give them (food),
> When you come across (food)
> you eat it,

[62] This quite complicated passage has been translated in various ways, with most authors relying on the Chinese interlinear notes to make sense of the rather obscure terminology. What has been translated here as 'ancestors' land' (*yekes-e qajaru*) (that is, the graves of the ancestors) is glossed in Chinese as 'in the big lands'. (See B.1: 306.) At the time of the History women of noble families were not allowed to approach the ancestors' graves unless they were dressed as daughters-in-law. The line or boundary around the graves was known as *inaru* (see B.1: 107–8). The original transliterations gave this word as *inerü* – a word that has no meaning – and was consequently left unglossed (cf. de Rachewiltz, who translates *yekes-e qajaru inerü* as 'the sacrifice to the ancestors consisting of offerings of food burned in the ground'). It was the custom of the Mongols to offer food, kumiss and meat at the graves of their ancestors – see B.1: 108 n 2. *Bile'ür* ('the *bile'ür* offerings) basically means 'left-over food' but here it has the more specific meaning of 'sacrificial meat' (see B.1: 150). *Sarqud* was an Orkhon-Turkish word meaning left-over tea and food given to servants. In this context however, it means the same as *bile'ür* (see B.1: 234–5). This is one of the many instances in the History where a Mongolian term and the Orkhon-Turkish synonym are used together.

There's no rule that after
inviting someone you give them (food),
When (food) is bestowed,
you eat it.

You've thought (to yourself) that Ambaqai-qahan is dead. (Is this why) even you, Hö'elün, have spoken against us in this way?'

72. 'We should find some way to leave those mothers and (their) children behind in the camp when we set out. Don't take them when you go!' they said. The following day the Tayyichi'ut man Tarqutai-kiriltuq together with Tödö'en-girte and others of the Taichi'ut (Tayyichi'ut) set off out down the Onon River, leaving behind Lady Hö'elün, the mothers and the children. When the old Qongqotat man, Charaqa went and advised them, Tödö'en-girte said,

The deep water has dried up and
The shining stone has eroded.[63]

After saying this, they moved off. To the old man Charaqa they said, 'How come you are advising us?' and from behind they struck him in the back with a spear.

73. The old man Charaqa was wounded and came back to his *yurt*. As he lay down in pain Temüjin came to see him. The old Qongqotat man, Charaqa, then said to him, 'All our people gathered together by your good father have been taken by those (other) people and have set off. When I advised them they did this to me'. Temüjin wept and then went out. Lady Hö'elün, who had been left behind when they set off, hoisted the flag, and set out on horseback. By herself she brought back half the people. Those people who were brought back, however, did not remain, but set off again after the Tayyiji'ud (Tayyichi'ut).

74. And so the Tayyichi'ut brethren set out and left behind the widowed Lady Hö'elün, her little children, the mothers and the children in the camp.

Lady Hö'elün, being born a woman of wisdom,
Reared up her little ones, her own children.
Wearing her high hat tightly,[64]
Hoisting up her skirts with a sash,
Running upstream on the banks of the Onon,
She gathered *ölirsün* and *moyilsun*,

[63] It means that everything has come to an end.
[64] That is, the high hat (*boqta* – an Orkhon-Turkish word) worn by the Mongol nobles ladies, see B.1: 151–2.

And nourished their gullets day and night.
Born with gall the Lady their mother,
Reared up the fortunate ones, her own children,
grasping a pointed stick of juniper,
She dug up *südün* and *chichigina* and nourished them.
With wild onions and garlic
The sons of the noble mother were nourished
Until they became *qad* (rulers).
The sons of the patient noble mother,
Were reared up on elm seeds.
And became wisemen and lawgivers.

75. With *qoqosun* and wild garlic
The beautiful lady brought up
Her admirable sons.
They became high officials, fine men.
They grew up into good men.
They were made powerful and courageous.
Talking together, 'Let us support our mother'.
Sitting on the banks of Mother Onon,
They prepared lines and hooks (together).
Maimed and misshapen fishes
They fished for and caught.
Bending needles into fishhooks,
They caught *jebüge* and *qadara*.
Tying *chilüme* nets and *gubchi'ur* nets,
They scooped up small fishes.
And (thus) they supported their mother with gratitude.[65]

76. One day, when the four – Temüjin, Qasar, Bekter[66] and Belgütei – were sitting together and pulling in (their lines), they caught a bright minnow (in the course of their fishing). Bekter and Belgütei snatched

[65] A variety of foodstuffs and other specialised nouns are used in this 'poem' but not elsewhere in the History. Those which can be directly translated into English, have been, while of the rest *ölirsün* is a kind of wild pear (birch-leaf pear – see B.1: 125–6); *möyilsün* is another fruit, (*prunus mahaleb* – see B.1: 229); *südün* is a kind of root, *sangui-sorba officinalis* (see B.1: 244), as is *cicigina* (*potentilla* – see B.1: 244); 'wild onions' (*qaliyarsun*) is really *ulmus pumila* (see B.1: 169); while the 'wild garlic' (*manggirsu*) is *allium senescens* (see B.1: 221), similarly *qoqosun* is *allium lineare* (either a wild leek or shallot). The fish the boys caught can also be identified, though not commonly known in Europe. *Jebüge* is a scorpion fish or white fish (salmon according to de Rachewiltz), while *qadara* is a scad (*salmo thymallus* – see B.1: 175); a *chilüme* net was actually used for catching (land) animals (see B.1: 316), while a *gubchi'ur* net was a type of large fishing net (see B1: 205–6). The Mongolians used 'gall' (section 74) – *shülsü* – in a similar way to English, that is, to describe courage or fortitude. (see B.1: 244).

[66] Bekter is used here as a personal name, but it means 'armour' in Mongolian, coming from the same word in Orkhon-Turkish meaning 'armour' and military equipment more generally. See B.1: 147.

it away from Temüjin and Qasar. Temüjin and Qasar went (back) to the *yurt* and said to (their) noble mother, 'A bright minnow bit the hook and then was snatched away from us by the two brothers Bekter and Belgütei'. The noble mother said, 'Give this thing up. Why do you, older and younger brothers, behave to each other like this?'

Apart from our shadows we have no friends,
Apart from our tails we have no fat.[67]

Just when we are thinking how to repay our bitterness against the Tayyichi'ut kinsmen, you (act) like Mother Alan's five sons of old. Why can you not cooperate? You must not behave like this!'

77. Temüjin and Qasar did not like (to hear) this at the time and said 'Only yesterday we shot down a lark with a horn-tipped arrow and they snatched it away. Now they have snatched away from us again. How can we live together?' Throwing aside the door-felt they went out. At that time Bekter was sitting on top of a small hill, watching over the horses, pale-bay geldings. Temüjin stalked from behind and Qasar stalked from in front. As they were coming up and aiming[68] their arrows, Bekter saw them and said, 'We are unable to endure our bitterness against the Tayyichi'ut kinsmen and are asking ourselves who of us will settle the score. Why do you make me to be dirt in your eye, a fishbone in your mouth?[69] (At a time when,)

Apart from our shadows we have no friends,
Apart from our tails we have no fat.

[67] The 'fat' referred to is the thick deposits of fat that build up on the tails of Mongolian sheep (*chichu'a* in the Orkhon Turkish dialect) which is both a food store for the sheep (like the hump of a camel) and a food source for the Mongolians. The Chinese interlinear gloss however gives 'whip' ('We have no whips but our tails') and this is the translation of both Cleaves and de Rachewiltz. However, even accepting that *chichu'a* means 'fat', there are still two interpretations of the line: the one given here (with the sense of 'we have to rely on ourselves for food – no-one will give it to us') or, 'We have no fat on our tails' ie 'We have no food'. The former is however more in keeping with the tone of the 'proverb'. (See B.1: 317.)

[68] The Chinese interlinear gloss has 'drawing out' (their arrows) instead of 'aiming at'. However, according to B.1: 234, the latter is the correct meaning of the term *sambaju*.

[69] According to B.1: 242, the original *surmusun* (or *sorimusun*) meaning 'eyelash' is a mistake for *sormusun* – 'dirt, filth'. Similarly, *qaqasun*, glossed in the Chinese note as 'thorn', actually means 'fishbone' (see B.1: 167). Hence, both impurities, coming from outside the body (a metaphor for 'outside the family') may harm the body. Quite why Bekter, Temüjin's half-brother, should feel himself ostracised and eventually be killed while Belgütei, his brother,is fully accepted (see section 131 for example) is not clear.

At such a time, how can you think like this? Don't smother my hearth-fire, don't forsake Belgütei! Having said this, he sat cross-legged and waited. Temüjin and Qasar, from in front and behind, shot at him[70] and then departed.

78. They came to the *yurt* and when they entered, the noble mother sensed (what had happened) from their faces and said, 'You destroyers!

Accidentally coming out from the warmth of my (womb)
This one was born grasping a black clot of blood in his hand.
Like the *qasar*[71] dog gnawing its own afterbirth,
Like a panther attacking on a rocky mountain,
Like a lion unable to control its anger,
Like a monster[72] wanting to swallow (its prey) alive,
Like a gerfalcon attacking its own shadow,
Like a pike swallowing in silence
Like a male camel gnawing its young in the heel,
Like a wolf approaching in the snowstorm,
Like the yellow falcon[73] eating its young, unable to drive them away,
Like a jackal protecting its den when it is touched,
Like a tiger not hesitating to seize,
Like a wild dog attacking rashly,
So you have destroyed!
Apart from our shadows we have no friends,
Apart from our tails we have no fat.

[70] The word translated here as 'shot at' (*ötermelejü* – literally, 'for killing') derives from an OT word, *öter* – to beat or kill. Frequently in the History actions of Chinggis Qahan that are in some way dishonourable or that reflect badly on his character are either treated in very elliptical Mongolian (or euphemism is employed) or else non-Mongolian vocabulary is used, as in this instance. Examples of euphemism are to be found in the History, section 113 (see n 122, Chapter 3) where the word *arbilabai* – 'economised', is used instead of 'captured' or 'plundered' (ie Chinggis 'saved' the people) and in the History, section 136 (see n 154, Chapter 4) where the word *büte'ejü* – 'covering up' is used instead of 'suffocating'. (For *ötermelejü* see B 1: 128).

[71] Qasar, the personal name of Temüjin's brother, also meant 'wild or furious beasts' in a general sense. However, there was a Mongolian myth in which two dogs were born from the two eggs of a phoenix, one called Qasar and the other called Basar. (Qasar is used today as a kind of nickname for yellowish brown dogs). The two names – as Hasaar and Basaar – also occurred in the sacrificial prayers of shamans in the Dawr area. For Qasar, see B.1: 173.

[72] According to B.1: 221, 'monster' or 'bogey' is the correct translation for *manggus* (for example, *manggei* is the Dawr dialect), although the Chinese interlinear gloss translated it as 'boa'.

[73] The text simply says 'yellow' (*anggir*) which is glossed as 'mandarin duck' in the Chinese interlinear note. However, as the mandarin duck is not particularly known for its fierceness or intolerance (the image presented here), 'yellow falcon' (anggir shiba'u) seems more appropriate.

At such a time, when our bitterness of the Tayyichi'ut kinsmen knows no limit, when we are asking ourselves who of us will settle the score, you are thinking 'How shall we live?', and you do this to each other!'

Citing old sayings,
Quoting the words of old men

she belaboured her sons greatly.

79. Not long after this, Tarqutai-kiriltuq of the Tayyichi'ud, came leading the sentries and said,

The lambs are shedding their [fleeces]
The sheep are growing up[74]

The mothers and sons, the older and younger brothers, were scared and made a barricade in the thick forest. Tearing down trees and dragging them together Belgütei built a stockade. While Qasar countered the enemy's fire, they slipped the (other) three – Qachi'un, Temüge and Temülün into a narrow valley, and so the struggle went. Then the Tayyichi'ut shouted, 'Send out your older brother Temüjin. We don't want the rest of you'. As Temüjin was summoned, they put him on horseback and made him escape. He fled through the forest, and the Tayyichi'ut, seeing him, chased him. He slipped into a thicket on Tergüne Heights which the Tayyichi'ut were unable to penetrate. So they surrounded the thicket and guarded it.

80. (in 1177) Temüjin spent three nights in the thicket and then decided to go out. As he went, leading his horse, the saddle became loose and fell behind. When he turned, he saw that the saddle-strap was still attached and that the breast-strap was still attached, yet the saddle had come loose and fallen behind.[75] He said, 'Let the saddle-strap be, but how can the breast-strap have come loose? Could this be advice from Heaven?' He turned back and passed another three nights (in the thicket). As he set out again for the entrance to the thicket, a white rock, the size of a tent, fell and blocked the opening. 'Could this be advice from Heaven?' he thought. He turned back and passed another three nights in the thicket. Finally, after being there

[74] There are two words in these sentences which require explanation. I have translated the word qoluqat as 'lambs', as it derives from the word qoraqat meaning 'lambs'. In the Mongol language the letters r and l are often interchangeable. For example, in the Dawr dialect, people say 'sanggal' instead of 'sang-ger' for 'warehouse'. Thus qoluqat = qoraqat, the letter t or d in these words signifying the plural. The other word is shilüget which means 'sheep' in the plural form. For details see B.21: 101–2. The basic meaning of this saying is that those who were merely children (Temüjin and his brothers) are now grown up and represent a threat.

[75] A Mongolian saddle has two straps on each side of it.

for nine nights without food, he said to himself, 'How can I die without a name! I will go out!' As the opening was blocked by the white rock, the size of the tent, and it was not possible to get round it, he cut through the trees with his arrow-making knife and slipped his horse through. As soon as he came through (himself), (however), the Tayyichi'ut who were guarding (the thicket) captured him and took him away with them.

81. After taking Temüjin away, Tarqutai-kiriltuq went to his people and ordered them to let him stay for one night in each of their camps in turn. While this was going on, on the sixteenth (day) of the first month of summer, the 'red circle day',[76] the Tayyichi'ut feasted together on the banks of the Onon, dispersing when the sun set. Temüjin was taken to the feast by a weak young man, and, as the feast crowd broke up, he pulled the (rope of the) cangue[77] from the weak boy, struck him once on the head and ran. 'If I lie down in the Onon forest I will be seen' he thought to himself. So he lay down in the water's torrent, put his head back so that his cangue floated in the swift current. There he lay, with only his face above water.

82. When the man who had lost him cried out in a loud voice, 'I've lost the hostage!' the dispersed Tayyichi'ut gathered together. The moon was like daylight and they searched the Onon forest. Sorqan-shira of the Suldus was just passing by, when he saw (Temüjin) lying there in the torrent and said to him 'So, it's just because of your cleverness like this that it's said,

> There's fire in his eyes,
> And light in his face.

Because of this you have made your Tayyichi'ut kinsmen so jealous. Just lie down like that and I'll not tell'. Having said this he went away. 'Why don't we go back and search again?' they were saying to each other, so Sorqan-shira said, 'Why don't we search going back along exactly the same paths looking for places we haven't seen and then come back when we've seen them'. They agreed on this and returned along exactly the same paths, searching (as they went). Once more, Sorqan-shira passed by (Temüjin) and said, 'Your kinsmen are

[76] The 'Red Circle Day' was the sixteenth of the fourth lunar month, the first month of summer during which the pasture begins to grow afresh. It was therefore a time for celebrating. See note 241.

[77] 'Cangue' (*buqa'u*) – a wooden board, sometimes clamped around the neck, with fetters or holes to restrain the hands. See B.1: 155. When Temüjin's cangue is later removed (Section 85) the verb used (*chuchalju*) makes it clear that the cangue was fastened with ropes which possibly also restrained Temüjin. (For *chuchalju*, see B.1: 319).

approaching and are sharpening their mouths and their teeth. Lie down like that and be steadfast!' After saying this he went away.

83. Again, when they were saying to each other, 'Why don't we go back and search (again)?' Sorqan-shira said, 'You Tayyichi'ut nobles[78] have lost a whole man in broad daylight. How can we find him now in the dark night? Why don't we look again along exactly the same paths for places we haven't seen and return after looking. Having searched, we disperse, and tomorrow we get together and look (again). Where can a man with a cangue go?' They agreed and went back to search. Sorqan-shira again passed by (Temüjin) and said, 'We've agreed to return, having searched (for you) like this, and to look (again) tomorrow. Wait for us to finish dispersing and then go and look for your mother and younger brothers! If you are seen by anyone, don't say that you saw me and don't say that you have been seen.' So saying, he went away.

84. When they had dispersed, (Temüjin) thought to himself, 'I was made to stay overnight in each of the camps in turn and yesterday, when I stayed in Sorqan-shira's *yurt*, his two sons, Chimbai and Chila'un[79] felt badly in their hearts. At night after seeing me, they loosened my cangue and let me spend the night (more comfortably). And again, just now, when Sorqan-shira saw me, he went away without telling (anyone). Now he may save me in the same way'. On thinking this, he went downstream along the Onon River to look for Sorqan-shira's *yurt*.

85. The sign of the *yurt* was that, after pouring the mares' milk, they churned the kumis all night until daybreak. 'As I travel, I'll hear that sign' (thought Temüjin) and on arriving he heard the sound of the churning. When he entered the *yurt* Sorqan-shira said to him, 'Didn't I tell you to go and look for your mother and your younger brothers? Why have you come here?' But his two sons, Chimbai and Chila'un said, 'When the sparrow hides[80] in the bush from the hawk, the bush has saved it. Now that he has come to our place, how can you speak to him like that?' Not liking their father's words they untied his cangue and burned it on the fire. At the back (of the *yurt*) was a cart

[78] The word used for 'nobles' here (*kö'üt*) more usually meant 'sons' (sing. *kö'ün*). It is used in the sense of nobles in sections 269, 270 and 272 of the History (see B.1: 216).

[79] Chila'un later becomes one of Chinggis Qahan's 'four marshals' (see Sections 177 and 209).

[80] Previous translators have followed the Chinese interlinear note which says that this verb (*qorqobasu*) is causative in form, meaning 'to make (s.o.) hide'. In fact it is a transitive verb (*qorqo* or *qorqa*), not intransitive (*qorqaba*) and means simply 'hid'. See B.1: 179–180.

full of sheep's wool in which they made him sit. They let their younger sister named Qada'an[81] take care of him, telling her not to tell a living soul.

86. On the third day (the Tayyichi'ut) were saying to each other that someone had perhaps hidden him. 'Let us search amongst ourselves' they said. Searching among themselves, they looked in Sorqan-shira's *yurt*, in his cart and even under the bed. Sitting on the sheep's wool cart behind (the *yurt*) they pulled out the wool at the opening. They were on the point of reaching his (ie Temüjin's) foot, when Sorqan-shira said, 'In this kind of heat, how could (anyone) bear it inside the wool?' The searchers got down and went away.

87. After the searchers had gone, Sorqan-shira said, 'You almost had me blowing (in the wind) like ashes! Go now and look for your mother and younger brothers.' He put him on a barren tawny mare with a white mouth, cooked him a fat lamb[82] and prepared for him a small leather bag and a large leather bag (full of kumis). He did not give him a saddle, nor a tinder-pouch, but he gave him a bow and two arrows.[83] Having prepared this much he sent him off.

88. Having set out like this, Temüjin arrived at the place where they had built the barricade. He followed tracks in the grass upstream along the Onon river and came to where the Kimurqa stream enters it from the west. After having followed this far upstream he met (his mother and younger brothers) who were at that time living by the Kimurqa stream on the Qorchukui Hill of the Beder spur.

89. After being united there they went and camped by Kökö Lake (Blue Lake) of the Senggür stream[84] on Qara-jirügen ('Black Heart') Mountain in the Gürelgü (Mountains) on the southern side of Burqan-qaldun (Mountain). While living here they killed and ate marmots and field mice.

[81] Qada'an later became one of Chinggis Qahan's wives, the Queen of the 'Fourth Palace' (see Sections 146, 219). For details of the Fourth Palace, see B.4: 182; for details of the First, Second and Third Palaces see ibid 165–175.

[82] This 'fat lamb' (*tel*) was fattened on the milk of two ewes and was therefore especially succulent. See B.1: 259.

[83] Sorqan-shira does not give Temüjin a tinder-pouch so that he will not be tempted to make a fire and sleep at night instead of riding until he finds his family. Similarly, he gives him two arrows so that he will be able to protect himself but not enough to voluntarily engage in combat. Finally he is given a mediocre horse and denied a saddle, possibly so that if he is captured, there will be nothing to identify him with Sorqan-shira. For these ideas, see B.2: 48 n 12.

[84] After his marriage to Börte (Section 94) this became one of Chinggis Qahan's camps, the 'First Palace'. For details see B.4: 174.

90. One day, when the eight horses, the light bay geldings, were standing by the *yurt*, some thieves came. By the time (Temüjin and his brothers) had noticed, they had stolen (the horses) and gone. Those on foot could only look on as they were left behind. Belgütei had ridden off to go hunting for marmot on a bald-tailed horse of a fine chestnut colour. In the evening, after sunset, he came on foot, leading the bald-tailed chestnut laden with marmots that swung to and fro. (They) told him that thieves had taken the light bay geldings and gone. 'I'll chase after them!' said Belgütei, but Qasar said, 'You are not capable. I shall chase after them!' Temüjin said 'You all cannot, I shall pursue them' and rode off on the chestnut horse and followed after the light bay geldings by means of their tracks in the grass. Having passed three nights, he met the following morning a strong and handsome youth who was milking mares in a large herd of horses. When he inquired about the light bay geldings the youth said, 'This morning, before sun-rise, (someone) drove some light bay geldings, eight horses, through here and went on. I'll show you their path.' He made Temüjin leave the bald-tailed chestnut and ride a black-backed grey horse, while he himself rode a swift dun. Without even going to his *yurt*, he put away his leather bag and bucket, concealing them in the open field. 'My friend, you've drained yourself in coming here. All men's sufferings are common. I will accompany you. My father is known as Naqu-bayyan ('Naqu the Rich') and I am his only son. I am called Bo'orchu.[85] They spent three nights and days following the light bay geldings by their tracks, and in the evening (of the fourth day) at the time when the sun shone on the hills, they arrived at a camp of people.[86] They saw the light bay geldings, the eight horses, standing grazing at the edge of the large camp. 'My friend, you stand here,' said Temüjin, 'and I will drive out the light bay geldings that are over there'. But Bo'orchu said, 'I came as a friend. How can I stand here?' They rushed in and drove out the light bay geldings.

91. From behind, the people came pursuing them, one after another. One man alone on a white horse and holding a pole-lasso,[87] almost caught up with them. 'My friend,' said Bo'orchu, 'give me the bow and arrow! I'll shoot at him.' But Temüjin said, 'I don't want you to get hurt for my sake. I will exchange arrows with him!' Having said

[85] Bo'orchu later becomes one of Chinggis Qahan's 'Four Marshals' – see sections 202, 205, 209 etc.

[86] This is a circular military camp, with carts arranged in a ring, the word (*güri'en*) appears again in Section 205, while variations of it also appear (*güre'en* – Sections 120, 122, 177 and 213; *güre'et* – Section 129). See also B.1: 207.

[87] It consists of a long pole with a loop of leather rope on the end. It is used to catch horses.

this, he swung round and fired arrows at him. The man on the white horse stopped and signalled at him with his lasso. His companions who were behind him caught up. But as they came the sun set and dusk fell. The people remaining were lost in the darkness; they stopped and were left behind.

92. After travelling all through that night and for the next three days and nights they arrived. Temüjin said, 'My friend, without you, how could I have recovered these horses? Let us divide them and you must tell me how many you will take.' But Bo'orchu said, 'I thought of you as a good friend when you (first) arrived exhausted, and I thought I could be of help to a good friend. I accompanied you (so) how can I think of taking this windfall? My father Naqu-bayyan is well known and I am Naqu-bayyan's only son. The (things) my father has obtained are more than enough for me. I will not take, (otherwise) the help I have given, what sort of help will it be? I will not take (them).'

93. They arrived at Naqu-bayyan's *yurt*. Having lost his son Bo'orchu Naqu-bayyan was snivelling and weeping. On seeing his son when they suddenly arrived, he alternately cried and scolded. His son Bo'orchu said, 'What has happened? When my good friend arrived exhausted, I went to accompany him. Now I have come back.' He galloped off to the open field and brought back his leather bag and bucket which he had concealed. They killed a fat lamb for Temüjin and gave it to him for provisions. After this they fastened a leather bag (of kumis) to the front of his saddle. As they made these provisions for him, Naqu-bayyan said, 'You two are young men. Look after each other. From now on, do not abandon each other!' Temüjin set out and after travelling for three days and three nights he arrived at his *yurt* by the Senggür stream. Hö'elün his mother, Qasar and his younger brothers were worrying, but after seeing him they rejoiced.

94. (in 1178) Then Temüjin and Belgütei set off down the Kelüren river to look for Lady Börte, (the daughter of) Dei-sechen, from whom he had been separated since coming to see her when he was nine years of age. Dei-sechen, the Onggirat, lived between the two (mountains) Chekcher and Chiqurqu. On seeing Temüjin, Dei-sechen rejoiced greatly and said, 'I knew that your Tayyichi'ut kinsmen were jealous of you. I was very worried and I despaired. But at last I have seen you!' He had him married to Lady Börte and then set off with them. Dei-sechen came on their journey as far as Uraq-chöl on the bend of the Kelüren before sending them off and returning. His wife, Lady Börte's mother, was called Chotan. Chotan brought her daughter

into the Gürelgü mountains, and came to bring her to (Temüjin's family) who were living at that time on the Senggür stream.

95. (Temüjin) made Chotan return (home) and then sent Belgütei to call Bo'orchu saying, 'Let us be companions' Bo'orchu welcomed Belgütei, and, without telling his father (anything) he came together with Belgütei

> Riding a chestnut horse with a hunched back,
> Tying his grey woollen cloak across (the saddle).

And this is how they became companions (in friendship).

96. From Senggür stream they moved (their) camp to the source of the Kelüren river. Dismounting, they camped at Bürgi-ergi ('Muddy Banks'). (Börte's) mother Chotan had brought a black sable jacket saying that it was *shitkül* (dowry).[88] The three of them, Temüjin, Qasar and Belgütei, took that jacket and went off. In earlier days, (their) father, Yisügei Qan and the Ong Qan of the Kereyit people[89] had agreed to swear brotherhood together.[90] 'He who agreed with my father to swear brotherhood is almost like my father.' said (Temüjin to himself). Knowing that the Ong Qan was living on the Tu'ula (river)[91] in the Black Forest they went there. When they arrived, Temüjin said to the Ong Qan, 'In earlier days you and my father agreed to swear brotherhood, so you are almost like my father.' Then he said, 'I have acquired a wife and I have brought you the *emüsgel* (new clothing),' and gave him the sable jacket. The Ong Qan was greatly pleased and said,

> In return for the black sable jacket

[88] This kind of wedding present, *shitkül*, has already been mentioned in note 31 of Chapter 1. It is a present from the bride's family to the groom's family intended as a direct material benefit. The word derives from *shitkü* – to add, increase; assist. See also B.1: 252–3. Later in this section, the jacket is referred to as *emüsgel*, a specific type of *shitkül* in the form of clothing. This is given by the bride to the groom's parents when she meets them for the first time. See B.1: 100.

[89] To'oril qan does not actually become the Ong Qan until Section 134. 'Ong' is a Chinese title meaning 'prince' or 'king'. The Kereyit were one of the largest tribes in Mongolia at this time; some of their descendants still live in the Baarin of Inner Mongolia today. For more details, see B.1: 211.

[90] This sworn brotherhood (*anda*), is one of the two important forms of relationship in the History, the other being *nökör* (see Section 13 and Chapter 1, note 15). While *nökör* implies a superior/subordinate relationship, such as that between a master and a faithful retainer, *anda* is a pledge of friendship and mutual aid between equals. Chinggis Qahan built his great empire on these two sets of relationships and, to a lesser extent, the *quda* relationship of marriage (see Section 62 and note 57). For more information on *anda*, see B.1: 87.

[91] The Tu'ula River flows through the southern half of Ulaanbaatar, capital of the Mongolian People's Republic, to join the River Orkhon. See B.1: 263.

I will bring together your people who abandoned you.
In return for the sable jacket,
I will unite your scattered people.
From the depths of my bowels,
To the backbones of my chest, (my thanks) be there![92]

97. From there they returned. While they were on the banks of the Bürgi an old man of the Uriangqad tribe, Jarchi'udai, came from Burqan-qaldun, carrying his bellows on his back and leading his son, who was called Jelme.[93] Jarchi'udai said, 'At the time when you were at Deli'ün-boldaq on the Onon, when Temüjin was born, I gave (him) swaddling clothes of sable. I also gave this son of mine, Jelme, but thinking he was (too) small, I took him and went away. Now let Jelme put on your saddle! Let him open your (felt) door!' And saying this he gave (his son to Temüjin).

98. Early one morning, while they were camping at Bürgi-ergi at the source of the Kelüren, when the light of the dawning day was yellow, Qo'aqchin, the old woman who was working in the *yurt* of Mother Hö'elün, got up and said, 'Mother! Mother! Get up quickly! The earth is shaking! I can hear the sound of swift horses' hooves. Can it be the terrifying Tayyichi'ut coming? Mother, get up quickly!'

99. Mother Hö'elün said, 'Quickly, wake the children!' Mother Hö'elün (also) got up quickly and Temüjin and the other children got up quickly. They caught hold of their own horses. Temüjin rode on one horse, mother Hö'elün rode on one horse, Qasar rode on one horse, Qachi'un rode on one horse, Temüge-otchingin rode on one horse, Belgütei rode on one horse, Bo'orchu rode on one horse and Jelme rode on one horse. Mother Hö'elün took Temülün to her breast and put her at the front of the saddle. One horse they made ready as a led horse.[94] (Thus) Lady Börte was without a horse.

[92] A word for word translation of the last two lines of this 'poem' would read, 'In the buttocks of my rectum, in the chest of my bones, be there!' For poetic effect the subject and object of each line are reversed, while 'be there', means 'my thanks be there!' This was a regular expression of thanks from an old man and was based on the Mongol conception of the body which was divided into upper and lower halves. By citing both chest and bowels Ong Qan is giving the Mongolian equivalent of 'wholeheartedly'. However, the Chinese interlinear note mistakes *böküre* (bowels, lower half of the body) for *bö'ere* (kidneys) which has led to subsequent mistranslations. *Boko'or* means 'bowels' in the Dawr dialect; Chekere should be read as sekere (segere), which means thoracic vertebra, ch- and s- in Mongol being interchangeable. I have therefore translated sekere here as 'backbones'.

[93] Jelme later becomes one of Chinggis Qan's four great generals.

[94] That is, either a horse to carry baggage, or a horse that can be ridden occasionally to allow one of the others to rest, or if one of the others is injured. See B.1: 218. Although Börte could probably have ridden this horse, it is essential to the plot that she is left behind. Furthermore, as de Rachewiltz has pointed out (B.12.4: 162) the horse brought by Bo'orchu (Section 95) would make the family's total ten, not nine.

100. While it was still early Temüjin and all the brothers rode off and moved up towards Burqan. The old woman Qo'aqchin, wishing to hide Lady Börte, made her sit in a black wooden-framed covered[95] cart harnessed to an ox with spots across its back. They moved upstream along the Tenggelik stream, going in the dim light of daybreak. At the same time, some soldiers trotted (by) and (then), turning back, came to them and asked, 'Who are you?' The old woman Qo'aqchin said, 'I am Temüjin's (servant). I came to shear sheep in the great *yurt*[96] and now I am returning to my own *yurt*.' Then they said, 'Is Temüjin there in his *yurt*? How far is his *yurt*? The old woman Qo'aqchin said, 'The *yurt* is near, but as for Temüjin being there, I do not know. I got up and left from the back (of his *yurt*).'

101. On this the soldiers trotted off. The old woman Qo'aqchin beat their ox with the spotted back and they set off quickly. But the cart's axle broke. 'The axle is broken! Let's go into the forest on foot and run!' they said, but immediately afterwards those soldiers arrived at a trot with Belgütei's mother sitting behind (on one of the horses), her two legs dangling down. As they came up they said, 'What has been loaded in this cart?' The old woman Qo'aqchin said, 'It's loaded with sheep wool'. The senior soldiers said, 'You juniors and boys, get down and take a look.' The juniors and boys got down and, as soon as they took down the door of the closed cart,[97] (they found) someone who seemed to be a lady sitting there. They pulled her down from the cart, put both her and Qo'aqchin behind them on their horses and took them away. Following behind Temüjin, using his tracks in the grass, they went up towards Burqan.

102. They went round Burqan-qaldun three times after Temüjin but were unable to find him. Here and there they hunted but its sinking mud and thick woods (made a) dense forest, and (they were like) glutted bears,[98] unable to sneak in. (Although) they followed behind him, they could not find him. Those Three Merkit were Toqto'a of

[95] There is no Chinese gloss for the word translated here as 'frame covered' but the word used (*bōken*) meant 'hunchbacked' in the Orkhon Turkish dialect. Here it refers to the 'ribs' of the frame supporting the cart's cover. See B.1: 158.

[96] That is, the 'master's *yurt*', or even, 'the palace of the Qan'. See B.1: 307.

[97] The 'closed cart' had a wooden door or barrier which was lifted in and out of place. the word *qa'atai* ('closed') is not glossed in the Chinese and is taken by de Rachewiltz for example, as a proper name ('Qa'atai took off the door of the cart . . .'). See B.1: 163.

[98] Although the Chinese marginal note gives 'snake' instead of 'bear', *moqaiya* is derived from the Orkhon Turkish *mokai* – a large male brown bear. See B.1: 227–8. 'Glutted bear' would also seem to make better sense than 'glutted snake'.

the Uduyit-Merkit, Dayir-usun of the Uwas-Merkit and Qa'atai-darmala of the Qa'at-Merkit. These three Merkit knew that previously Mother Hö'elün had been snatched from Chiledü and taken away. Now they had come to take vengeance for that. The Merkit said to each other, 'To take revenge for Hö'elün we will now take their women. We have taken our revenge.' So they came down from Burqan-qaldun and returned to their *yurts*.

103. Temüjin wondered if the Three Merkit had already returned to their *yurts* or if they were (lying) in ambush. He sent Belgütei, Bo'orchu and Jelme, all three, after the Merkit to find out. They followed the Merkit for three days until (they were sure that) they were rid of them. After this Temüjin came down from Burqan and, beating his breast, said, 'Mother Qo'aqchin

Is like a weasel
In her hearing,
Is like an ermine
In her sight,
It saved my skin.
On the dotted tracks,
(I) followed the deer trails.
I made a *yurt* of willow.
I climbed up on Burqan,

On Burqan-qaldun,
My life like a louse's.
I was hunted.
My life, the only one, was spared.
With only one horse
I followed the elk trails.
I made a *yurt* of twigs.
I climbed up on Qaldun,
On Qaldun-burqan,
My life like a swallow's,
I was protected.'

'I was very scared. Every morning I will sacrifice[99] to Burqan-qaldun, and every day I will pray to it; the descendants of my descendants

[99] 'Sacrifice' (*maliyasuqai* an Orkhon Turkish word) from *mai* – butter or fat; the verb *maliyaqu* could also mean 'to serve; entertain'. For details of how the Mongols celebrated and sacrificed with butter and kumis, see B.1: 223–4.

shall know this,' he said. Facing the sun, he draped his sash round his neck and hung his hat (by its cord) from his arm. He beat his chest with his hand and, kneeling nine times to the sun, gave offerings and prayers.'[100]

[100] The sash was a symbol of a person's power. Taking off one's hat before prayer was a sign of respect towards Heaven. The hat was also a symbol of power and authority; in section 255 the words *yeke maqalai* (big hat) are used to mean 'mighty authority'. Nine is, of course, a highly auspicious number for the Mongolians and it appears many times in the History.

CHAPTER THREE

104. After discussing this, the three of them – Temüjin, Qasar and Belgütei – went to To'oril, the Ong qan of the Kereyit, who was at that time at Qara forest on the Tu'ula river. They said, 'While we were (still) inexperienced[101] (in such things) the Three Merkit came and robbed me of my wife and son[102] and took them away. Qan, my father, can you save my wife and son for me? This is what we have come to say.' To these words To'oril Qan replied 'Did I not say (as much) to you last year? When you brought the sable jacket to me you said that in your father's time we swore brotherhood together and (so) I am like your father. When you put the coat on me I said,

In return for the sable jacket,
I will unite your scattered people,
In return for the black sable jacket,
I will bring together your people who abandoned you.

and I said,

To the backbone of my chest
(my thanks) be there!
From (the depths) of my bowels[103]
(my thanks) be there!

[101] Literally 'at the time of being innocent, naive people' (*genen*). The plural of *genen* is *genet* – can easily be confused with *genete* – sudden or suddenly. De Rachewiltz appears to have made this mistake when he translates the passage above as 'taking us by surprise'. For genen see B.1: 201.

[102] There is no previous reference in the History to this son and most other translators simply translate the phrase '*eme kö'ü*' (lit. wife-child) as 'wife' on the grounds that it is a compound (of which there are many other examples) in which only the first element has meaning. B.17: 324–327. However, this compound does not have the same 'feel' to it as other such compounds, which are usually alliterative. Moreover, the obvious explanation is that Temüjin is saying that Börte is pregnant. Shortly after Börte is rescued she gives birth to a son, Jochi (1179–1225) (see Section 165). However, although Chinggis Qahan passes over Jochi later (see Section 255) and does not appear to favour him, he never denies that he is his own son. Hence the implication that Börte is pregnant by Temüjin when she is captured and the use of the phrase, *eme-kö'ü*. For the pregnancy of Lady Börte, see B.No.20, p 1165.

[103] See Section 96, note 92.

Did I not say that! Now I will stand by my words,

In return for the sable jacket,
I will crush the whole Merkit (tribe),
And save Lady Börte for you.
In return for the black sable jacket,
I will break (apart) all the Merkit,
And bring back your *qatan* (lady) Börte.

To (your) younger brother Jamuqa send a message. He must be in the Qorqonaq forest. From here I will set out (to fight) with twenty thousand (men) to form the right flank. Let (your) younger brother Jamuqa go out with twenty thousand to form the left flank and let the time and place (of our meeting) be decided by Jamuqa.'

105. The three of them, Temüjin, Qasar and Belgütei returned to their *yurt* from To'oril Qan('s camp). On arriving, Temüjin sent both Qasar and Belgütei to Jamuqa saying, 'Tell (my) sworn brother Jamuqa that the Three Merkit came –

My bed has been made empty,
Are we not of one family?
How can we gain vengeance?
My heart has been broken,
Are we not blood relatives?[104]
How can we take revenge?

These were the words he spoke and sent to (his) sworn brother Jamuqa. Furthermore, he sent them to tell Jamuqa the words that To'oril, the qan of the Kereyit, had spoken, 'In former days your father, Yisügei qan, gave me help and did good; remember (that) I will be a companion to you (Temüjin). With twenty thousand (men) I will form the right flank and do battle. Send to (your) younger brother Jamuqa and tell him to go into battle with twenty thousand (men). Let the agreement as to our meeting be the (decision) of (your) younger brother Jamuqa.' When these words were finished Jamuqa said, 'Temüjin, (my) sworn brother,

Knowing that your bed has become empty,
My heart aches.
Knowing that your heart has been broken (in two)
My liver aches.
Gaining vengeance (by)
Destroying the Uduyit and Uwas-Merkit
Let us rescue our Lady Börte!

[104] Literally, 'liver relatives' (*heligen-ü uruq*). See B.1: 191.

Taking revenge
Breaking apart all the Qa'at-Merkit
Our *qatun* Börte,
Let us bring her back, let us rescue her!

Now,

To Toqto'a the Nervous
The goading of the saddle flap
Becomes the beating of drums.
He must be on the Bu'ura steppe.
When Dayyir-usun the Treacherous
(Sees) the swaying of the bow end and quiver[105]
(He flees).

Now he must be on Talqun island (between) the Orqon and the Selengge.

When the tumbleweed[106] blows
Into the dense wood
Qa'atai-darmala and Disputer[107] (flees)
Now he must be on the Qaraji steppe.[108]

We must cut directly cross the Kilqo river.

Let the sedge[109] be abundant!
Binding up our rafts let us go!

That nervous Toqto'a –

We will enter through his smoke hole (of his *yurt*)!
Smashing and knocking down
His crucial door frame,[110]
Finishing off and robbing

[105] The Chinese interlinear note says that *dabchitu qor* ('bow end and quiver') means 'a quiver with a cover'. However, as *dabchi* means either 'the nock of a bow', or a type of bow with a long string (see Lessing (Dictionary), p 212. The commitative case-ending '*-tu*' must be a mistake in the original or the Chinese transliteration) and as a quiver is more use without a cover, 'bow end and cover' seems a more accurate translation. (See also, B.1: 275).

[106] 'Tumbleweed' (*qamqa'ulsun*) – *corispermum mongolicum iljin* or *salsula oppositifolia*, salsola-colluna.

[107] Although I have given Qa'atai-darmala the epithet, 'The Disputer' a more literal translation would be 'the struggler, contender'. There is also an implication of cowardice – the line '*qara hoi temechekchi*' (black/dense forest struggler/contender') could mean, 'he who strives for the dense forest' – that is, a coward.

[108] See section 102.

[109] 'Sedge' (*saqal bayyan*) – *cyperus rotundus* (or carex meyeriana). They will use strands of sedge to bind together rafts with which to cross the river.

[110] Doors had a symbolic importance to the Mongolians, for they were the means of going in and out. Mouths were similarly regarded. Destroying the door and its frame was an allusion to destroying the family inside.

His wife and son,
Breaking and knocking down
His sacred door frame,
Let us rob his entire people
Until they are empty!

106. Again, Jamuqa said, 'Tell (my) sworn brother Temüjin and (my) elder brother To'oril that I say this: 'For my part

I have offered[111] to the spear-tipped banner,[112]
I have beaten the drum stretched with black bull's hide
That sounds with a rumble.
I have ridden my swift black (horse),
I have put on my strong clothing,
I have grasped my steel (-tipped) spear,
I have set my peach-bark[113] arrow
(against the string),
Let us go on horseback and strike the Qa'at-Merkit!

Tell all this!

I have offered to the long spear-tipped banner,
I have beaten the drum stretched with cow's hide,
That sounds with a deep rumble
I have ridden my swift grey (horse),
I have put on my leather-strapped armour,
I have grasped my hilted sword,[114]
I have set my notched arrow (against the string)
Let us fight the Uduyit-Merkit to the death!

Tell all this! When (my) older brother To'oril Qan sets forth he (should) come through to my sworn brother Temüjin by the south side of Burqan-qaldun and come upstream along the Onon river to its source at Botoqan-bo'orji. Let us meet there! I will set forth upstream along the Onon river to where my sworn brother's people are. With ten thousand (men) of (my) sworn brother's people and ten

[111] Offering involves sprinkling kumis or milk (on the banner).
[112] *Qara'a* – the tip of a spear or lance surmounting a banner or flag – is translated in the Chinese interlinear note as 'to be seen from afar' but this is a mistake. See B.1: 170.
[113] 'Peach bark' (*qatqurasu*) – *caragana arborescens*.
[114] Here is one of many instances in the History of a term that is effectively untranslatable, but which at the same time gives a fascinating insight into the language. *Onggitu üldü*, translated here as 'a hilted sword', is a sword in which the hilt and the blade are separate. Although the Chinese interlinear note says that *onggi* is a handle, it is in fact the hole in the handle (or hilt) into which the tongue of the blade fits. But 'a sword with a hole in the hilt' gives quite a different picture in English. The term was probably employed to differentiate between this and swords which were forged all in one piece. See B.9.Vol.2: 272n 9.

thousand (of my men) from here, there will be twenty thousand. Going upstream along the Onon river to Botoqan-bo'orji at the appointed place we shall join together.' So saying, he sent (his message) off.

107. Qasar and Belgütei returned and told Temüjin what Jamuqa had said. (Temüjin) then sent the message on to To'oril-qan. To'oril-qan, (after) having been sent these words of Jamuqa, set forth with twenty thousand (men). 'When To'oril-qan sets forth he will come towards the Bürgi bank of the Kelüren on the south side of Burqan-qaldun,' thought Temüjin, who was on the Bürgi bank, 'and (I) am in his path.' So he yielded and moved upstream along the Tünggelik to the Tana stream on the south side of Burqan-qaldun where he set up camp. From there Temüjin and his army started forth. To'oril-qan with ten thousand (men) and To'oril-qan's younger brother, Jaqa-gambu,[115] with ten thousand (men), twenty thousand altogether, set up camp at Ayil-qaraqana on the Kimurqa stream. At that point he (Temüjin) joined (them) and set up camp there.

108. After coming together the three of them, Temüjin, To'oril-qan and Jaqa-gambu, set out for the Onon's source at Botoqan-bo'orji. When they arrived (they found that) Jamuqa had arrived at the appointed place three days earlier. After seeing the armies of Temüjin, To'oril, Jaqa-gambu and the others Jamuqa deployed his own army of twenty thousand (men) and lined (them) up. After also deploying their own armies, Temüjin, To'oril-qan, Jaqa-gambu and the others then came up and they acknowledged (each other). But Jamuqa said,

> Even if there is a snowstorm
> Through it to the appointment,
> Even if there is rain
> Through it to the meeting we (should) not be late!

Did we not agree to this? (When) we Mongqols say 'Yes' – are we not oathtakers?

> Latecomers after the agreement[116]
> We eject from the ranks!

To Jamuqa's words To'oril-qan said, '(As you say), we are standing at the appointed place three days late. It is for you, younger brother

[115] Jaqa-gambu was really named Keraidi. As a boy he had been captured by the Tang'ud who brought him up and named him 'Ja' (land or earth) 'gambu' (great general). See B.1: 290.

[116] 'Latecomers after the agreement' – literally, yes from/after who came late (*je deche qojidaqsan*). 'je' means 'yes, all right, agree; duty, obligation'. See B.1: 296.

Jamuqa, to punish us and reprove us.' And so they talked about the things that were at fault at the meeting.

109. From Botoqan-bo'orjin they moved to the Kilqo river. Arriving there they tied rafts and crossed to the Bu'ura steppe. Here, at Toqto'a-beki's (*yurt*),

> Through the smoke hole,
> And the crucial door-frame,
> Smashing and knocking down they entered!
> Finishing off and robbing his wife and son,
> Breaking and knocking down,
> His sacred door-frame,
> His entire people
> Were crippled and robbed!

While Toqto'a-beki was sleeping, some fishermen, sable-trappers, hunters and sentries who were on the Kilqo river arrived. Throughout the night they had gone to deliver the message that the enemy was coming. When the message was delivered to Toqto'a he joined Dayyir-usun of the Uwas-Merkit and they went to Barqujin (territory) downstream along the Selengge. They fled and escaped (with only) a few men.

110. (in 1179) The Merkit people fled in panic down the Selengge during the night. As they fled in their panic, our soldiers, even during the night, followed them closely, robbing and looting as they went. (Among) the people fleeing in panic went Temüjin, crying, 'Börte! Börte!' Lady Börte was among those people fleeing and hearing Temüjin's voice, she recognised it. Getting down from the cart she came running. Both Lady Börte and Qo'aqchin, recognizing Temüjin's rein and tether, (even) in the night, seized them. There was a moon, and when he looked he recognised Lady Börte; meeting unexpectedly (in this way) they hugged each other.

From there, Temüjin sent word to To'oril-qan and (his) sworn brother Jamuqa the same night, saying, 'I have found the thing I looked for. We should not continue all night but make camp here.' The Merkit people, fleeing in their panic and scattering during the night, came (so that) they set up camp in the same place and spent the night there. This is the way in which Lady Börte, meeting (Temüjin), was saved from the Merkit people.

111. Previously, Toqto'a-beki of the Uduyit-Merkit, Dayyir-usun of the Uwas-Merkit and Qa'atai-darmala, the Three Merkit with three hundred men, had said, 'Earlier, Yisügei-ba'atur captured Mother Höelün from Toqto'a-beki's younger brother, Yeke-chiledü, and took

her away.' (Thus) they came to take their revenge. While they were circling Burqan-qaldun three times (after) Temüjin, they had captured Lady Börte there. Chiledü's younger brother, Chilger-bökö, was made to look after her, but after he had been looking after her (for some time), Chilger-bökö abandoned (her), saying,

The black crow,
In spite of being fated to eat (scraps of) skin
Wished to have goose and crane to eat.
I, Chilger, unfortunate and bad,
Touched the Lady, the *qatun*,
(And so) calamity (has come) to all the Merkit!
Ignoble and bad Chilger,
His own black (ie common) head will receive (a blow)!
I have only one life to save,
I want to creep into a dark gorge,
But who will shield me!
The bad bird, the buzzard,
In spite of being fated to eat rats and mice,
Wished to have swan and crane to eat.
I, Chilger, a double[117] bad fellow,
Became the keeper of the fortunate and mighty Lady
(And so) calamity has come to the entire Merkit!
Crippled and bad Chilger,
His own bony (dead) head will receive (a blow)!
My own life is as much as sheep's dung,
To save it I want to creep into the dark(est)
part of a dark gorge,
My life is as much as sheep's dung,
Who will (put) a fence (around) me?[118]

After saying this he turned his back and escaped.

112. They captured Qa'atai-darmala and brought him back.
They put a board-like cangue on him,
And sent him off towards Qaldun Burqan

Belgütei's mother was said to be in that (particular) camp, so Belgütei went to rescue his mother. (However), when he entered the *yurt* through the right side of the doorway, his mother, in ragged sheepskin clothing, went out through the left door.[119] Outside, she said to (an)other person, 'I've been told that my sons have become *qans* and here am I, matched with a common man. How can I look into the

[117] Qunar → qoyar means two or double; for qoyar see B.21 p 139.
[118] Chilger had tried to act in a manner above his station, just as crow and buzzard had.
[119] For the significance of 'the left door' see note 123.

faces of my sons now?' So saying, she ran away and slunk into the thick forest. As he searched without finding her, Belgütei-noyan fired horn-tipped arrows at the men of Merkit bones saying, 'Bring back my mother!' The three hundred Merkit who had circled Burqan and their descendants' descendants were completely crushed and blown away like ashes. Of the survivors, their wives and children, those who could be embraced were embraced, and those who could be admitted through the door were admitted inside.[120]

113. Temüjin expressed his respectful thanks to both To'oril-qan and Jamuqa, 'After having gained the friendship of you both, Qan, my father, and Jamuqa, (my) sworn brother, my power has been increased by Heaven and Earth.

Appointed by mighty Heaven,
Invited by Mother Earth.[121]
Man's enemy, the people of the Merkit,
We made empty their breasts
And their livers we tore in half,
We made empty their beds
And (their) relatives we destroyed,
Did we not also capture[122] the survivors?

In this way was the Merkit people broken up 'Let us (now) withdraw', they said to each other.

114. While the Uduyit-Merkit were fleeing in panic our soldiers found a boy in the camp who had been left behind. He was five years old, with fire in his eyes and named Küchü ('strength'). He (wore) a hat of sable, boots of the skin of a doe's forelegs, and clothing of suede otter (skins) sewn together. They took him to Mother Hö'elün and gave him to her as a prize of the battle.

115. Temüjin, To'oril-qan and Jamuqa, the three of them, came together and they

Razed the bartering (trading) *yurts*,

[120] 'Those who could be embraced', that is, as concubines (the wives of the Merkit). 'Those who could be admitted through the door', that is, as slaves (the children of the Merkit). For *ebüritbe* (embrace; rear, foster; save from danger) see B.1: 99–100.

[121] 'Mother Earth' (*etügen*) refers to a Shamanist goddess of the earth (see Lessing Dictionary: 335). It is also a personification of 'the Motherland'. See B.1: 105.

[122] More literally, 'did we not also economise/save the survivors'. This euphemism (*arbilabai*) for 'plundered' also appears in section 115 and 117; it is used out of respect for Chinggis Qahan. See B.1: 94–95.

Plundered the tall-hatted women,[123]

of the Merkit. (After this) they withdrew from Talqun island between the two rivers Orqan (sic, Orqon) and Selengge. Temüjin and Jamuqa united and departed for Qorqonaq forest. To'oril-qan departed through the Hökörtü forest on the northern side of Burqan-qaldun and then through Qacha'uratu-subchit (pass) and Huliyatu-subchit (pass) where he hunted wild beasts before heading off for the Qara forest ('Black Forest') on the Tu'ula (river).

116. Temüjin and Jamuqa made camp together in the Qorqonaq forest. They remembered how they had sworn brotherhood to each other formerly and they renewed this brotherhood, saying that they loved each other. Previously they had sworn brotherhood when Temüjin was eleven years old. Jamuqa had given Temüjin a roebuck's knucklebone and Temüjin had given in exchange a copper (filled) knucklebone,[124] and (so) they had sworn brotherhood. Having agreed to brotherhood they played knucklebones on the ice of the Onon, calling each other 'anda' ('sworn brother'). After that, in the spring, when they (as archers) were shooting with pinewood bows against each other (for practice), Jamuqa had given Temüjin a whistling arrow head that he had (made) by glueing (together) the two horns of a two-year-old calf and boring holes into it to make it sound. Temüjin's (gift) in exchange had been a horn-tipped arrow with an end of cypress wood and they (again) had become sworn brothers. This is how they agreed on their brotherhood for a second time.

117. In earlier days, in the words of old men, it was said that, 'Men who are sworn brothers (share) one life. They do not abandon each other but become protectors of that life.' It was in this way that they (Temüjin and Jamuqa) loved each other, and again they renewed their bond of brotherhood, saying, 'Let us love each other!' Looting Toqto'a of the Merkit, Temüjin had obtained a golden sash and he made his

[123] For a period of time during the Manchu Dynasty (1644–1911) the Dawr Mongols bartered once a year at Yin Chin Tüng village near Tsitsihar (Chichihar, Hijagaar in Mongol) in Manchuria. The Dawrs called the bartering house 'Chorgan Ger' which was periodically in use and had two doors. Hence Belgütei entered through the right door looking for his mother who had gone out through the left door. See B.18 pp 100–2. It is not clear however whether some particular kind of yurt is meant or whether *chorqan* is used simply to balance *choqtai eme* ('tall-hatted women') in the next line. *Choqtai* derives from an Orkhon Turkish word, *choq* a bunch of feathers worn on a woman's hat, or a knob or button crowning a man's hat to indicate official rank. See B.1: 317.

[124] 'Copper knucklebone' (*chinggültüktü shi'a*) derived from *chengel* – curved or crooked. Molten copper was poured into the hollow of the bone and the whole was used as a gaming piece. (See B.1: 315).

sworn brother Jamuqa wear this. He (also) gave him Toqto'a's horse to ride, a four year old fawn stallion[125] (with a black mane and tail). Jamuqa made his sworn brother Temüjin wear the golden sash that he had obtained by looting Dayyir-usun of the Uwas-Merkit and he also gave him Dayyir-usun's horse to ride. It was white (like) a kid and horned.[126] They swore their brotherhood and their love at the Saqlaqar ('many leaved') Tree on the southern side of the Quldaqar cliff in Qoronaq forest. They enjoyed themselves with feasting and more feasting and at night they slept together under one quilt.

118. (in 1181) Temüjin and Jamuqa were companions together for one year and for half of the second. One day, they decided to move off from the camp where they were. They moved out and set off on the sixteenth day of the first month of summer, the 'red circle day'. Temüjin and Jamuqa walked together in front of the carts and, as they were going along, Jamuqa said, 'My sworn brother Temüjin,

> Shall we camp up against the mountain
> Which will be suitable
> For our horse-herders' bark-tents.
> (Or) shall we camp next to the river,
> Which will be suitable
> For our shepherds' and lamb-herders' gullets?[127]

Temüjin could not understand these words of Jamuqa's and he stood in silence and was left behind. He waited for the carts in the middle of the group, as the group moved (by), and said to Mother Hō'elūn, 'My sworn brother Jamuqa said,

> Shall we camp up against the mountain,
> Which will be suitable
> For our horse-herders' bark tents?
> (Or) shall we camp next to the river,
> Which will be suitable
> For our shepherds' and lamb-herders' gullets?'

[125] 'Fawn gelding' (*esgel qali'un*). *Esgel* refers to a mare which produces a foal only every three years or more. The foal therefore suckles longer and becomes very strong, being able to run up to one hundred miles a day when only two years old. *Qali'un* simply means 'yellowish-brown' ('horse' is, as always, understood) but it has to refer to a male horse rather than a mare because otherwise *qali'un* would be in the feminine form (*qaliuqchin*), and furthermore because Mongolians to this day do not give female animals as presents. See B.1: 104–5. See also B.18: p 104, note 21.

[126] The 'horn' is a callous protuberance on the forehead or temple of the horse, a well-known phenomenon – see B.12, p 171, March 1972.

[127] Jamuqa says that the horse herders and shepherds should be separated, implying that he thinks he (Jamuqa) and Temüjin should each go their own way.

'I could not understand these words of his and did not give him any reply. I thought I would come and ask you, Mother.' Before Mother Hö'elün made a sound, Lady Börte said, 'They say your sworn brother Jamuqa gets tired easily. The time has come for him to be tired of us now. Your sworn brother's speech just now – all this is most likely words intended against us. We should not set up camp but move straight on and (so) separate. Let us move through the night without delay.'

119. (Temüjin) agreed with Lady Börte's words and they all moved all night through without camping. Mid-way on their journey they passed through the Tayyichi'ut (territory). The Tayyichi'ut were afraid, and that same night set off mistakenly towards Jamuqa. A small boy called Kököchu[128] had been left behind in the camp of the Besüd Tayyichi'ut. Our men took him from the camp and went to give him to Mother Hö'elün. Mother Hö'elün (then) brought him up.

120. They travelled through the night and at daybreak saw Qachi'un-toqura'un, Qaraqai-toqura'un and Qaraldai-toqura'un of the Jalayir. The three Toqura'un brethren had come after travelling together through the night. Then Qada'an-daldurqan of the Tarqut and his brethren, the five Tarqut, had also come. Next had come Mönggetü-kiyan's son Önggür and others with their Changshi'ut and Baya'ut (followers). From the Barulas came Qubilai[129] and Qudas and their brethren. From the Mangqut came the two brothers Jetei and Doqolqu-cherbi. Bo'orchu's younger brother Ögölen-cherbi[130] left the Arulat and came to join his older brother. Jelme's younger brothers, Cha'urqan and Sübe'etei-ba'atur[131] left the Uriyangqan and came to join Jelme. From the Besüd came the two brothers Degei and Küchügür. Chilgütei and Taki from the Suldus also came (together with) the Tayyichi'ut brethren. From the Jalayir came Seche-domoq and Arqai-qasar and Bala (with) his two sons. From the Qongqotan came Söyiketü-cherbi, and of the Sükeken came Jegei and Qongdaqor's son Sükegei-je'ün. Chaqa'an-uwa of the Ne'üdei came and Kinggiyadai of the Olqunu'ud, Sechi'ür from the Qorolas and Mochi-bedü-ün from the Dörben also came. Butu of the Ikires came because he was a son-in-law (of Temüjin's family?) here. From the Noyakin came Jungso

[128] Kököchü – in the Orkhon Turkish dialect, his name meant 'a seller of herbal medicines' see B.1: 217.

[129] Qubilai later becomes one of Chinggis Qan's four great generals.

[130] In Section 90 Bo'ochu states that he is the only son of his father, Naqu-Bayyan. Ögölen-cherbi must therefore be classificatory brother, or cousin. '*Cherbi*' is a title of rank, either civil or military. See B.1: 314.

[131] Sube'etei-ba'atur later becomes one of Chinggis Qan's four great generals.

and from the Oronar came Jirqo'an. From the Barulas came Suqusechen, and Qarachar together with his son. The old man, Qorchiüsün and Kökö-chos of the Ba'arin together with one camp of the Menen-Ba'arin also came.

121. Qorchi came and said, 'We were born from the woman that the august Bodonchar captured; with Jamuqa we (shared) one caul[132] and one womb! We would not have left Jamuqa but a heavenly sign[133] came to me. To my eyes was revealed a whitish cow that came and circled Jamuqa, before going to his *yurt*-cart and butting it. Then it butted Jamuqa and broke one of its horns leaving it with uneven horns. 'Give me my horn!' it said again and again and it bellowed repeatedly, pawing the ground and raising dust. (Then) a yellowish white ox lifted up the great joist (of the *yurt*-cart)[134] and harnessing (it to itself), pulled it behind Temüjin along the great road. As it approached it bellowed repeatedly, saying, 'Heaven and Earth agree, let Temüjin be the nation's master!' and, 'Bearing the nation, I am bringing it (to him)!' To my eyes these heavenly signs were shown and to me (these things) were told. Temüjin, when you become the nation's master, how will you make me happy for (these things) I have told?' Temüjin said, 'If it is really like this, that I am given charge of the nation, then I will make you the commander of ten thousand (men)!' (Qorchi said) 'How will becoming the commander of ten thousand make me, the man who told you so many reasons, happy! After I have become the commander of ten thousand let me have the freedom of the nation's beautiful and worthy girls and make thirty (of them) my wives. Also, whatever I say, (turn) towards me and listen!'

122. Qunan, leading the Geniges, also came with one camp, and Daritai-otchigin came with one camp. From the Jadaran came Mulqalqu, and Ünjin (of the) Saqayit came, together with one camp. Thus (many people) left Jamuqa and, after travelling along Kimurqa stream, they set up camp at Ayil-qaraqana and stayed there. At this time the two sons of Sorqatu-jürki of the Jürkin, Sacha-beki and

[132] The caul (*keke*) is the membrane sometimes found enclosing a child's head at birth; *keke* can also refer to the amniotic fluid. See B.1: 210.

[133] 'Heavenly sign' (*ja'arin*): in Orkhon Turkish *ja'arin* meant 'to foretell, prophecy'. Divination was practised by scorching a sheep's shoulder bone over a fire and then examining the grain of the bone. The word had other meanings in other parts of Mongolia; in Ordos for example it meant 'midwife'; in Khalkh, an honorific term for a shaman; while it referred to an assistant shaman in some parts of Dawr. See B.1: 287.

[134] This great *yurt*-cart, or travelling tent, is used here as a symbol of Chinggis Qahan's future empire. See B.1: 203.

Taichu, together with one camp; Nekün-taishi's son Quchar-beki, together with one camp; Qutula-qan's son Altan-otchigin, together with one camp; all these left Jamuqa and moved on. They joined together with Temüjin, who had set up camp at Ayil-qaraqana on the Kimurqa stream, and set up camp (with him). From there, they moved on into the Gürelgü (mountains) where they set up camp by the Kökö lake ('Blue Lake') at Qara-jürügen by the Senggür stream.

123. (in 1189) Altan, Quchar and Sacha-beki, after reaching an agreement together, said to Temüjin, 'We will make you *qan*. Temüjin, when you are made *qan*, we,

> Galloping as a vanguard after many enemies,
> Will bring in
> Girls and *qatuns* (ie ladies) of good complexion,
> Palace tents,
> Foreigners' *qatuns* and girls with beautiful cheeks,
> Geldings with fine rumps at a trot.
> And give them to you.
> When we hunt together for wary animals,
> We will round them up for you.
> The animals of the steppe,
> We will squeeze them until their bellies touch for you.
> The animals of the cliff('s foot)
> We will squeeze them together until their thighs touch for you.
> In days of battle,
> If we disobey your command,
> From our outstanding pure ones,[135]
> From our *qatuns* and wives,
> Separate us,
> And throw down our black heads
> Upon the ground!
> In days of peace,
> If we break your order,
> From our men and servants,
> From our wives and children,
> Exile us,
> And throw us out into the wilderness!'

They agreed upon these words and then swore (their) oath. They named Temüjin as 'Chinggis Qahan' and made him *qan*.[136]

[135] This is, 'our families, relatives' (*qari shiri* – *qari* is a mistake in the original transliteration for the Orkhon Turkish word '*hari*' – 'outstanding, sacred'. See B.1: 190.

[136] The ceremony took place in 1189 AD, when Chinggis Qahan was 28 years old.

124. After having become Chinggis Qahan, he (allowed) Bo'orchu's younger brother Ögölei-cherbi to carry a quiver. Qachi'un-toqura'un carried a quiver and both Jetei and Doqolqu-cherbi carried quivers. Önggür, Söyiketü-cherbi and Qada'an-daldurqan, the three of them, said,

We shall not let (you) lack
The morning drink.
We shall not delay (your)
Evening drink.

and (so) they became the chief cooks. Degei said,

(With) a two-year old wether,
I cook soup (and so)
In the morning (you) will not lack,
At night (you) will not be late.
Herding the pied sheep,
I will fill the sheep-pen.[137]
Herding the brown ewes,
I will fill the sheep-fold.
(but) I am greedy and useless,
(So) I will herd sheep and
Eat (their) bowels.

and so Degei herded sheep. His younger brother, Güchügür said,

I shall not let the suspension-strutted cart's[138]
Linchpin drop out.
I shall not let the axled carts
Fall to pieces on the broad road (highway).

'I will build *yurt*-carts,' he said. Dodai-cherbi said, 'I would like to be in charge of the women and servants in the *yurt*!'
Qubilai, Chilgütei and Qarqai-toqura'un, the three of them, together with Qasar (were allowed by Chinggis Qahan) to carry swords. (He said to them),

Slice off the necks of the strong!
Empty the breasts of the arrogant!

To both Belgütei and Qaraldai-toqura'un he said,

[137] 'Sheep-pen' (*alam*) is from the Orkhon Turkish *aram* – horse or sheep pen or fold. A mistake lies either in the original Mongolian or in the Chinese transliteration. Either way, the word is unlikely to mean 'bottom of the cart' as the Chinese interlinear note suggests, where one could fit very few sheep. See B.1: 93.

[138] The word *Cho'orqatai* in the text has the same meaning as *emegel modon* (saddle-wood) and refers to the suspension strut of a cart. For details see B.21, p 164, note 12.

Keep the geldings ready[139]
And be (my) equerries!

Then he said that the three Tayyichi'ut, Qutu, Morichi and Mulqalqu should herd the horses, while to Arqai-qasar, Taqai, Sükegei and Cha'urqan, the four of them, he said,

Be my long-range *qo'ochaq* arrows,
Be my short-range *odora* arrows![140]

Sübe'etei-ba'adur said,

Becoming a rat,
I would like to gather with the others
Becoming a black crow,
Whatever is outside,
I would like to scoop up with the others.[141]
Becoming a covering of felt,
I will try to cover over (you) with the others,
Becoming a windbreak of felt,
I will try to cover over (you) with the others,
Becoming a windbreak of felt,
I will try to shield (your) *yurt* with the others.

125. Then Chinggis Qahan, having become *qan*, said to both Bo'orchu and Jelme, 'You two,

When, apart from my shadow I had no friends,
You became my shadows.
You eased my mind,
And in my mind you shall stay!

He (also) said,

When, apart from my tail I had no fat,
You become my tail.
You eased my heart,
And in my breast you shall stay!

Formerly you stood by me, will you not become the seniors of all these?' Chinggis Qahan spoke again, 'When Heaven and Earth

[139] That is, keep enough geldings for the household at the yurts and away from the main herd (which may be at pasture some miles away) in case of an emergency. The escape made by Temüjin and the others in Section 99 is the result of such prudence.

[140] Here, Chinggis Qahan uses hunting terms metaphorically. Thus Qo'ochaq means a particular duration of hunting and Odora refers to a specific position of a hunter in the hunt. These terms could be used for the different roles of emissaries. Odora = utura, for which see B.1, p 122.

[141] 'gather and scoop up' means 'gather good (ie gold) and scoop up food (ie glory)'.

increased my power and protected me, those of you who came thought of me (more) than of Jamuqa and wished to become my companions. Why not become my fortunate and senior companions?' And he added, 'I appoint each of you in a different direction.'

126. (They) sent Daqai and Sügegei as emissaries to To'oril-qan of the Kereyit, telling him that (they) had made Chinggis Qahan *qan*. To'oril-qan said, 'It was very correct to make my son Temüjin *qan*. How can you Mongqols live without a *qa* (leader)? Do not break the order you have, do not undo the bond you have, do not tear up the collar you have!'[142] Saying this, he sent them off.

[142] By 'collar' To'oril-qan is referring to the Mongols' system of leadership. See section 33 and note 27.

CHAPTER FOUR

127. When (Chinggis Qahan) sent both Arqai-qasar and Cha'urqan as emissaries to Jamuqa, Jamuqa said, 'Send them to Altan and Quchar and tell them to say this, 'Altan and Quchar, you both (came) between my sworn brother Temüjin and myself.

> Poking the flanks and
> Piercing the ribs'[143]

of my sworn brother, why did you cause us to separate?'[144] At the time when we both, my sworn brother (and myself), were together, unseparated, why did you not make my sworn brother Temüjin *qan* then? Now that you have made him *qan*, what exactly are your minds thinking of? Both of you, Altan and Quchar, keep to the words you have spoken. Ease my sworn brother's mind and do well in becoming his companions.' Saying this, he sent (them) off.

128. After this, when Jamuqa's younger brother (ie, relative), Taichar, was living on the south side of Jalama (mountain) at Ölegei-bulaq ('Ölegei spring') he went to steal the horse herd of our (ally) Jochi-darmala who was living on the Sa'ari steppe. Taichar stole Jochi-darmala's herd and went away, taking them (with him). Jochi-darmala, having had his herd stolen went (after it). His friends lost heart and (so) he went on alone, pursuing them at night, and arrived at the edge of his herd. Lying down with his body (pressed) to his horse's mane, he came up and shot Taichar, breaking his back in two. After killing him, he took his herd and returned.

129. (In 1190) hearing that his younger brother Taichar had been killed, Jamuqa and others of the Jadaran (tribe) allied with thirteen other different tribes to form (an army of) thirty thousand (men).

[143] 'Poking' (*sechijü*) and 'piercing' (*qatquju*) – that is, 'finding fault with; needling'. For *sechijü* see B.1: 238.
[144] See Section 123.

They came across the Ala'u'ut and Turqa'ut (mountains) and rode against Chinggis Qahan. Mülke-totaq and Borildai of the Ikires came to Chinggis Qahan, who was at that time in the Gürelgü (mountains), and delivered a message to him that (Jamuqa) was coming. After hearing this message, Chinggis Qahan also formed (an army) of thirty thousand (men) from (his) thirteen camps, and set out against Jamuqa. They fought at Dalan-baljut and there Chinggis Qahan was displaced by Jamuqa. He hid at Jerene-qabchiqay ('Jerene gorge') by the Onon, and Jamuqa said, 'We have forced him to hide at Jerene by the Onon.' As he was returning he boiled the young men of the Chinos (alive) in seventy cauldrons[145] and cut off the head of Ne'üdei Chaqa'an-u'a which (he tied) to the tail of his horse and pulled (after him) as he went.

130. From there Jamuqa returned, and Jürchedei of the Uru'ut, leading his Uru'ut, and Quyuldar of the Mangqut, leading his Mangqut left Jamuqa and came to Chinggis Qahan. Father Mönglik of the Qongqotad was there with Jamuqa and he, together with his seven sons, left Jamuqa and came to join Chinggis Qahan. From Jamuqa those people came and Chinggis Qahan rejoiced, telling himself that the people were coming. Chinggis Qahan, Lady Höelün, Qasar with Sacha-beki, Taichu and others of the Jürkin decided to feast in the forest of the Onon.

As they feasted, a jug (of kumis) was poured first of all for Chinggis Qahan, Lady Hö'elün, Qasar, Sacha-beki and others. Next, a jug (of kumis) (for the women) was poured first of all for Sacha-beki's 'little mother', Ebegei. Because of this, Qorijin-qatun and Qu'urchin-qatun said, 'We were not (served) first. Why was (the kumis) poured to Ebegei first of all?' and they beat the cook, Shiki'ür. The beaten cook, Shiki'ür said, 'Why was I beaten like this? Because Yisügei-ba'atur and Nekün-taishi are both dead'[146] and he cried out in a loud voice.

131. Belgütei, who was standing holding Chinggis Qahan's geldings (ready), had been in charge of the feast on our side. From the Jürkin side, Büri-bökö was in charge. A Qadagin man stole a tether from our horse tethering-place. (Belgütei) captured the thief but Böri-bökö argued[147] (with him on behalf of) that man.

All his life, Belgütei had wrestled, removing his right sleeve and walking (half-) naked. He took it off (now) and Büri-bökö slashed

[145] Because they may have helped Chinggis.
[146] No, I do not think there is any political implication.
[147] The Chinese interlinear note gives 'protection' instead of 'argued' for *hoyimaschu* (ie, Büri-kökö 'protected' the thief). However, according to B.1: 196, *hoyimaschu* is the same as *ayimuschu* – 'being angry, furious; scolding'.

his naked shoulder with his sword. In spite of being cut like this, Belgütei made nothing of it and did not pay any attention to it, letting the blood flow. Chinggis Qahan, who had been sitting in the shadows and watching (them) from the feast, came out and said, 'What has been done to us like this?' As he spoke, Belgütei said, 'The wound is nothing (much). We should avoid becoming unfriendly with our kinsmen (simply) because of me. I'm not upset, I'll get better. We were just getting along well with our kinsmen. Stop this (my) older brother, let it be for a short time.'

132. Chinggis Qahan did not follow all this advice Belgütei gave, but, pulling and breaking off tree branches and snatching up the stirrers from the leather bags, he (and others) fought with Jürkin and defeated them. They (also) captured both Qorijin-qatun and Qu'urchin-qatun, but later on they returned both Qorijin-qatun and Qu'urchin-qatun saying, 'Let us settle our differences'. While emissaries were being exchanged and the differences being settled, (Chinggis Qahan) came to know that the Altan-qan of the Kitat people, when the Tatar, Megüjin-se'ültü and other Tatars, had not entered into an agreement with him, had sent word to Ongging-chingsang that he should deploy his soldiers without hesitation. It was (also) said that Ongging-chingsang was advancing, pushing Megüjin-se'ültü and the other Tatars upstream along the Ulja with their livestock and provisions. Knowing this. . .

133. . . .Chinggis Qahan said, 'From early days the Tatar people have been an enemy people, the ones who destroyed (our) ancestors and fathers. Now, on this excuse,[148] we can jointly attack them!' He sent an emissary to deliver this message to To'oril-qan: 'We have heard that the Altan-qan's (commander), Ongging-chingsang is pushing the Tatar Megüjin-se'ültü and the other Tatars upstream along the Ulja and they are coming (this way). They are the ones who destroyed our ancestors and fathers. Let us jointly attack the Tatar'![149] Come quickly To'oril-qan (my) father!' After this message had been delivered, To'oril-qan said, 'My son is correct to send these words. Let us jointly attack!' Three days after this he assembled his soldiers and set forth with them. To'oril-qan advanced quickly. Chinggis Qahan and To'oril-qan sent word to the Jürkin Sacha-beki and Taichu, the leader of the Jürkin, 'Now there is an excuse to attack the Tatar jointly, those who

[148] 'Excuse' (*qanalqa*): not 'chance, opportunity' as the Chinese interlinear note suggests. See B.1: 163–4.

[149] The Tatar tribe and the Chin Dynasty were friendly at first, but they became enemies later. At that point, Chinggis, in order to avenge his ancestors, joined forces and attacked the Tatars.

destroyed our ancestors and fathers in former days, let us ride out together against (them)!' Six days after this (message) had been sent to the Jürkin, Chinggis Qahan and To'oril-qan were unable to wait (any longer) and together with their soldiers set forth downstream along the Ulja. While they were approaching Qusutu-shitü'en and Naratu-shitü'en[150] on the Ulja to attack with Ongging-chingsang, the Tatar Megüjin and the other Tatars built a barricade there. Chinggis Qahan and To'oril-qan captured Megüjin-se'ültü and other barricaders from the barricade and there they killed Megüjin-se'ültü. Chinggis Qahan (also) took from there his (ie, Megüjin's) silver cradle and quilt (decorated) with pearls.

134. (In 1196) Chinggis Qahan and To'oril-qan (went and) told Ongging-chingsang that they had killed Megüjin-se'ültü. Hearing the Megüjin-se'ültü had been killed, Ongging-chingsang rejoiced greatly. To Chinggis Qahan he gave the title of 'Ja'ut-quri' (Commander in the Ja'ut Territory)[151] and to To'oril of the Kereyit he gave the title of 'Ong' (King). It was from Ongging-chingsang's naming (of it) there, that the title 'Ong-qan' originated. Ongging-chingsang said, 'By your joint attack on Megüjin-se'ültü and by killing (him) you have done a very great service for the Altan-qan. I shall report this service of yours to the Altan-qan and let him decide (whether) to add a greater title than this and give to Chinggis Qahan the title of 'Jeu-tau' ('Commissioner of Pacification').' From there Ongging-chingsang returned, rejoicing over this. Chinggis Qahan and the Ong-qan plundered the Tatars (who remained) there, and after sharing (the loot) and taking (their own shares), they (each) returned to their own *yurts* and set up camp (again).

135. While they were plundering the camp at Naratu-shitü'en in which the Tatars had dismounted and barricaded themselves, our soldiers found a small boy who had been abandoned in the camp. He had golden earrings and a nose-ring and he (wore) a waistcoat of (golden) satin lined with sable. They took him back and Chinggis Qahan gave him as a prize of war to Mother Hö'elün. Mother Hö'elün said, 'He must be the son of a noble man, most likely the man's family had good origins.' He became the sixth son, the younger brother of her

[150] Qusutu-shitü'en and Naratu-shitü'en: literally, Sacred Birch (or Birch Spirit) and Sacred Pine. The Shamanistic Mongols also worshipped the spirits of mountains, rivers, trees etc. See B.1: 252.

[151] The first part of this title, Ja'ut, was derived from either *jau* + *t* or from *ja'* + *ut*. Jau was the name of the frontier army of the Chin Dynasty, consisting of Kitans and Tatars stationed in the Khölön Buir area; *-ut* was a Mongolian plural suffix. The second part of the title, Quri, is an OT word meaning a big chief, in charge of several tribes. (For Jau (Jü) see B.1: 305; for Quri see B.13; 166).

five sons. The mother named him Shikiken-quduqu and brought him up.

136. Chinggis Qahan's base camp[152] was at Hariltu Lake. The Jürkin took away the clothing of fifty of those who remained at the base camp and killed ten men. It was reported to Chinggis Qahan that the Jürkin had done this to our people who had remained at the base camp. When he heard this message, Chinggis Qahan was greatly angered and said, 'Why should the Jürkin do such a thing to us? Then we were feasting in the Onon forest they also beat the cook, Shiki'ür, and they also cut Belgütei's shoulder. After agreeing to settle our differences we returned both Qorijin-qatun and Qu'urchin. After that we said we should set out to fight and jointly attack the Tatar, the enemy which in former days destroyed our ancestors and fathers. We waited for the Jürkin for six days but they did not come. Now, drawing close to becoming enemy, they (the Jürkin) have become the enemy?' Saying this, Chinggis Qahan set out against the Jürkin. At that time, the Jürkin were at Dolo'an-bolda'ut on Ködö'e island in the Kelüren river. (Chinggis Qahan) plundered their people and Sacha-beki and Taichu escaped with (only) a few of their men. (Chinggis Qahan) pursued them and, catching them up at the Teletü Pass, captured both Sacha-beki and Taichu. To Sacha-beki and Taichu, Chinggis Qahan said, 'What did we agree on in former days?' Sacha and Taichu both said, 'We did not keep the words that we uttered. Make us keep to our word.'[153] Remembering their words, they stretched out their necks (for his swords). But having made them remember their words and keep them, he suffocated them[154] (instead) and left them on that spot.

137. After suffocating Sacha and Taichu he returned. During the period that he was reorganising the Jürkin people, there were, (staying)

[152] 'Base camp', ie, the centre of operations and source of supplies, personnel etc, during a war. The word, *a'uruq*, may derive from the name of the U'urag river (a tributary of the Gen in the Khölön Buir area), which was the original settlement area of the Mongols before they moved to the west. See B.1: 86. A'urug in the Dawr Mongol dialect means either 'cave' or 'sturgeon'.

[153] These 'words' (*üge*) are actually given in the History, Sacha-beki and Taichu swore allegiance to Chinggis Qahan, agreeing never to forsake him on penalty of death. See Section 123.

[154] The basic meaning of the word translated here as 'suffocating' (*büte'ejü*) which, together with the reference in the previous sentence to Sacha and Taichu 'stretching out their necks', had led some translators to think that Chinggis Qahan beheaded them. However, it was the custom in Mongolia at this time never to shed the blood of nobility at execution. They were tied into a leather sack and either drowned or trampled by horses. Chinggis Qahan shows this honour to Sacha and Taichu. For fuller details see B.1: 161.

with the Jürkin the three sons of Telegetü-bayyan of the Jalayir: Gü'ün-u'a, Chila'un-qayyichi and Jebke.[155] Gü'ün-u'a brought his two sons, Muqali[156] and Buqa, to (Chinggis Qahan) for an audience, saying,

> Let them be the slaves
> At your threshold!
> If they leave your threshold,
> Slash the sinews of their heels!
> Let them be (your) personal slaves
> At your felt-door!
> If they depart from your felt-door,
> Cut out their livers and cast them out!

Saying this he gave (them to him). Chila'un-qayyichi also brought his two sons, Tüngge and Qashi, to Chinggis Qahan for an audience, saying,

> Saying, 'Let them guard
> Your golden threshold!' I give (them to you).
> If they go elsewhere
> From your golden threshold,
> Cut off their lives and cast them out!
> Saying, 'Let them lift
> The wide felt-door for you!' (I give them to you).
> If they go to another place
> From your wide felt-door.
> Kick them in their hearts and cast them out!'

(Chinggis Qahan) gave Jebke to Qasar. From the Jürkin camp Jebke had brought a small boy named Boro'ul and, after having an audience with Mother Hö'elün, he gave him to her.

138. In her own *yurt* Mother Hö'elün brought up these four: the boy named Güchü found in the Merkit camp, the boy named Kökōchü found in the Besüt's camp in the Tayyichi'ut (territory), the boy named Shigiken-qutuqu found in the Tatar camp and the boy named Boro'ul found in the Jürkin camp. Mother Hö'elün brought them up in the *yurt* and thought (to herself)

> If it is not one (of these four), then who will be, 'The seeing eyes of daytime,
> The listening ears of night' for my own sons?

[155] Jebke's name means 'winnowing fan' in the Khorchin dialect, although no explanation is given for this in the History. See B.I.: 297.

[156] Muqali later becomes one of Chinggis Qahan's four marshals, born in 1170 and died in 1223.

139. (This is) how these Jürkin people became (called) Jürkin.[157] Of Qabul-qan's seven sons the eldest was Ökin-barqaq. His son was Sorqatu-jürki. The Jürkin came (about) because (Qabul-qan), saying that (Ökin-barqaq) was the eldest of the sons, chose (for him) from among his own people,

> Those with gall in their liver,
> Those with the ability to shoot far arrows (in their thumbs)[158]
> Those with hearty lungs,
> Those with mouths full of anger,
> Every man
> Who was skilled at wrestling, the strong men.
> These (he) chose and gave (to him).
> They were fierce, men of gall, arrogant and peerless.

Because of this it is said that they (were called) the Jürkin. Chinggis Qahan made such arrogant people submit (to him) and he destroyed the Jürkin clan. Chinggis Qahan made their people, and the tribes (they ruled), his own people.

140. One day Chinggis Qahan said, 'Let us make Büri-bökö and Belgütei wrestle with each other.' (When) Büri-bökö had been with the Jürkin, Büri-bökö had (once), holding Belgütei with one hand and kicking him with one foot, thrown him down and, not letting him move, pressed him (down to the ground). Büri-bökö (had been) the tribe's (best) wrestler there. (So, Chinggis Qahan) made Belgütei and Büri-bökö wrestle together. Büri-bökö – a man never beaten – let himself be thrown. Belgütei, unable to force him down, took him by the shoulders and climbed on his rump.[159] Belgütei looked back out of the corner of his eye. As he caught sight of Chinggis Qahan, the Qahan bit his lower lip. Belgütei understood. He sat astride (Büri-bökö), and, crossing the two (ends of) his collar, he leaned forward and jerked back, putting his knee on his back and breaking it. Büri-bökö, his back broken, said, 'I should not have been beaten by Belgütei, but, being afraid of the Qahan, I fell deliberately; by being irresolute I have reached the end of my life.' So saying, he died. Belgütei, after breaking his back, pulled and dragged him away, then cast him out and left. The eldest of Qabul-qan's seven sons was Ökin-barqaq. The next was Bartan-ba'atur and his son was Yisügei-ba'atur.

[157] Jürkin = Jürgen – See Section 89.

[158] 'The ability to shoot far' (*honchitan*) derives from *'hon'* – 'long shooting distance'. In 1225 there was a long-range shooting contest on the banks of the Onon in which Yesünge, a grandson of Chinggis Qahan, shot an arrow 648 metres. See B.1: 194.

[159] The author or authors of the History here used the term *sa'ari* – the rump or buttocks of a horse or mule – to demean Büri-bökö. See B.1: 232.

The next after him (ie, Bartan-ba'atur) was Qutuqtu-möngler and his son was Büri. He was greater than Bartan-ba'atur's sons at wrestling and became a companion of Barqaq's arrogant sons. Because of this, Büri-bökö, the tribe's best wrestler, had his back broken by Belgütei and died.

141. After this, in the Year of the Cock (1201 AD), the Qadagin and the Salji'ut united, (the Qadagin), having Baqu-chorogi of the Qadagin at their head; (the Salji'ut), having Chirgidai-ba'atur of the Salji'ut at their head; the Dörben having become friendly with the Tatar; (the Dörben) having Qaji'un Beki of the Dörben at their head; (the Tatar) having Jalin-buqa of the Alchi-Tatar of the Tatar at their head; (the Ikires) having Tüge Maqa of the Ikires at their head; (the Onggirat) having Dergek, Emel, Alqui and other Onggirat at their head; (the Qorolas) having Chonaq, Chaqa'an of the Qorolas at their head; from the Naiman Buyiruq Qan of the Güchü'üt-Naiman; Qutu, the son of the Merkit Toqto' a-beki; Quaduqa-beki of the Oyirat; Tarqutai-kiriltuq, Qodun-örcheng and A'uchu-ba'atur of the Tayyichi'ut and other Tayyichi'ut; (all) these separate tribes gathered at Alqui-bulqaq ('Alqui Spring') and decided to raise up the Jajirat Jamuqa as (their) *qa*. Together they cut up and jointed a stallion and a mare and swore brotherhood to one another.[160] From there they moved off down the Ergüne river and, on the wide corner of the peninsula, where the Kan (Gegen) river flows into the Ergüne, there they raised Jamuqa up as 'gür-qa' (ruler of all).[161] After raising him up as *gür-qa*, they discussed setting out against Chinggis Qahan and the Ong-qan. Chinggis Qahan was at that time in the Gürelgü (mountains) and to him Qoridai of the Qorolas sent a message (about) (their) discussion to set out against (him). When this message reached Chinggis Qahan, he sent it to the Ong-qan. On receiving the message, the Ong-qan set his soldiers forth and quickly came to Chinggis Qahan.

142. After causing the Ong-qan to come, Chinggis Qahan and the Ong-qan came together in opposition to Jamuqa. After discussing (how to) set out against him, they set forth down the Kelüren river. Chinggis Qahan sent Altan, Quchar and Daritai, the three of them, off as a vanguard and the Ong-qan sent Senggüm, Jaqa-gambu and

[160] More names: Dergek and Emel are personal names (appearing in section 176 as Terge and Amel; Emel also appears in section 278 as Amal) but they are also the contemporary names for two places in the Khölön Buir area, now known as Terget Hoolai and Amilaat Oboo. (See B.1: 259–60). *Buyiruq* (in Buyiruq Qan) was an official position and also 'order, command' in the Orkhon Turkish dialect. (See B.1: 158). *Qodun* (in Qodun-örcheng) meant 'star', and is used as such (in the plural, *hot*) in Section 183 (see B.1: Turkish – a hunter; ba'atur – hero. See B.1: 86).

[161] Jamuqa became Gür-qan in AD 1201. See B.1: 206–7.

Bilge-beki, the three of them, off as a vanguard. In front of the vanguard they also sent scouts, and put a scout-post at Enegen-güiletü. On the other side of that, at Chekcher they had a scout post put, beyond that, at Chiqurqu, they had (another) scout-post put. Our vanguard, Altan, Quchar, Senggüm and the others, arrived at Utkiya and while they were discussing whether to set up camp (there), a man from the scouts who had been put at Chiqurqu came galloping (up) and delivered a message that the enemy were approaching. After getting this message they did not set up camp but went towards the enemy in order to gather information. After they made contact they gathered information and asked them who they were. (They replied that they were) Jamuqa's vanguard: A'uchu-ba'atur from the Mongqols, Buyiruq-qan of the Naiman, Toqto'a-beki's son Qutu of the Merkit and Quduqa-beki of the Oyirat. These four were serving as Jamuqa's vanguard. Our vanguard shouted at them and they at us. (Our men) shouted, 'It's becoming late. We'll fight tomorrow!' They withdrew, joined up with the main army and spent the night with them.

143. (1202) The next day (the armies) went out and met each other at Köyiten. They lined up face to face. As they forced each other slowly uphill and downhill, deploying their troops (as they went), the same Buriyuq-qan and Quduqa, who knew (how to use) a magic stone (to produce a storm),[162] used the magic stone and created a storm. But the storm turned and came down on top of themselves. Unable to go on, they tumbled down the cliffs. Telling each other that they were not loved by Heaven, they scattered.

144. Buyiruq-qan of the Naiman headed for Uluq-taq ('Big Mountain') on the southern side of (Mt.) Altai, splitting away (from the others). The son of the Merkit Toqto'a, Qutu, headed for the Selengge. Quduqa-beki of the Oyirat struggled to the forest and headed for Shisgis, (while) A'uchu-ba'atur of the Tayyichi'ut headed for the Onon. Jamuqa himself plundered the (very) people who had elected him *qa*. Jamuqa (then) returned, moving downstream along the Ergüne. As they had been scattered like this, the Ong-qan pursued Jamuqa down the Ergüne and Chinggis Qahan pursued the Tayyichi'ut A'uchu-ba'atur towards the Onon. After reaching his people, A'uchu-ba'atur made them flee in panic and get away. On the other side of the Onon A'uchu-ba'atur, Qodon-örcheng and the Tayyichi'ut

[162] The Mongols used these 'magic stones' (*jada*, an Orkhon Turkish word) to produce rains. Some stones were of bezoar, the 'stones' found in the stomachs and intestines of certain animals, especially ruminants. See B.1: 295–6.

organised extra soldiers with square shields[163] (from those who lived) on that side. They told them they would fight and prepared them in ranks. Chinggis Qahan arrived and did battle with the Tayyichi'ut. Repeatedly they exchanged thrusts back and forth until the evening came. On the same spot where they had fought each other they passed the night, squeezed right next to each other. Those people who had fled in panic also arrived at that spot and, setting up a camp with the soldiers, spent the night together with (them).

145. In the fighting, Chinggis Qahan had been wounded in a vein in his neck[164] but, (although) he tried to stop the blood (flowing) he could not, and (this) made him anxious. They let the sun set and there on the spot set up camp right next to each other. Jelme sucked (away) the congealed blood (from Chinggis Qahan's wound) continuously (until) his own mouth was bloodied. Jelme did not trust other people to keep guard (over him) and sat there until the middle of the night, his mouth full of the congealed blood, which he swallowed or spat out. As the middle of the night passed Chinggis Qahan came back to consciousness and said, 'The blood has dried up, but I am thirsty.' At this, Jelme took off all his clothes, his hat and his boots, leaving himself half-naked with only his inner pants. Then he ran into the middle of the enemy, (the two sides) being situated right next to each other. He mounted a cart belonging to the people who had set up camp over there and looked for kumis but was unable to (find any). Those who had fled in panic had released the mares without milking them. Unable to find any kumis, he took from their cart a large (bowl) of fermenting curds[165] and came back carrying it. From setting out to coming back he was not seen by anyone; Heaven must have protected him! Having brought back the fermenting curds, that same Jelme looked for water and, bringing it back, blended it himself with the curds. He made the Qahan drink and rest three times and after (this) the Qahan said, 'My mind and my eyes are clearing'. As he raised himself and sat up, the day broke and it became light. When

[163] 'Extra soldiers with square shields' (*hüle'üd turastan*) is claimed by some scholars to be a mistake for *ülengud turas-tur*, which means 'at Ülengüd Turas' (a place name), although no-one has identified this location. For *turastan* see B.1: 265–6.

[164] 'A vein in his neck' is my translation of *sujiyasu* although the Chinese interlinear translation is 'neck artery'. The abridged Chinese version of the text translates it simply as 'neck'. In the Üjemchin dialect, *sujiyasu* (pronounced *sujaa*) means neck or shoulder muscle (see B.1: 243). In this section, the implication seems to be that the blood was seeping out, rather than gushing forth, and so I have used 'vein', rather than 'artery' or 'muscle'.

[165] Used alone, *büri'etei* (fermenting) means 'covered' and is rendered this way by other translators. However, in conjunction with *taraq* (curds, sour milk) it can only mean 'fermenting'. See B.1: 160.

he looked around (the place) where he was sitting (he saw) that the congealed blood that Jelme had sucked and sucked and spat out had formed a mire all around. On seeing it Chinggis Qahan said, 'What has happened here? Would(n't) it have been (better) if you'd spat further (away)?' At this Jelme said, 'When you were very anxious I was afraid that, if I went (any) further, I might be separated from you. Being in a hurry, I swallowed what I (could) swallow and spat out what I (could) spit out. I was worried and so much went into my stomach.' Chinggis Qahan (then) said, 'Why did you run naked into (the enemy's camp) in spite of the fact that I was like this and prostrate? If you should have been caught, would you not have told them that I was like this?' Jelme replied 'In case I was captured it was in my mind (to say) 'I wanted to give myself up to you, but knowing this they[166] captured me and said they'd kill me. They took off my clothes and were about to take off my inner trousers but hadn't yet (done so) when suddenly I managed to escape and I came to you like this.' Having said this they would have thought me genuine and would have given me clothing and looked after me. Then, when I was mounted on a horse under their very eyes would I not have (escaped and) come (back)? That was the way I was thinking. I said to myself that I wanted to quench the Qahan's thirsting desire, and so, without blinking an eye, I went.' Chinggis Qahan said, 'What can I say now? In earlier days, when the Three Merkit came and encircled (Mt.) Burqan three times, you once saved my life. Now, by sucking the blood as it dried with your mouth, you have opened up my life again. Furthermore, when I was thirsting and anxious you went, endangering your life, to the enemy people without blinking. Satisfying me with drinking you restored my life to me. These, your three services, will stay in my heart.'[167] So he decreed.

146. When day broke (it was found that) the soldiers who had passed the night right next to (our soldiers) had scattered that same night (while) those people who had (also) camped (there), realising that they

[166] That is, Chinggis Qahan's people. Jelme is saying that if he had been caught in the enemy camp he would have pretended that he had intended to change sides and only just managed to escape to them after his 'treachery' was discovered by his own people.

[167] While I have tried to convey the flavour of these 'three services' English is simply not adequate to the task. When the Three Merkit encircled Mt. Burqan Jelme 'took out' (*abchu qarulu'a*) Chinggis Qahan's life, that is, he removed him from danger; when Jelme sucked the congealed blood he 'made empty' (*sengtelbe*) Chinggis Qahan's life, that is, he freed it of the obstruction; finally, when Jelme brought the water and curds he 'entered' (*oro'ulba* – a causative form) Chinggis Qahan's life, that is, he restored that which was missing. Jelme's role on Mt. Burqan is not fully described at the time, see Sections 102–103.

would not be able to get rid of them, had not moved from the camping place. In order to make these fugitive people come back, Chinggis Qahan set out from the place where they had spent the night. As they were going along, bringing the fugitive people back, a woman in red clothing from on top of a ridge was crying in a loud voice, 'Temüjin!' and she wept as she stood. Chinggis Qahan himself heard her and sent a man to ask what man's wife was wailing like that. The man went and when he asked that woman she said, 'I'm Sorqan-shira's daughter; my name is Qada'an.[168] Some soldiers caught my husband here and were about to kill him. As (my) husband was being killed I shouted, cried and wept for Temüjin to save my husband.' The man came back and reported these words to Chinggis Qahan. Hearing these words, Chinggis Qahan came up to Qada'an at a trot. He dismounted and they embraced each other. Our soldiers had already killed her husband (however). After those people had been brought back, Chinggis Qahan set up camp with his main (unit of) soldiers on the same spot and passed the night (there). He summoned Qada'an and had her sit at his side. The next day, Sorqan-shira and Jebe, both of whom had been servants[169] of the Tayyichi'ut also arrived. Chinggis Qahan said to Sorqan-shira,

'You threw aside
Onto the ground,
The heavy wood on my neck.
You had removed
The piled-up wood
On my collar.[170]

Was that not your great service, father and sons? Why (then) are you late (in coming)?' Sorqan-shira said, 'In my heart I said that my trust (in you) was certain, (but) how could I hurry? If I had hurried and if I had come earlier my Tayyichi'ut lords would have made those that I left behind, my wife and children, my herds and my property, blow in the winds (like) ashes. Thinking this I did not hurry, but now we have come to unite with our own Qahan.' After he had finished speaking (Chinggis Qahan) said that (he had been) correct.

147. Again Chinggis Qahan said, 'We were fighting (with the enemy) at Köyiten, forcing each other slowly (around) and deploying our troops when, from the top of that range, an arrow came and broke

[168] See Section 85.
[169] The word *tödöge* in the text is derived from the Orqon Turkish word *tötkön*, meaning 'Prisoners of war'. For details see B21, pp204–5, note 11. This word 'tödöge' has nothing to do with the word 'tödögen' in Section 72.
[170] That is, his cangue. See Section 85.

the nape of the neck of my yellow armoured horse with the white mouth.[171] Who shot it from the mountain top?' To these words Jebe said, 'I shot the arrow from the mountain top. If I should be put to death by the Qahan then on a plot like (the size of) the palm (of a hand) I will be left to rot,[172] but, if I am granted (mercy) then ahead of the Qahan

I will attack for you,
By slashing the deep waters,
By eroding the shining stone.
If you order me to reach a place,
I shall break into pieces the blue stones.
If you order me to invade,
I shall smash into pieces the black stones.
I will attack for you.[173]

Chinggis Qahan said, 'A man who has been an enemy, (when faced with) those he has killed, those he is an enemy towards, hides himself and retracts his word, (for) he is afraid. But, I say, with regard to all this (it is) the contrary (here); (faced with) those he has killed, those his is an enemy towards, he does not deny it. On the contrary, he admits to it. (This) is a man to (have) as a companion. He was named Jirqo'adai, but because he is the one who shot at the nape of the neck of my yellow armoured horse with the white mouth, he shall be named Jebe[174] ('arrowhead') and I shall use him as an arrow.' (So) he was named Jebe and (Chinggis Qahan) decreed that he should walk at his side. This is how Jebe came from the Tayyichi'ut and became a companion (of Chinggis Qahan).

[171] 'The nape of the neck' (*aman-niri'u*) – more specifically, the first cervical vertebra.
[172] Jebe is implying that the plot is very small.
[173] The poem means 'no matter how difficult your orders might be, I shall do whatever you want me to do for you.'
[174] 'Jebe' means 'arrowhead', while *jebelegü*, a related word, means 'armouring'. Thus in some sense, Jirqo'adai by becoming Jebe 'replaces' the war-horse he has killed. Alternatively, he is so named because this is the type of arrow he used to kill the horse and his name will be a reminder to him of his deed and of Chinggis Qahan's mercy. For both *jebe* and *jebelegü* see B.1: 297. Jebe later becomes one of Chinggis Qahan's four great generals.

CHAPTER FIVE

148. Then Chinggis Qahan plundered the Tayyichi'ut. The people of Tayyichi'ut bones – A'uchu-ba'atur, Qotǒn-örcheng, Qudu'udar and others of the Tayyichi'ut, from their seed to their seed – he killed, making them blow (in the wind) like ashes. The people of their nation he brought (with him) and, coming to Quba-qaya, Chinggis Qahan spent the winter there.

149. Old man Shirgü'etü of the Nichügüt-Ba'arin,[175] together with his sons Alaq and Naya'a, (saw) the Tayyichi'ut's lord, Tarqutai-kiriltuq, going into the forests.[176] 'He is an enemy', they said. They captured Tarqutai and, (as) he could not ride on a horse,[177] they made him ride in the cart. While old man Shirgü'etü, together with his sons, Alaq and Naya'a, was coming (back) with the captured Tarqutai-kiriltuq, Tarqutai-kiriltuq's sons and younger brothers came up and drew level (with the party) intending to rescue him. As the sons and younger brothers came up and drew level old man Shirgü'etü sat astride Tarqutai, who was lying on his back, unable to get up. Riding on top of him he took out his knife and said, 'Your sons and younger brothers have come to rescue you. Even if I do not kill you, because (I would) be laying hands on my own Qan, I will be killed because (they will say) that I have laid hands on my own Qan. Even if I do kill you, in the same way I also will be killed. (So), I wish to die, taking you with me for consolation.' Riding astride him, he was on the point of breaking open his throat with his big knife (when) Tarqutai-kiriltuq cried out to his younger brothers and sons with a loud voice saying, 'Shirgü'etü is about to kill me. When he has finished killing what (good) will you do by taking my lifeless body away?

[175] The Nichügüt ('naked, destitute') were a branch of the Ba'arin tribe. (For details, see B.1: 138).

[176] According to the latest information this word '*hoilaju*' in sections 149 and 155, should be read *oilaju*, this in turn may be read *oimaju*; oimaju and thus *hoilaju* mean escaping from (his) group. For details see B.21, p 231 note 2.

[177] He was too fat to ride; hence his nickname, Tarqutai, meaning 'with fat'.

Quickly return before he kills me! Temüjin will not kill me. When Temüjin was small it was said that there was

> Fire in his eyes
> and light in his face,

Because of this I went and saved him when he remained behind in an abandoned camp and brought him back (with me).[178]

> When I taught him,
> He seemed (able) to learn. Because of this
> I taught (him) as though conducting the training
> Of a new colt, two or three years old.
> If I had thought that I wished to kill him,
> Would I not have been able to kill him?
> Now they say that
> His intelligence is coming forth
> And his mind is opening.

Temüjin will not put me to death; you sons and younger brothers of mine, return quickly! I'm afraid Shirgü'etü will kill me!' he shouted with a loud voice. His sons and younger brothers discussed (this) together. 'We came intending to save father's life. (If) Shirgü'etü kills him and finishes his life, what will we do with his lifeless and empty body? He has not yet now killed him, so let us go quickly.' Discussing this they returned. Alaq and Naya'a, old man Shirgü'etü's sons, who had been separated (from him) came and, after they arrived, they (all) set off. As they were going on their way they arrived at Quduqul-nu'u. There Naya'a said, 'If we come to Chinggis Qahan, having captured this Tarqutai, he will think of us that we come having laid hands on our rightful Qan. Chinggis Qahan will say to us, 'How can they be trusted, those who come having laid hands on their rightful Qan? How can they still be our companions, those who are not (worthy of) companionship? Those who lay hands on their rightful Qan should be executed!' Will we not be executed? Better we should release Tarqutai here and send him back. We ourselves will go to Chinggis Qahan saying, 'We have come to serve you'. We will say, 'We captured Tarqutai and were coming (to you with him), but we could not forsake our rightful Qan. How could we kill him? (So) we released him and sent him away (but) we have trust in you and thought to come and offer you our might'. Let us tell (him) this!' The father and sons agreed to these words of Naya'a and at Quduqul-nu'u they released Tarqutai-kiriltuq and sent him away. When old man Shirgü'etü, together with his sons Alaq and Naya'a, arrived, (Chinggis

[178] NO, no reference in other sources.

Qahan) said to them, 'Why have you come?' Old man Shirgü'etü said to Chinggis Qahan, 'We captured Tarqutai-kiriltuq and were coming (to you with him), but after seeing our rightful Qan we asked ourselves 'How can we let him die? We cannot forsake him', (so) we released him and sent him back. We wish to serve Chinggis Qahan and with this intention we have come.' At this, Chinggis Qahan said, 'If you had laid hands on your own Qan, Tarqutai, if you had been those who lay hands on their rightful Qan, I should have executed all of you and your clan. (But) you were unable to forsake your rightful Qan; your heart was right.' He said this and showed favour to Naya'a.[179]

150. After this, Jaqa-gambu of the Kereyit came to Chinggis Qahan, who was at that time at Tersüt, in order to be his companion. As he was coming, the Merkit came to fight with them. Chinggis Qahan, Jaqa-gambu and the others fought with them and made them retreat. There (Jaqa-gambu) made the Tümen-Tübegen and the Olon-Dongqayit, scattered people (of the) Kereyit also come to submit to Chinggis Qahan. Formerly, during the time of Yisügei Qan, the Ong Qahan (sic, Qan) of the Kereyit had lived in harmony with Yisügei Qan and they had decided to swear brotherhood. This is how they had sworn brotherhood: the Ong Qan killed the younger brothers of his own father, Qurchaqus-buyiruq-qan, and because of this, his father's (other) younger brother, Gür Qan and he rebelled against each other and he had to creep into the Qara'un gorge.[180] He left with a hundred men and when he came to Yisügei Qan, Yisügei Qan asked him to come (back with) him. He set out (with) his army on horseback and chased Gür Qan towards Qashin.[181] He took (the Ong Qan's) kinsmen and returned them to the Ong Qan; because of that they swore brotherhood.

151. After that, the Ong Qan's younger brother, Erke-qara, was about to be killed by his elder brother, the Ong Qan, and (so) he escaped and went to submit to Inancha Qan of the Naiman. Inancha Qan sent out his soldiers but the Ong Qan had gone to Gür Qan of the Qara-kidat,[182a] travelling by way of three cities (Tangqut, Uighur, Kitan). From there, having revolted (against Gür Qan) he went,

[179] Chinggis believed that everyone should be loyal only to his master.
[180] Qara'un – '(jet) black'. The Qara'un gorge is located in the area of the Selengge River in the Mongolian People's Republic. (See B.3: 192, n 2).
[181] Qashin was a small kingdom which held dominion from 1038 to 1227. It was also known as Ho-hshi. (For further details, see B.1: 173).
[182a] NO, this is not the same Gür Qan. Jamuqa was elevated to Gür Qan (see section 141).

passing through the cities of the Uyyiqut and the Tangqut. He ate by milking his five goats, tethered together in a line, and by letting the blood of his camels. When he came, suffering, to Lake Güse'ür (1196 AD), Chinggis Qahan, for the reason that (the Ong Qan) had formerly sworn brotherhood with Yisügei Qan, sent Taqai-ba'atur and Sükegei-je'ün (to him) as ambassadors. From the source of the Kelüren, Chinggis Qahan came in person to meet him. Because he came hungry and thin, (Chinggis Qahan) raised levies for him, brought him into the camp and supported him. That winter they set out together and Chinggis Qahan wintered at Quba-qaya.

152. Then the Ong Qan's younger brothers and lords discussed together: 'This Qan, our elder brother, has a poor character; he harbours a stinking liver. He has finished his older and younger brothers, he has also joined with the Qara-kidat and, furthermore, he has made his people suffer. Now, what shall we do with him? Shall we talk of former days? When he was seven years old, the Merkit people captured him and took (him away). They made him wear a jacket of black spotted kidskin, and on the Bu'ura steppe of the Selengge (river) he ground (grain) in the Merkit's mortar. Then his father, Qurchaqus-buyiruq Qan, attacked the Merkit people and came to save his son there. Again, when he was thirteen years old, Ajai Qan of the Tatar captured him, together with his mother and took (him off). This time he was made to look after his (ie Ajai Qan's) camels, but (it seems that) Ajai Qan's shepherd took him and escaped with him. And then, after that, he escaped in fear of the Naiman into the Sarta'ul[183] lands. He went to the Gür Qan of the Qara-kidat on the Chui river (but) before he had passed a year there he rebelled and moved away. He travelled through the lands of the Uiqut and the Tangqut and suffered. He ate by milking his five goats, tethered together in a line, and by letting the blood of his camels. When he was suffering, with only a blind black-maned, black-tailed yellow horse, he came to his son Temüjin, who raised levies for him and supported him. Furthermore, he now forgets what his son Temüjin has done for him and he goes (around), harbouring his stinking liver. What are we going to do (about him)?' They discussed this, and Altun-ashuq secretly reported their discussion to Ong Qan. Altun-ashuq said, 'I too took part in this discussion; however, I cannot

[183] Sarta'ul derives from an OT word, *sart*, which referred to the Muslim peoples living in the cities of Central Asia. The word also referred to the Uighurs or the Uighur traders, or to the Altaic peoples generally. (For details, see B.1: 235). *A'ul* means 'village or settlement' in the Orqon Turkish dialect. For details see B.21: p 238 note 7.

'forsake you, my Qan.' On this, the Ong Qan had the parties to this discussion – El-qutur, Qulbari, Arin-taishi and the others, his younger brothers and his lords – seized; among the younger brothers, (only) Jaqa-gambu escaped. He joined with the Naiman. The Ong Qan put them, in bonds, into his annexed *yurt* and said, 'What did we decide when we were going through the lands of the Uiqut and the Tangqut? (Do you know) what I think of your kind?' and he spat in their faces. He then had their bonds loosened. After they had been spat at by the Qan himself, all the (other) people in the *yurt* stood up and spat on them.

153. After spending that winter (at Quba-qaya), in the autumn of the Year of the Dog (1202), Chinggis Qahan prepared for battle with these Tatars at Dalan-nemürges – the Chaqa'an Tatar, the Alchi Tatar, the Dutaut (Duta'ut) (Tatar) and the Alqui Tatar. Before fighting, Chinggis Qahan discussed the battle orders (in front of his soldiers), 'If we triumph over the enemy we should not stop for the booty. When we have completed the victory, then the booty will be ours, won't it? (Then) we will divide it amongst ourselves. If the enemy makes us retreat, let us return to the place where we began our attack. We shall have those men who do not return to the place where we began our attack executed!' In this way he gave his orders. They fought at Dalan-nemürges and beat the Tatars back. After this victory, they made them reunite with their people on the Ulqui-shilügeljit (river) and (there) they looted them. At that place, the important peoples – the Chaqan Tatar, the Alchi Tatar, the Duta'ut Tatar and the Alqui Tatar – were wiped out. (Although Chinggis Qahan) had discussed the words of his orders, three (men) – Altan, Quchar and Daritai – had not kept these words, (but) had stopped for booty. Saying that they had not kept his words, (Chinggis Qahan) sent both Jebe and Qubilai to confiscate the booty – horseherds and goods, everything – from those who had taken it.

154. After wiping out the Tatar and completely plundering them, Chinggis Qahan (arranged) a major consultation with his own clan, to decide what should be done with their (ie the Tatar's) people. They entered a single *yurt* and consulted with each other. 'From early days the Tatar have destroyed our ancestors and fathers. (We must) gain vengeance for our fathers, seek revenge for our ancestors. Let them be killed! We will measure them against a linchpin and kill off (those who are taller) until they are completely destroyed.[184] The survivors

[184] The Mongols would only kill adults, not children (who would be smaller than the linchpin).

we will make slaves, dividing them among ourselves, some here, some there.' When they were coming out of the *yurt*, after concluding the consultation, Yeke-cheren of the Tatar inquired from Belgütei what kind of consultation they had been having together. Belgütei said, 'We decided to measure all of you against a linchpin and to kill off (those who are taller)'. Yeke-cheren announced these words of Belgütei to his own Tatar people and they built a barricade. Our soldiers surrounded and attacked the barricaded Tatars and sustained great losses. They had a hard time to overcome the Tatars completely, measuring them against a linchpin and killing them off. The Tatars (had) said to themselves, 'Let every man conceal a knife in his sleeve; we will take them with us when we die!' Because of this we also sustained great losses, (but) the Tatars were finally measured against a linchpin and killed off. Then Chinggis Qahan issued a decree: 'Because of Belgütei's divulgence after we had finished the major consultation with our own clan, our soldiers sustained great losses. From now on Belgütei will not enter major consultations (but) will remain outside until the consultation is finished, being in charge of all (there). Having been in charge, let him judge those who have stolen and lied. After the consultation is over, and after we have drunk the ceremonial drink, both Belgütei and Da'aritai may enter.' This is what he decreed.

155. Then Chinggis Qahan took (as a bride) the daughter of the Tatar Yeke-cheren, Yisügen-qatun. Being loved by him, Yisügen-qatun said (to him), 'If the Qahan favours me he will care for me, (whether) he considers me a human being or a beast of burden.[185] But my elder sister, called Yisüi, is better than I – perhaps she would be a more appropriate person for a Qan. Recently a son-in-law came (into our family). Now, where can they have gone in this disorder?' At these words Chinggis Qan said, 'If your elder sister is better than you, let us have her searched for. When you elder sister comes, will you yield (your place) to her?' Yisügen-qatun said, 'If the Qahan favours me, if only I may see my elder sister, then I will yield.' Chinggis Qahan (agreed) to these words and made a decree to have her searched for. Our soldiers encountered her, going into the forests together with the son-in-law that had been given to her. Her husband escaped and then Ysüi-qatun was brought back. After seeing her elder sister, Yisügen-qatun kept the words she had spoken and, getting up, made her sit on the seat where she (ie Yisügen) had been sitting. Then she sat at a lower (level) herself. As she matched Yisügen-qatun's description,

[185] 'beast of burden'. In Mongolian this word, *bodo*, refers to domestic animals, either an ox, horse or camel. The word appears again in the History, see Section 195.

Chinggis Qahan took her into his heart. He took her (in marriage) and made her sit (as an) equal (with his other wives).

156. One day, after having finished plundering the Tatar people, Chinggis Qahan was sitting outside, drinking with others. While he was sitting between Yisüi-qatun and Yisügen-qatun and drinking, Yisüi-qatun sighed deeply. At this Chinggis Qahan thought to himself and summoned Bo'orchu, Muqali and the other lords to come to him. He said (to them), 'You line up all the people who have been gathered together, tribe by tribe, and from your own separate those who belong to other tribes.' This was the decree he issued. When they lined them up, tribe by their own tribe, one good-looking young man stood apart from the other tribes. When they asked him who he was, that man said, 'I am the man who was given as a son-in-law to the daughter of the Tatar Yeke-cheren, named Yisüi. I was afraid of being plundered by the enemy and (so) I escaped and left. Now that (things) have become quiet I thought I could perhaps return. Asking myself how I would be recognised among (so) many people, I came back.' When they reported these words to Chinggis Qahan he issued a decree, 'He still has an enemy way of thinking and he has become a bandit (in his) wandering. Why has he now come looking around? Those like him we measured against a linchpin. What do you expect? Throw him out of my sight!' (So,) they executed him immediately.

157. In that same Year of the Dog, at the time when Chinggis Qahan went to fight the Tatar people, the Ong Qan went to fight the Merkit. He chased Toqto'a-beki towards the Barqujin lowland and killed Toqto'a's eldest son, Tögüs-beki. He took Toqto'a's two girls, Qutuqtai and Cha'alun as his wives and he plundered the two sons, Qutu and Chila'un, together with his (ie Toqto'a-beki's) people. (Yet) he did not give anything to Chinggis Qahan.

158. After that, Chinggis Qahan and the Ong Qan set out to fight against Buyiruq Qan of the Güchügüd Naiman, who was staying at that time at Soqoq-usun[186] by Uluq-taq. When they arrived, Buyiruq Qan could not meet them in battle and he fled from Soqoq-usun over (Mt) Altai. They pursued Buyiruq Qan and, forcing him over Mt Altai, chased him downstream along the Ürünggü (river)[187] at Qum-shinggir ('Sand Hills'). While they were going (in this way) a lord

[186] Soqoq-usun: *soqoq* meant '(bitter) cold' in the OT dialect, while *usu* meant 'river; water' in Mongolian. This particular river is located in the Ulaan-gom area of the western region of the M.P.R. For details, see B.1: 239.

[187] The Ürünggü flows from the western part of the Altai mountain to the southern part of Khovd. See B.1: 132 and B.4: 109 n.1.

named Yedi-tubluq,[188] who was serving as a scout (for Buyiruq Qan) was chased by our scouts. As he escaped across the top of the mountain, his front saddle strap broke and he was captured there. After chasing Buyiruq Qan downstream along the Ürünggü, (Chinggis Qahan and the Ong Qan) caught up with him at Kishil-bashi Lake and there they finished him off.

159. While Chinggis Qahan and the Ong Qan were both returning from there, the warrior Kökse'ü-sabraq[189] of the Naiman deployed his soldiers at the Bayidaraq confluence and prepared to engage them in battle. Chinggis Qahan and the Ong Qan both agreed to fight and deployed their soldiers. (But when) they arrived it was too late (in the day). 'Let us fight tomorrow!' they said, and they spent the night lined up together. The Ong Qan had fires lit there, where he was deployed, (but) during that same night he moved out, upstream along the Qara-se'ül.

160. Jamuqa moved out (from) there together with the Ong Qan and, as they were going along, Jamuqa said to the Ong Qan, 'Since earlier, my sworn brother Temüjin has had emissaries to the Naiman and he has not come with us now. Qan, Qan, I am a lark that stays (with you), (while) my sworn brother is a distant lark.[190] Perhaps he is late (in coming with us) (because) he has gone to the Naiman and joined with them.' At these words of Jamuqa's, Gürin-ba'atur of the Ubchiq said, 'Why is he flattering (the Ong Qan) like this, (thus) slandering and vilifying his honest brother?'

161. Chinggis Qahan spent the same night there in order to fight early the next day. At daybreak, when he looked at the place where the Ong Qan had been deployed (he saw that) it had become empty. 'They've made burnt offerings[191] of us,' he said. Chinggis Qahan moved out from there and crossed the Eder-Altai confluence. He carried on moving and set up camp on the Sa'ari steppe. From then

[188] The name of Yedi-tubluq indicates that he was a man of high status. In the OT dialect, *yedi* meant 'gentleman; lord; god', *tubluq* meant 'landowner' or a man of good social background. See B.1: 309.

[189] The name Kökse'ü-sabraq comes from *köki* in Mongol, meaning 'stimulate' and *sabraq* in OT meaning 'reckless; unstable'. For *köki*, see B.1: 217.

[190] Jamuqa refers to two different birds in this passage, both of them similar to larks. The first is *qayiruqana* – melanocorypha mongolica (see B.1: 176; Tz'u-hai 1979: 4045 Shanghai), while the second is *bildü'ür* – alauda alpestris or otocoris bonaparte, 1838, same type.

[191] The word translated here as 'burnt offerings', *tüleshilen*, derives from *tüleshi* meaning 'firewood'. *Tüleshi* also referred to the sacrifice of food, clothes and silk which were burned as an offering to the dead. See B.1: 272.

on, Chinggis Qahan and Qasar, understanding the (military) situation of the Naiman, did not count them as a people (worth fighting).[192]

162. Pursuing in the wake of the Ong Qan, Kökse'ü-sabraq plundered and took (his son) Senggüm's wife and son, together with his people and his clan. He (also) plundered half of the Ong Qan's people, herds and provisions, which were at the mouth of the Telegetü (Pass), and then returned. During this battle the two sons of the Merkit Toqto'a, Qutu and Chila'un, who had been staying there, departed, taking their own people (with them). They moved off downstream along the Selengge and joined their father.

163. Having been plundered by Köksegü-sabraq, the Ong Qan sent an emissary to Chinggis Qahan. The emissary came and said: 'I have been plundered by the Naiman of my own people and clan, my own wife and sons; I ask you, (my) son, to send your four 'war-horses'.[193] Save my people for me!' (So the Ong Qan) sent. Then Chinggis Qahan prepared his soldiers and sent them (with) his four 'war-horses' – Bo'orchu, Muqali, Boroqul[194] and Chila'un-ba'atur. Before these four 'war-horses' arrived, Senggüm – who had been fighting at Hula'an-qut – was on the point of being captured, his horse having been shot in the thigh by an arrow. (But) the four 'war-horses' arrived and saved him; they restored to him all the peoples, clans, wives and children. Then the Ong Qan said, 'Formerly, his good father restored my people to me that had been completely scattered like this. Now, my son, with the coming of his four 'war-horses', has restored to me my completely scattered people again. Let the protection of Heaven and Earth watch over (how) I repay my debt!'

164. Again, the Ong Qan spoke: 'My sworn brother Yisügei-ba'atur restored my scattered people to me once before. (Now) Temüjin, my son, has restored my departed people to me again. These two, father and son, gathered the scattered people for me and gave them back to me. For whose sake were they gathering, giving and suffering? But now

> I have aged. When, ageing
> I go up on to the heights, I become old.
> Becoming old,

[192] Chinggis did not consider the Naiman worth fighting, because they were such a weak tribe. See Section 190 in which it is said that the Naiman people 'will hide in the mountains'.

[193] These 'war-horses' (*külüg*) are of course men. The word *külüg* (or *külük*) meant 'a good horse; hero; large dog' in the OT dialect. See B.1: 219.

[194] Boroqul later becomes one of Chinggis Qan's four marshals.

When I go up the rocky slopes,
Who will govern the entire people?[195]

My younger brothers have no (strength of) character and Senggüm, the only one and my only son, is like none at all. If I make (my) son Temüjin to be Senggüm's elder brother, (then) there shall be two sons and I will be at ease.' (So) Chinggis Qahan met together with the Ong Qan in the Black Forest of the Tu'ula (River) and they declared themselves to be father and son. This was the reason that they declared themselves father and son: long before, (Temüjin's) father, Yisügei Qan, had sworn brotherhood with the Ong Qan, and for this reason it is said that (the Ong Qan) was like a father. (For these) reasons they declared themselves father and son like this. They (also) spoke of other things: 'When we are riding out against many enemies, let us ride out together with one (goal); when we are hunting wild beasts, let us also hunt together with one (aim)!' So they talked, and again Chinggis Qahan and the Ong Qan said, 'They are jealous of the two of us:

If, by the teeth of a snake
We are stung,
At the time of stinging, let it not enter.
Understanding each other, by teeth, by mouth,
let us trust each other.
If, by the back teeth of a snake,
We are slandered,
Let us not accept its slander.
Understanding each other by mouth, by tongue,
let us trust each other.'

They held these words and (so) they lived together in companionship.

165. 'On top of comradeship, let there be double comradeship!' said Chinggis Qahan and he thought he would like to ask for Senggüm's younger sister, Cha'ur-beki,[196] for (his son) Jochi,[197] in exchange for which he would give our Qojin-beki to Senggüm's son Tusaqa. Then

[195] The images the Ong Qan uses are images of dying (to go up onto the heights etc) and the verbs he uses for ageing (*qa'uchitba*, *qa'uchitchu*) are usually used of inanimate objects, indicating that he sees himself a corpse already.

[196] Although Cha'ur was a personal name, the second part of her name, *beki*, was really a title meaning 'lady; woman; girl' in the OT dialect. At this period the title was used for the daughters of Qans, although after the 15th century it came to be used for the wives of the Qahans. (For further details, see B.1: 311.) As for Qojin-beki mentioned on the next line, Qojin simply means 'princess' in the OT dialect – see B.1: 182.

[197] Jochi was the eldest son of Chinggis Qahan. He was born in 1179 after his mother, Lady Börte, had been recaptured from the Three Merkit (see Section 110). He died in 1225 at the age of 47. (On his death see B.4: 503 n 1.)

Senggüm, who thought greatly of himself, said, 'If (a girl of) our clan goes to them, she will always be standing by the door-fire, looking (to the back) from the front. If a (girl from) his clan comes (to us), she will sit in the back (of the tent) looking towards the door-fire.'[198] Thinking greatly of himself, he looked down on us and said, 'We will not give Cha'ur-beki (to you)!' He did not like (the idea of this marriage). Chinggis Qahan did not like these words and inwardly was disappointed in the Ong Qan and Nilqa-senggüm.[199]

166. Jamuqa realised that (Chinggis Qahan) was disappointed in this way. In the spring of the Year of the Pig (1203) Jamuqa, Altan, Quchar, Qardakid, Ebügejin, Noyakin, Söge'etei, To'oril and Qachi'un-beki, all of these became united as one and moved out (together). They went to Nilqa-senggüm at Berke-elet on the northern side of Jeje'er Heights. (There) Jamuqa spoke slanderously, saying, 'My sworn brother Temüjin (sends) messages and emissaries to Tayang Qan of the Naiman. His mouth is saying "father" and "son", (but) in his heart (the situation) is different. Can you be (so) trusting? If you do not attack him by surprise, what will happen to you? If you ride out against (my) sworn brother Temüjin, I will enter (the battle) from the side.' Altan and Quchar both said, '(These) sons of Mother Hö'elün – for you we will

> Kill the elder brother, and
> Make waste the younger brothers!

(Then) Eb[illegible]gejin, Noyakin and Qarta'at (ie Qardakid) said, 'For you, we will

> Seize his hands, and
> Trip his feet!'

To'oril said, 'Let us find some way to go to Temüjin and take away his people. If his people have been taken and he has no people, what can he do?' (And) Qachi'un-beki said, 'Whatever you are thinking,

[198] Apart from the central hearth-fire (*golumta*) of the Mongol *yurt* there was another fire, called *ala'u* in the OT dialect, located just inside the door and this is the fire that Senggüm refers to. When the subjects of the Qahan presented their tributes to him, a shaman had to pass the tributes over the ala'u (fire) in order to cleanse them of any evil spirits (see B.1: 91–92). What Senggüm is implying is that as the Ong Qan has accepted Chinggis Qahan as his eldest son he will have greater status than Senggüm. Thus a girl from Senggüm's clan would have a very low status in Chinggis Qahan's *yurt*, standing by the door, looking in, not sitting with the Qahan at the back of the *yurt* facing people as they enter. The Ong Qan's act also disinherits Senggüm and thus he is unlikely to be favourably disposed to Chinggis.

[199] The epithet *nilqa* ('junior; tender; new-born') is added to Senggüm's name by the author(s) of the History to indicate his new junior status in relation to Chinggis. See B.1: 137.

Nilqa-senggüm (my) son, I will go to the furthest point, to the bottom of the depths!'

167. After these words had been spoken, Nilqa-senggüm sent word to his father the Ong Qan, through Sayiqan-töde'en about what had been said. When those words were told to him, the Ong Qan said, 'How can you think like this about my son Temüjin? Until now he has been our support; if you ponder wickedness against my son like this, we shall not be loved by Heaven! Jamuqa has a prattling tongue, does he say what is right, what is correct?' He did not like (what Sayiqan-töde'en had said to him) and sent him back. Again Senggüm sent word: 'In spite of the men (I send) with (eloquent) mouths and tongues, why do you not believe me?' Twice and thrice he sent word, (until) tiring, he came in person and said, 'Even (now), when you are (very) much alive (Temüjin) doesn't consider us whatsoever. Truly, Qan and father

> When you are choked by the white,
> When you are gagged by the black,[200]

will he let us govern the people that your father, Qurchaqus-buyiruq Qan, toiled to gather (together)? Who will he let govern them?' To these words the Ong Qan said, 'How can I forsake my child, my son? He has been our support until now, is it right to ponder wickedness (against him)? We shall not be loved by Heaven!' At these words his son Nilqa-senggüm became angry and, throwing aside the felt-door, went out. But the Ong Qan, loving the heart of his own son Senggüm called (to him) and made him come. (Then) he said, 'By Heaven we shall definitely not be loved. How can all of you tell me to forsake my son (ie Temüjin)? (But) you will do what you can and you know this.'

168. (in AD 1203) After this, Senggüm said, 'They asked us for Cha'ur-beki. Now, they will come in order to attend the 'sheep-neck' (ie betrothal) feast,[201] so let us fix a day, call them to come and then capture them.' After he said this, they all said yes, and agreed upon the plan. They sent word (to Chinggis Qahan): 'We will give Cha'ur-beki. Come and attend the betrothal feast!' (So) Chinggis Qahan, having been summoned, came with ten men. (But), on the way, when

[200] The 'white' refers to milk, and to liquids generally, the 'black' refers to meat and to solids generally. Senggüm is asking his father if he thinks Chinggis will leave the Ong Qan's subject people in peace once the Ong Qan has become old and feeble, so old that his food chokes him.

[201] The 'sheep-neck feast' (*bu'uljar*) was so called because it was hoped that the ensuing marriage should be as 'tough' (ie durable) as a sheep's neck. See B.3: 214 n 1.

he was spending the night in Father Mönglik's *yurt*, Father Mönglik said (to him), 'When (before) we asked for Cha'ur-beki, these very (people) looked down on us and did not give (her). Now why, for no apparent reason, have they summoned you to eat at the betrothal feast? These people think greatly of themselves, (so) why have they summoned you, saying for no apparent reason that they wish to give (the girl)? Is what they think correct or true? (My) son, you must consider your movements (carefully). Send them an excuse, saying that spring is coming, our (horse) herds are getting thin and that we must feed our herds.' Chinggis Qahan did not go, but sent Buqatai and Kiratai to the betrothal feast, telling them to eat; he (then) returned from Father Mönglik's *yurt*. Upon the arrival of Buqatai and Kiratai, (Senggüm and the others) said to each other, 'We have been discovered! Early tomorrow we will surround and capture them!'

169. So, they talked about surrounding and capturing them like this and agreed upon it. When Altan's younger brother, Yeke-cheren, came (back) to his *yurt* he said, 'We have decided to capture Temüjin early tomorrow. If someone were to go to Temüjin and deliver this message, I wonder what would happen to him?' (As) he was talking in this way to his wife, Alaq-it,[202], she said, 'What will become of your foolish words? I'm afraid people will think that it's true!' While they were talking in this way, his (ie Yeke-cheren's) herdsman, Badai, came to deliver the milk. He (over)heard their words and returned. Badai went to his companion, the herdsman Kishiliq, and told him what had been said. Kishiliq said, 'I'm also going to find out.' He went to the *yurt* (where) (Yeke-)cheren's son Narin-ke'en was sitting outside. He sat sharpening his arrows and saying, '(Remember) what we said just now? Our tongues should be taken out, (for) whose mouth can we stop (from speaking about it)?' After he had spoken like this, Narin-ke'en then said to his herdsman Kishiliq, 'Capture and bring the white Merkit horse and the bay with the white muzzle and tether them ready. Tomorrow, early (in the morning around 2 am) we are going to ride out (to attack)'. Kishiliq went to Badai and said, 'Just now I checked your words, and it's true! Now, the two of us (must) go and deliver the message to Temüjin.' They agreed on what had been said together and, capturing the white Merkit (horse) and the bay with the white muzzle, they came (back) and tethered them ready. Late that same night they killed one of their lambs in their travelling-tent and cooked it (with wood broken) from the bed. (Then), riding on the white Merkit (horse) and the bay with the white

[202] Although a personal name, Alaq-it is a compound of the Mongol *alaq* – 'spotted' and the OT *it* – 'dog'.

muzzle that were tethered ready, they went off in the night. They arrived at Chinggis Qahan('s camp) in the night and from the back of the *yurt*[203] Badai and Kishiliq told to him all that had been said by Yeke-cheren and what his son, Narin-ke'en, had said while sitting and sharpening his arrows – (how) he had told them to capture the white Merkit (horse) and the bay with the white muzzle and to tether them ready. Then Badai and Kishiliq said, 'If Chinggis Qahan favours us, he will not doubt (us); they have agreed to surround and capture (you).'

[203] For this practice of reporting from the back of the *yurt* see sections 229 and 278. Chinggis Qahan would have been at the back of the *yurt* (on the inside) and therefore separated from Badai and Kishiliq by only the thin felt wall. However, he would retain a degree of security and privacy. In Mongolia today people still talk through the walls of the *yurt* – for example, boys wishing to talk to girls.

CHAPTER SIX

170. After being told this, Chinggis Qahan believed the words of Badai and Kishiliq. The same night he gave the message to those at his side that he trusted; (in order to) lighten themselves, they shed their belongings and they moved out and retreated the same night. They went along by the northern side of the Mau ('evil') Heights[204] and (Chinggis Qahan) made Jelme-go'a of the Uriangqad(ai) whom he trusted, stay behind on the north side of the Mau Heights as a rearguard. (Then) he posted scouts and moved on. They carried on travelling, and the next day, arriving at Qalaqaljit Sands, they stopped for rest and refreshment (from) noon (until) the sun (began) to drop.[205] While they were resting, Alchidai had the herders Chigidei and Yadir take his geldings to the spots of new grass. While they were going, herding his geldings, they saw the dust of the enemy coming, travelling through Hula'an-buruqat on the southern side of the Mau Heights. 'The enemy's coming!'[206] they said, and they came (back) driving their geldings. (Chinggis Qahan) was told that the enemy was coming, and, when he looked (and saw) them raising the dust (as) they travelled through Hula'an-buruqat ('Red Bushes') on the southern side of the Mau Heights, he said, 'that is the Ong Qan who is coming, pursuing (us).' After seeing the dust, Chinggis Qahan had the geldings brought in and loaded up. (Then) they rode off. If (the herdsmen) had not seen so much then a surprise attack would have happened. While this was going on, Jamuqa was travelling, coming together with the Ong Qan. The Ong Qan asked Jamuqa then, 'Who are the most likely fighters with (my) son Temüjin?' Jamuqa said, 'There are those people

[204] This mountain lies about ten miles south-west of the town of Manchuli (Manjuur in Mongolian) in China. The mountain is called Qan Mountain today. For details see B.4: 123; see also the map in *ibid*: 120. See also bibliography no 20. p 263 which shows the location of the mountain to the SE of Buyur lake.

[205] The time of day indicated is about 3.00 pm or late afternoon. (The word used, *kebeli'ürün*, derives from *kebeli* or *kelbei*, meaning 'awry, slanting'. See B.1: 210).

[206] The Ong Qan would have arrived after travelling a distance of some thirty miles. For details, see B.4: 124–5; for a map, see *ibid*: 120.

known as the Uru'ut and Mangqut who are his. Those people of his will surely fight, (for)

> Every time they turn around,
> Their battle order matches.
> Every time they turn about,
> Their skill matches.

From childhood, those people are used to swords and spears, and having white and multi-coloured banners. They are inferior[207] people'. To these words the Ong Qan said, 'If it is so, we must make Qadag, the Jirgin warrior, meet them. The Jirgin warriors shall attack and (then) Achiq-shirun[208] of the Tümen-Tübegen shall attack as the rearguard of the Jirgin. The Olon-dongqayit warriors shall attack as the Tübegens' rearguard and then let Qori-shilemün-taishi, commanding the thousand sentries (bodyguards) of the Ong Qan, attack as the Dongqayits' rearguard! Then, as the rearguard of the thousand sentries, we the main core of the army will attack.' And again the Ong Qan said, 'Younger brother Jamuqa, you set our soldiers in order'. At these words Jamuqa (found) himself standing apart and (so) he went to his companions and said, 'The Ong Qan told me to set (his) soldiers in order. I can never defeat my sworn brother; yet the Ong Qan told me to set these soldiers in order (for) he is worse than I.[209] He is a short-term companion. Let me send a message to (my) sworn brother telling (him) to be steadfast.' Jamuqa secretly sent a message through to Chinggis Qahan, saying, 'The Ong Qan asked me, "Who are the most likely fighters with my son Temüjin?" When he asked this I said, "I would place the Uru'ut and the Mangqut first." At these words they placed their own Kirgin first as a vanguard and decided to order Achiq-shirun of the Tümen-Tübegen (to be) the Kirgins' rearguards. They decided on the Olon-dongqayit as the Tübegens' rearguard and they decided on the Ong Qan's thousand sentries (commanded by) Lord Qori-shilemün, as the Dongqayits' rearguard. Then they decided to deploy the main core of the Ong Qan's soldiers as his (ie, Qori-shilemün's) rearguard. Then the Ong Qan said, 'Younger brother Jamuqa, you set these soldiers in order', and he said that he relied on me. By this I realised that he was only a short-term

[207] The word in the text has been transcribed as serelten meaning 'those to be wary of'. However it should be read as saraltan, meaning 'lower-class people'. For details see B21: p 270 note 23. See also p 867 of the *Mongol-Chinese Dictionary*, published by the Inner Mongolian People's Publishing House, Khökh Khot, 1977.

[208] Achiq-shirun: a personal name, but in OT *achiq* meant 'full of anger', while *shirün* in Mongolian meant 'stern; violent'. See B.1: 97.

[209] That is, the Ong Qan – in Jamuqa's opinion – is less capable of commanding soldiers than Jamuqa himself.

companion. How can I set his soldiers in battle order? I will never fight against my sworn brother, (but) the Ong Qan is worse than I. Do not fear (my sworn) brother; be steadfast!'

171. After this message had come, Chinggis Qahan said, 'What do you say, Uncle Jürchedei of the Uru'ut? I'll make you the vanguard.' Before Jürchedei could make a sound, Quyildar-sechen of the Mangqut said, 'I want to fight in front of (my) sworn brother. I leave it to (my) sworn brother to take care of my orphaned children later on.' Jürchedei said, 'We Uru'ut and Mangqut wish to fight as a vanguard in front of Chinggis Qahan.' Speaking like this, Jürchedei and Quyildar set their own Uru'ut and Mangqut (soldiers) in order and lined them up in front of Chinggis Qahan. As soon as they had lined up, the enemy's Jirgin, who were their vanguard, arrived and approached them. When they came, the Uru'ut and Mangqut counter-attacked and crushed the Jirgin. While they were crushing them, Achiq-shirun of the Tümen-tübegen attacked them. In attacking, Achiq-shirun pierced Quyildar and brought him off his horse. The Mangqut turned back and (stood) over Quyildar. Jürchedei attacked with his Uru'ut (soldiers) and crushed the Tümen-tübegen. While he was moving and crushing them, the Olon-dongqayit came up and counter-attacked, (but) Jürchedei crushed the Dongqayit as well. While he was moving on, crushing them, Qori-shilemün-taisi attacked with his one thousand bodyguards. Again, Jürchedei forced Qori-shilemün-taisai back and crushed him. As he was coming forward, Senggüm, without consulting the Ong Qan, began to counter-attack, (but) he was shot in the cheek[210] by an arrow and he fell on that spot. (As) Senggüm had fallen, all the Kereyit turned back and stood over Senggüm. (So we) crushed them, and as the setting sun touched the top of the low hills our (soldiers) turned back. They returned, taking Quyildar who had fallen wounded. Chinggis Qahan and our (soldiers) left the Ong Qan and the place where they had been fighting and moved away to spend the night apart.

172. They spent the night standing (ready) but, when they took a roll-call at day-break, they (found that) Öködei (ie, Ögödei), Boroqul and Bo'orchu were not (there). Chinggis Qahan said, 'The trusted Bo'orchu and Boroqul have both remained behind with Öködei. Whether living or dying, how can they separate themselves?' In the

[210] The Chinese interlinear note says 'red cheek' rather than just 'cheek'. In Mongol the compound *enggesge qachar* simply meant 'cheek'. To the Chinese, however, the rosy cheeks of the Mongols were one of their distinguishing features. Today, *enggesge* means 'rouge' and some have tried to claim that Senggüm (and men generally at this period) wore rouge, although there is no evidence for this.

night, our (soldiers) brought our geldings (in readiness) to spend the night. Chinggis Qahan said, 'If they come to pursue us from behind, let us fight!' (So) he ordered and the (soldiers) stood (ready). When the day broke, we looked (and saw) one man approaching from behind. When he arrived, it (turned out) to be Bo'orchu! After Bo'orchu had arrived, Chinggis Qahan said, 'Let Eternal Heaven (almighty spirits) be in charge (of our destiny),' and he beat his breast. Bo'orchu said, 'While we were attacking, my horse fell, after being shot by an arrow, and I ran on foot. As I was going, those very Kereyit turned back and stood over Senggüm. During this gap in the fighting I (found) a laden horse. The load had slipped and the (horse) was (just) standing there. Cutting off its load, I mounted the pack saddle and set off. I tracked and found the traces where our (soldiers) had left (the battlefield) and now I have come.'

173. Then, soon afterwards, another man approached. As he came up, there (seemed) to be feet dangling under him, (yet) when they looked it seemed like only one person. When he finally reached them, (it turned out to be) Boroqul, who was riding behind Öködei. As he drew up, there was blood trickling from the corners of his mouth. Öködei had been hit in a neck vein by an arrow. With his mouth, Boroqul had sucked his congealed blood and had let the obstructing blood trickle from the corners of his mouth (as) they came. After seeing them, Chinggis Qahan let the tears run from his eyes and he suffered in his heart. He quickly had a fire made and (the wound) cauterised. (Then) he had them look for a drink for Öködei and gave it to him. 'If the enemy comes, we will fight!' he said. Boroqul said, 'The enemy's dust(-trail) is over there, (heading) towards Hula'an-buruqat by the southern side of the Mau Heights. Coming out in a long (trail) the dust has gone over there.' To these words (of) Boroqul, (Chinggis Qahan) said, 'If they come, we will fight; if they make us retreat and move back, we will put our soldiers in order and then we will fight!' He said this and they moved out. They continued (on their way) travelling upstream along the Ulqui-shilügeljit (until) they came to Dalan-nemürges.

174. After this, Qada'an-daldurqan left his wife and children and came (to Chinggis Qahan). When he came, Qada'an-daldurqan reported the words of the Ong Qan, saying, 'As the Ong Qan's son Senggüm had fallen, being shot in the cheek with an 'uchuma'[211] arrow, they turned back and (stood) over him. Then (the Ong Qan) said,

[211] An *uchuma* arrow was also called an 'agjim'. This had a round tip and a short shaft and contained no iron or steel elements within it. See B.21: p 277 note 3.

'Should you have stirred (things) like
Those that you did stir? And
Should you have touched (things) like
Those that you touched?
Alas! They have caused a nail
to be driven into my son's cheek![212]

My son's life is suffering – let us attack!' When he said this, Achiq-shirun said to him, 'Qan, Qan, do not do this! When we were seeking the hidden son to be (ie, Senggüm) we made magical flags and said, *"abui!" "babui!"* ('dearest!' 'dearest!')[213] So we prayed and searched. Let us take care of Senggüm, the son who was born (as a result). The majority of the Mongqols, with Jamuqa and with Altan and Quchar are in our (camp). These Mongqols who rebelled against us and went with Temüjin, where can they go? They have become

Riders with (only) horses
Shelterers with (only) trees.

If they don't come, we will go and bring them back, putting them like dried horse-dung in our gathered-up skirts.' To these words of Achiq-shirun, the Ong Qan said, 'That is the case; my son must not suffer. Look after my son and do not shake him (when we travel).' (Then) he left and returned from the place where they had fought.' So said Qada'an-daldurqan.

175. After that, Chinggis Qahan moved from Dalan-nemürges, (going) downstream along the Qalqa where he counted his numbers (of soldiers). When they had counted, there were two thousand six hundred (men). With one thousand three hundred, Chinggis Qahan set off along the Qalqa's western bank. One thousand three hundred men set off along the Qalqa's eastern bank (led by) the Uru'ut and the Mangqut. While they were travelling along like this, they hunted for provisions as they went. Quyildar, whose wound had not yet healed, had been warned by Chinggis Qahan, but he did not heed it and went to attack the wild beasts. He had a relapse and died. Chinggis

[212] The poem means that they should not have made trouble out of nothing!

[213] 'The hidden son': that is, the Ong Qan desired a son and finally resorted to magical practices to obtain one. Although we do not know exactly what was done with the 'magical flags' mentioned in this passage, there was a common shamanistic ceremony to bring good fortune or avert calamity in which a rope was tied between two trees and twenty strips of cloth attached to it, each painted with an image of a cow or other livestock. (See B.1: 291–2). The words they cried (*abui, babui*) have various meanings, including 'Pa! Ma!' (ie, the informal address of parents) and 'dearest!'. Here, on the assumption that they are addressed to the longed-for son, I have chosen the latter. (For further details, see B.1: 88-9.)

Qahan put (ie, buried) his body there on the Keltegei ('Tilted') Cliffs at Ör-nu'u[214] on the Qalqa.

176. Chinggis Qahan, knowing that Terge, Emel and others of the Onggirat were staying at the end of the Qalqa where it flows into Lake Buyur, sent Jürchedei and his Uru'ut (soldiers) off to them, saying, 'From early days, the Onggirat people (have relied)

> On the complexions of their sisters' daughters,
> On the colour of their daughters' (cheeks).

If it is said (thus), (then) they will submit (to us) but if they say that they are against us, then we will fight with them.' He sent Jürchedei off and the (Onggirat) submitted to him. (Because) they had submitted, Chinggis Qahan did not touch anything of theirs.

177. Then, having made the Onggirat submit to him, Chinggis Qahan went and set up camp on the eastern (side) of the Tüngge (sic) stream. He gave Arqai-qasar and Sügegei-je'ün a message: 'Tell the Qan my father this: "I have set up camp on the eastern (side) of the Tüngge stream and, because the grass is good, our geldings are getting strong."' And he said, 'Qan my father, for what grudge do you reprimand me? If you (wish) to reprimand us, why did you not reprimand your humble son and humble daughter-in-law (after) they had satisfied themselves with sleep? We are staying here in peace and (yet) you make the bed lower, you disrupt the (flow) of the smoke (from the hearth-fire) as it rises upwards. Why do you reprimand us like this?[215]. Qan my father.

> By a (certain) man from the side,
> You have been needled.
> By a (certain) man cutting across,
> You have been provoked.

What have we agreed upon Qan (my) father? At Hula'anu'ut-bolda'ut, by Jorqal-qun, did we not say to each other (that)

> If, by the teeth of a snake
> We are stung,

[214] Ör-nu'u meant 'central curved shore' (*ör* – the pit of the stomach: the heart, *nu'u* – a dry bank left by the curve of a river). Ör-nu'u was located on the west bank of the Khalkh (Qalqa) River. See B.1: 127.

[215] Chinggis Qahan is rebuking the Ong Qan for the manner of his reprimand. He says that, being unaware of the cause of the Ong Qan's grievance, the matter should have been settled amicably, after – for example – they had slept properly. 'To make the bed lower' means to cut down someone's social status, to degrade. The hearth-fire stands for the family and the smoke rising from it, the security and continuity of the family.

At the time of stinging, let it not enter.
Understanding each other, by teeth, by mouth,
let us trust each other.

Did we not agree on this? Now, Qan my father, as you left, we understood each other by teeth and by mouth.

If, by the back teeth of a snake,
We are slandered,
Let us not accept its slander.
Understanding each other by mouth, by tongue,
let us trust each other.

Did we not agree (on this) together? Now, Qan my father, as you departed, we understood each other by teeth and by mouth. Although I am few (ie, have few men) I did not cause you to find many (others) (for me). Although I am humble, I did not cause you to find greater (ones) (for me). If, on a two-shaft cart, the second shaft breaks, the ox cannot pull it. Like that, was I not your second shaft? If, on a two-wheeled cart, the second wheel breaks, it cannot move. Like that, was I not your second wheel? To talk of early days: after your own father, Qurchaqus-buyiruq Qan, saying that you were the eldest of his forty sons, they made you Qan. (Yet) after becoming Qan, you killed your younger brothers Tai-temür-taishi and Buqa-temür. At the time of the killing, your younger brother Erke-qara escaped (with) his life and left. He withdrew and submitted to Inancha-bilge of the Naiman! Saying that you had become the killer of your younger brothers, your uncle, Gür Qan, rode out against you. When he came, you escaped (with) your life and retreated down the Selengge (river) (with) a hundred men. To avoid (them) you (and your men) crept into the Qara'un pass. Then, from there you went out and to Toqto'a of the Merkit you gave your daughter, Huja'ur-üjin as a 'face'.[216] When you said, 'Rescue my people from my uncle, Gür Qan, for me, Yisügei Qan my father, being made to come by you like that, wished to rescue your people for you, and, putting his soldiers in order, went leading Qunan and Baqaji from the Tayyichi'ut in order to (do so). He pursued Gür Qan, who was at Qurban-telesüt ('Three Grasses')[217] with twenty or thirty people, towards Qashin and he rescued your people for you. From there you came, and at Qara-tün ('Black Forest') on the Tu'ula (river) you, Qan my father, became the sworn brother of Yisügei Qan. Then you, the Ong Qan my father, gratefully said,

[216] '. . . gave your daughter . . . as a "face"' (*ni'urqan*). That is, to curry favour, to ingratiate oneself. (Note, however, that some translators favour the alternative, 'to gain prestige'.)

[217] The grass (*telesü* or *deresü*) is *lasiagrostis splendens* – broom or feather grass, although here it is part of a place name. It appears again (as a plant broom-grass not a place name) in Section 249 (Chapter 11). (See B.1: 261.)

'This service of your favour – I will repay your favour to your children's children. Let the protection of Heaven above and the Earth decide (our destiny)!' So you said, and you were grateful. After that, Erge-qara requested soldiers from Inancha-bilge of the Naiman and rode out against you. When he came, you escaped (with) your life, but you abandoned your people. Escaping with (only a) few men you departed and went to Gür Qan of the Qara-kidat on the Chui river in the Sarta'ul lands. But before one year had passed you rebelled against Gür Qan and again you went away. You travelled through the lands of the Uiqut and the Tangqut and suffered. You ate by milking your five goats, tethered together in a line, and by letting the blood of your camels. You came (to me) with only a blind, black-maned black-tailed yellow horse. Qan my father, when you came, suffering like that, I remembered that formerly you and Yisügei Qan my father had agreed to swear brotherhood. Because I remembered this I sent Taqai and Sükegei as emissaries to meet you. I myself also went from Bürgi bank on the Kelüren to welcome you and we met together at Güse'ür Lake. Realising that you came suffering, I raised levies for you and gave them to you. Because formerly you had sworn brotherhood with my father, we two agreed to become father and son in the Black Forest on the Tu'ula. Was that not the reason? That winter I brought you into my camp and supported you. We passed the winter and the summer and (then), in the autumn, I rode out against Toqto'a-beki of the Merkit people, fighting with him at Mürüche-se'ül by Qadiqliq-niru'un ('Stronghold Ridge'). I pursued Toqto'a-beki towards the Barqujin lowlands and I plundered the Merkit people. I took their many herds, their palace *yurts* and their grain – all of it – and gave it to you, Qan (my) father. I did not let you hunger for half a day, I did not let you become thin in half a month. Then, we made Buyiruq Qan of the Göchügür cross the Altai from Soqoq-usun (river) at Uluq-taq. We pursued him down the Ürünggü and, after coming to Kichil-bash Lake, finished him off. From there we returned and, as we were coming, Kökse'ü-sabraq of the Naiman deployed his soldiers at Baidaraq-belchir. But, when we (came) to fight, it was late evening and we said, 'Let us fight tomorrow morning!' (Then), when we were spending the night in battle (formation) you, Qan my father, had fires burned at the place where you had deployed your soldiers and in the night you moved upstream along the Qara-se'ül (river). When we looked the next morning, you were not in your place of deployment, you had moved. 'They've made burnt offerings of us!' I said and I also moved. Crossing the Eder-Altai confluence, I came and set up camp in the Sa'ari steppe. Then Kökse'ü-sabraq chased you, and took Senggüm's wife and

children, his people and clan – everything. He (also) went and plundered half your people, your herds and your provisions, which were at Telegetü pass. The sons of Toqto'a the Merkit, Qudu and Chila'un with their people and their clan were there with you, (but) during that fighting they turned their backs on you and moved out, going to join their father at Barqujin. Then, Qan my father, you sent (a message) saying, 'By Kökse'ü-sabraq of the Naiman my own people and clan have been plundered. (My) son, send for me your own four 'war horses'. Not thinking (in the way) you do, I then sent these my four 'war horses' – Bo'orchu, Muqali, Boroqul and Chila'un-ba'atur – and put my soldiers in order. Before these, my four 'war horses', came, Senggüm had been fighting at Hula'an-qut. His horse had been shot in the flank by an arrow and he was (about) to be captured. Just at that time these, my four 'war horses', arrived and, after rescuing Senggüm, they rescued (your) wife and sons, your people and clan – all of them. Then, when they had given them to you, Qan my father, you gratefully said, 'By sending his four "war horses" my own son Temüjin has saved my own scattered people for me.' Now, Qan my father, for what fault do you reprimand me? (I ask you to) send me emissaries with the reason for this reprimand. When you send them, send Qulbari-quri and Idürgen, (or) if not, send (at least) the latter.'

178. To these words, the Ong Qan said, 'Oh! my poor son; am I to separate (from him)? (Then) I shall separate from the principle. Am I to part (from him)? (Then) I shall part from the task.'[218] His heart suffered and he said, 'Now, if, when I see my son, I think badly (of him), like this let my blood be shed.' Taking this oath he pierced his little finger along the inner side with his arrow-trimming knife and, letting the blood flow, poured it into a small birch-bark container.[219] 'Give (this) to my son,' he said, and sent it.

179. Chinggis Qahan also sent (someone) to tell (his) sworn brother Jamuqa this: '(Because) you are tired of seeing me, you have made me part from my father the Qan. The first (of us) to get up used to drink from our father the Qan's blue cup.[220] (As) I got up first, it

[218] The 'principle' that the Ong Qan refers to is the principle of loyalty: the 'task' is the common aim of empire building in which he and Chinggis Qahan were engaged.

[219] Birch-bark containers (*daqtai*) like this were filled with dairy products and used as offerings in shamanistic ceremonies (see B.1: 275). By pouring his blood into one, the Ong Qan is swearing an oath of loyalty.

[220] It is not clear what this cup (*chung*) might be made of, though it is clearly for drinking. In the OT dialect, *chung* was a large wooden vessel, though for feasts the Mongolian nobles used containers or cups of leather, clay and wood, and gold or silver cups for wine. See B.1: 318. Whatever, Chinggis Qahan is implying that to drink from the Ong Qan's cup was a privilege.

used to be drunk by me and you were jealous. Now you can finish the blue cup of (my) father, the Qan. You can consume so much!' Then, Chinggis Qahan sent (someone) to tell Altan and Quchar this: 'You two have forsaken me; did you intend to abandon me openly? Or did you intend to abandon me secretly? Quchar, when I said that you, the recognised son of Nekün-taishi, should become Qan, you were not willing. Altan, when I said that you should become Qan and govern as your father, Qutula Qan, governed, you also were not willing. And when I said, 'Sacha and Taichu, because you are above us (a generation), the sons of Bartan-ba'atur, you both should become Qans', I was unable to (persuade them). I said that all of you should become Qans (but) I was unable to (persuade you). (Then) you said, 'You become Qan' and, having been told, I governed. If you had become Qans I would have ridden out as a scout against many enemies. If, protected by Heaven, I plundered the men of the enemy.

Maidens, ladies and women with beautiful cheeks and
Geldings with fine rumps I would have brought at that time and given them to you.
The wily beasts, I would have
Had them rounded up,
The beasts of the rocks,
Squeezing their forelegs together, I would have done this for you.
The beasts of the cliff-foot,
Squeezing their thighs together, I would have done (this) for you.
The beasts of the steppe,
Squeezing their bellies together, I would have done (this) for you.

Now, to the Qan my father, be good companions! Will it be said that you are easily tired (of people)? Do not let it be said that you are (what you are) only with the Cha'ut-quri's[221] (ie, Chinggis Qahan's) support. And do not allow anyone to set up camp at the source of the Three Rivers.[222]

180. Chinggis Qahan also (sent) (someone) to tell this to younger brother To'oril, saying, 'The reason I say "younger brother" (is this): Tumbinai and Charaqa-lingqu came with a slave, Oqda, they had captured.[223] The slave Oqda's son was the slave Sübegei; the slave Sübegei's son was Kököchü-kirsa'an; Kököchü-kirsa'an's son was

[221] Why should Chinggis refer to himself here as the Cha'ut (ie, Ja'ut) -quri, a title bestowed on him in Section 134. Possibly it is ironic, given that he is objecting to the way Altan and Quchar are using his name (claiming that he has supported them).

[222] The 'Three Rivers' referred to are the Kelüren, the Tu'ula and the Onon.

[223] Tumbinai and Charaqa-lingqu: see Sections 47 and 48.

Yegei-qongtaqar. You, To'oril are Yegei-qongtaqar's son. You go around, flattering (the Ong Qan), (yet) whose peoples do you say you will give (to him)? My people, and Altan and Quchar both, will not be governed by anyone. The reason I say 'younger brother' (is that you are)

My great-great-grandfather's
Threshold slave, and
My great-grandfather's
Personal door slave.

This is my message that I am sending.'

181. Chinggis Qahan also (sent) (someone) to tell this to his sworn brother Senggüm, saying, 'I was the son born with clothes,[224] you were the son born naked, (yet) our father the Qan looked after us both equally. (But), sworn brother Senggüm, you were jealous of me, (fearing) that I would come between (you and the Ong Qan) and (so) you drove me out. Now, do not worry the heart of our father the Qan; in the evening and morning, as you go out and come in, keep comforting him. You have not given up your old intentions – while the Qan (our) father is still alive, you intend to become Qan! You are worrying the heart of our father the Qan. I say that you should not pain him! Send emissaries to me, (my) sworn brother Senggüm. When you send them, send the two companions Bilge-beki and Tödö'en.' And he sent (another message) saying, 'When you send (your) emissaries to me, (our) father the Qan should send two emissaries; (you), sworn brother Senggüm, should also send two emissaries; (my) sworn brother Jamuqa should also send two emissaries; Altan should also send two emissaries; Quchar should also send two emissaries; Achig-shirun should also send two emissaries and Qachi'un should also send two emissaries.' He sent these words through the mouths of Arqai-qasar and Sügegei-je'ün. When these words were repeated like this, Senggüm said, 'When did he (ever) say "Qan the father"? Would he not say "The old slaughterer"? and when did he (ever) say "sworn brother" to me? Didn't he say that (I am) always sticking to the tail of "Toqto'a the Shaman's Sartaqchin sheep"?[225] I understand his tricks through his words – (these) are the first words of fighting! Bilge-beki and Tödö'en, hoist the fighting banner and fatten the geldings. Don't hesitate!' Then, Arqai-qasar returned from the Ong Qan, (but), at that time Sügegei-je'ün's wife

[224] Chinggis was an adopted child.
[225] It means Senggüm wants to take over shamelessly his father – Ong Qan's position, which is however, beyond his capacity. See also B.11: p 110, note 51.

and children were with To'oril and he was afraid to go, (so) Sügegei-je'ün remained behind (and separated) from Arqai. When Arqai came, he repeated these (Senggüm's) words to Chinggis Qahan.

182. Soon afterwards, Chinggis Qahan left and set up camp at Baljuna Lake.[226] Just there, while they were setting up camp, they met the Qorulas of Cho'os-chaqan. These Qorulas submitted (to them) without fighting. From Alaqush-digit-quri of the Önggüt,[227] the Sartaq (ie, Muslim) Asan came, (with) a white camel and driving a thousand wethers downstream along the Ergüne river, in order to buy sable and squirrel (skins). When he came in to Baljuna to water (his animals) he met (Chinggis Qahan).

183. While Chinggis Qahan was watering (his animals) at the same (place) on (Lake) Baljuna, Qasar, abandoning his wife and children and his three sons – Yegü, Yisüngge and Tuqu – to the Ong Qan, came away with only a few men – his companions. He decided to look for his elder brother, Chinggis Qahan; he climbed across the ridges of Qara'un-jidün (see note 273, below) but could not find him. He suffered, eating hide and sinews, (but) he went on and (eventually) joined with Chinggis Qahan at Baljuna. Chinggis Qahan rejoiced that Qasar had come and decided to send emissaries to the Ong Qan. Consulting (Qasar) he sent word through Qali'udar of the Jewüret and Chaqurqan of the Uriangqad, telling them to say that these words of Qasar to the Qan his father, saying, 'I looked for a sight of my elder brother, (but) he had disappeared; I searched for his way, (but) could not find it. I shouted, (but) my voice could not be heard. I am gazing at the stars, a lump of earth (under a tree) serving as my pillow as I lie down. My wife and children are with my father the Qan. If I obtain (from you) my trusted man, I will go (to you) Qan (my) father.' (To Qali'udar and Chaqurqan Chinggis Qahan) said, 'tell him that (Qasar) sent this (message) and that he also says, "We and you should immediately move; let us agree (to meet) at Arqal-geügi on the Kelüren (river). You must come there."' They agreed upon this (meeting) and then sent both Qali'udar and Chaqurqan (with the message). Chinggis Qahan had Jürchedei and Arqai (go ahead) as

[226] Baljuna Lake is located to the south-west of Kölön Buyir (or Dalai Nu'ur) Lake. See B.4: 120.

[227] Alaqush-digit-quri was the leader of the Önggüt tribe. His name derives from *alagushi*, an OT word meaning a bird of many colours or a magpie while his title derives from *digit* – 'friend, comrade' and *quri*, an OT word meaning 'chief of several tribes'. See B.1: 93. The name of his tribe, the Önggüt meant 'antithesis, opposite: disgusting' in OT. See B.1: 124–5.

scouts and he immediately departed. He went, riding out (with his soldiers), and arrived at Arqal-geügi on the Kelüren.

184. Qali'udar and Chaqurqan reached the Ong Qan and, saying that (these) were the words of Qasar, they repeated to him the words that had been sent from here (ie, from Baljuna). The Ong Qan had (his) golden coloured tent[228] erected and was feasting unconcernedly. To Qali'udar and Chaqurqan's words he said, 'If that is so, let Qasar come,' and he also said, 'We will send trusted Itürgen.' And (so) he sent him. Then, after coming to the agreed place at Arqal-geügi, as soon as they arrived, Itürgen saw a scene of a great (army) and, turning back, he escaped. Qali'udar's horse was swift and Qali'udar caught him up. (But) he was afraid to capture him and instead stopped him by going (first) in front of him and (then) behind. Chaqurqan's horse was slow, but from behind, from the (furthest) point of an arrow's flight, he shot at Itürgen's black gelding (with) the golden saddle, (hitting) it in the tip of its rump until it came down. Then Qali'udar and Chaqurqan captured Itürgen and brought him to Chinggis Qahan. Chinggis Qahan did not speak with Itürgen (but) said, 'Go! Take him to Qasar! Let Qasar decide (his fate)!' They took him to him. Qasar (also) did not talk with Itürgen (but) cut him down on the spot and cast him away.

185. Qali'udar and Chaqunqan both said to Chinggis Qahan, 'The Ong Qan was unconcerned. He had a golden coloured *yurt* (tent) erected and he was feasting. Quickly! Let us change (our horses), travel by night, attack them by surprise and surround them!' (Chinggis Qahan) approved these words and he had Jürchedei and Arqai (go ahead) as scouts. They travelled by night and arrived at the Jerqabchiqay Pass in the Jeje'er Heights. (The Ong Qan's camp) was here at this time, and they surrounded it. For three nights and three days they fought, surrounding (the camp). When they lined up to fight on the third day, (the Ong Qan's men) were too tired and they surrendered. How the Ong Qan and Senggüm (managed) their escape at night is not known. One of the fighters was the Jirgin Qadaq-ba'atur. Qadaq-ba'atur came to surrender, saying, 'We fought for three nights and three days and I thought "How can I let my rightful Qan be captured and be killed?" As I was unable to forsake him I fought and battled so that he could save his life and be rid of (the enemy). Now, if you kill me, I will accept death, but if I should be

[228] Altan Terme refers to a gold-coloured latticed yurt. The word 'terme' = hana (qana) in Mongol meaning lattice. This term was in use only in the Khökh Nu'ur and Ejine areas. For details see B.18: pp 200–2.

favoured by Chinggis Qahan I will serve him.' Chinggis Qahan approved Qadaq-ba'atur's words and issued a decree: 'He could not forsake his rightful Qan. Did he not fight in order to save his (ie, the Ong Qan's) life and rid him of the enemy? (This) man is worthy as a companion.' After saying this he favoured him and did not have him killed. (Then) he said, 'Because Quyildar's life (was given for me) Qadaq-ba'atur and one hundred Jirgin will serve Quyildar's wife and children. If sons are born (to these servants) they will follow up to the seed of Quyildar's seed and serve them. If girls are born, their own fathers and mothers are not to betroth them as they wish; let Quyildar's wife and children use them (as servants) in front and behind.' (So) he favoured him and issued the decree. Because it was Quyildar-sechen's mouth that opened first,[229] Chinggis Qahan favoured him and issued a decree: 'Because of Quyildar's service, (the descendants) up to the seed of Quyildar's seed will receive an orphan's recompense.'[230] (So) he decreed.

[229] Quyildar's mouth 'opened first' in Section 171 when he offered to fight in front of Chinggis Qahan and committed to him the care of his children should he be killed.

[230] The word translated here as 'recompense' (*abliqa*) could also mean 'reward, war-pension; bribe'. See B.1: 87.

CHAPTER SEVEN

186. (And so) those Kereyit people were brought down. (Chinggis Qahan) distributed them here and there and squandered them; for his services he gave Taqai-ba'atur of the Süldüd one hundred Jirgin. Again, Chinggis Qahan issued a decree (sic). The Ong Qan's younger brother, Jaqa-gambu, had two daughters. His elder daughter, Ibaqa-beki, Chinggis Qahan took for himself. The younger, Sorqaqtani-beki, he gave to Tolui.[231] As a result of this, the personnel belonging to Jaqa-gambu (were left) undivided. (Chinggis Qahan) said, 'He is (my) second cart-shaft', and favouring him, he did not squander (his people).

187. Again, Chinggis Qahan issued a decree: 'Because of Badai's and Kishiliq's service let them have the Ong Qan's golden (coloured) tent intact, his golden (kumis) bowls, his cups and containers, his stewards and people together with his Ongqojit-Kereyit duty-men. Let them carry quivers, let them drink the ceremonial wine. Up to the seed of their seed let them enjoy being freedmen. After galloping after many enemies, if they find booty, (as much) as they find let them take; if they kill wild beasts, (as much) as they kill let them take.' So he decreed. Chinggis Qahan issued another decree: 'Because of Badai's and Kishiliq's service, which came between (my) life (and death), and (because) of the protection of Eternal Heaven (Almighty Spirits) these events have brought the Kereyit people down and therefore I have reached the high throne. From now on, let the seed of my seed who sit on my throne be more and more aware of this service and those who served!' So he decreed. They plundered the Kereyit people and distributed them among themselves (so that) nobody went short. They distributed the Tümen-Tübe'en among themselves (so that everyone) took enough. Before a whole day had passed they squandered the Olon-dongqoyit also. The heroes (of the) Jirgin, those people who used to (practise) bloody robbery, they cut in pieces (but) could not

[231] Tolui (1193–1232) was the youngest son of Chinggis Qahan.

divide them among (everybody). They killed off so many Kereyit people. That winter they spent at Abji'a-ködeger.

188. The Ong Qan and Senggüm themselves turned away from (their people) and went. After they had gone, the Ong Qan, who was thirsty, came (down to drink) at the Nekün Water of Didik-saqal[232] and (there) came across the Naiman's watchman, Qori-sübechi.[233] Qori-sübechi captured the Ong Qan, who said, 'I am the Ong Qan!' (but) as he did not recognise him he did not believe him and he killed him there. Senggüm had not gone down to Didik-saqal's Nekün Water (but) travelled around it and entered the Chöl (desert). While he was looking for water (he saw) some wild asses standing there that had been bitten by gnats. Senggüm dismounted and stealthily approached them. With Senggüm as his companion were his equerry Kököchü and his (ie Kököchü's) wife – three of them. He gave his horse to Kököchü the equerry to hold, but after leading his gelding, Kököchü the equerry turned back and trotted away. His wife said,

'When (he) put on golden (cloth),
When (he) ate tasty (food)

he called you "My Kököchü". How can you forsake your own Qan Senggüm like this, leaving him and throwing him away?' And, standing (there), his wife remained behind. Kököchü said, 'You are saying (to yourself) "I'll make Senggüm my husband".' To these words his wife said, 'I have been told that "women have dogs' faces"[234] but at least give me his golden cup to draw water with and let him drink.' At that, Kököchü the equerry threw the golden cup behind him saying, 'Take it!', and trotted away. Soon he came to Chinggis Qahan and, when he came, Kököchü the equerry said, 'Like this, I have come, leaving Senggüm behind in the Chöl,' and then he told everything that had been said, completely. When he had done so, Chinggis Qahan issued a decree: 'I will show favour to his (ie Kököchü's) wife, (but) this equerry Kököchü, who has forsaken his own rightful Qan like this and come here, who can trust a man like this and let him become a companion?' (So) he cut him down and threw (his body) aside.

[232] Didik-saqal was a place name, meaning 'clump of sedge' (*didik* was an OT word; the sedge is wula sedge – *carex meyeriana*). For details see B.1: 283.

[233] Although the interlinear note says that Qori-sübechi is simply a personal name, *sübe* means 'entrance to a pass', while *-chi* is an agent suffix. Hence it could have been Qori's duty to guard some pass in the vicinity. See B.1: 179.

[234] They are two faced; they may be both honest and dishonest.

189. Gürbesü,[235] the mother of Tayang Qan of the Naiman, said, 'The Ong Qan was formerly the great old Qan; bring in his head, and if it is truly his we will make an offering to it.' She sent an emissary to Qori-sübechi and had him cut off the head and bring it. (When it came) she recognised it and placed it on a white felt carpet. She had her daughters-in-law perform the (duties) of daughters-in-law[236] and she had ceremonial wine offered and had the *qu'ur* (Mongolian fiddle) played. Holding a cup, she made an offering (to the head). Then the head, being offered to in this way, smiled. 'It smiled!' said Tayang Qan, and he trampled it to pieces. Then Kökse'ü-sabraq said, 'You have had the dead Qan person's head cut off and brought (to you), (yet) on the other (hand) you have (trampled) it to pieces. How can you justify this? The sound of our dogs' barking is becoming evil.[237] Inancha-bilge Qan said, '(My) wife is young and I am becoming an old man. This Tayang, I caused him to be born (only) by prayers. Oh! my son was born lazy. Will he be able to look after and keep my many different people with many bad qualities, I wonder?' Now, the dogs' barking is getting nearer and the rule of our Qatun, Gürbesü has become harsh. My lazy Qan Tayang, you are soft. You have no skills or desires other than falconry and hunting.' So was (Tayang) rebuked. Then Tayang Qan said, 'I have been told there are a few Mongqols to the East. Those people frightened the great old Qan of former (days) with their quivers; they made him rebel and caused him to die. Now, do they say they wish to become qan(s) such as he (ie, the Ong Qan)? In Heaven above, the sun and the moon both shine brightly – let it be, I say, the sun and the moon are both there. (But) on the earth, how can there be two Qans? We will go and take those Mongqols!' At that his mother Gürbesü said, 'What will you do (with them)? Those Mongqol people smell bad and their clothing is filthy. They live at a distance, far away. Let them remain (there). (But) perhaps we will have their neat daughters-in-law and girls brought (here). We will make them wash their hands and their feet and then

[235] Gürbesü' could have been a nick-name rather than a personal name, as it means 'lizard' (see B.1: 206). Gürbesü became a second-ranking queen at the 'First Palace' – see B.4: 134.

[236] Although de Rachewiltz (B.12 vol. 18: 46, 63) seems to indicate that some special duties were required of the daughters-in-law – of which we now know nothing – I am inclined to think that the normal domestic duties are meant. When a bride first came to her bridegroom's family she brought with her the tail fat of three sheep, bowed to the hearth fire three times and threw the fat on the fire. Then she presented new robes to her mother-in-law and aunts. (See B.1: 148–9.) In the Dawr area, new brides got up early in the morning and came to their father and mother-in-law to fill their pipes with tobacco. Perhaps in this instance they offered filled pipes to the head of the Ong Qan.

[237] If dogs bark without obvious cause, it was thought (at that time) to be a bad omen.

perhaps we can have them milk our cows and sheep.' At that, Tayang Qan said, 'If that is so, what is (stopping us)? Why don't we go to those Mongqols and take away their quivers?'

190. To those words Kökse'ü-sabraq said, 'Oh, you have spoken big words! Oh, (you) lazy Qan, is this proper? You (should) conceal (such words).' In spite of being warned by Kökse'ü-sabraq, (Tayang) sent an emissary named Torbi-tash to say to Alaqush-digit-quri of the Önggüt, 'I have been told that there are a few Mongqols to the East. You become the right hand (of the forces) and I will join in (the attack) from here. We'll take the quivers of those Mongqols!' (Such) was the message he sent. Alaqush-digit-quri replied to those words, saying, 'I will not be able to become (your) right hand.' After he had sent (this reply) Alaqush-digit-quri sent (a message to Chinggis Qahan) with his emissary, named Yuqunan, saying, 'Tayang Qan of the Naiman is coming to take your quivers. He sent, asking me to become (his) right hand. I did not do this, (but) now I am sending a warning to you, fearing that when he comes your quivers will be taken (from) you.' At that time Chinggis Qahan was hunting on the Teme'en steppe. While he was encircling Tülkin-che'üd, Yuqunan, the emissary sent by Alaqush-digit-quri, came to deliver the message. While still on the hunt, they discussed together what they should do (about) the message. Many of the men said, 'Our geldings are lean, what can we do now?'[238] To that Otchigin-noyan said, 'You say your geldings are lean – how can you make (such) an excuse? My geldings are fat! How can we sit (here) and hear words (ie about the Naiman) such as these?' Then Belgütei-noyan said, 'What is the benefit of being alive if, while we are still alive, our quivers are taken by the enemy? Is it not good for a man who is born to lay down his bones with his quiver and bow when he dies? The Naiman people speak grandly of their nation being big with many people. Because of what they say with their grand words we should go and ride out (against them). Will there be any difficulty when we take their quivers? When we go won't their many horse herds standing (there) (be) left behind? Won't their palace-*yurts* (be) left behind intact? Won't their many people go out and hide in the high places? They have spoken grand words like this, how can we stay sitting (here)? Let us ride out (against them) immediately!'[239]

191. Chinggis Qahan approved these words of Belgütei and, having returned from the hunt, moved out from Abjiqa-köteger and set up

[238] If the geldings are lean, they are weak, therefore cannot be used in battle.

[239] The passage explains that if the Naiman are attacked they will be too cowardly to stay and fight, but will instead run away without even waiting to take down their *yurts* and take their livestock away.

camp at Keltegei ('Tilted') Cliffs at Ör-nu'u on the Qalqa (river). There they counted their own number (of soldiers) and made them into units of one thousand. There (also) (Chinggis Qahan) appointed the leader of a thousand, the leaders of one hundred and the leaders of ten. There also he appointed the 'cherbi' (commanders) – Dödei-cherbi, Doqolqu-cherbi, Ögele-cherbi, Tolun-cherbi, Bucharan-cherbi and Söyiketü-cherbi. These six commanders he appointed there. When he had finished making the units of one thousand, the units of one hundred and the units of ten, he then chose eighty night-guards and seventy sentries and had them go (to their posts) in shifts. (He chose) the sons and younger brothers of the leaders of one thousand and the leaders of one hundred (as well as) the sons and younger brothers of the ordinary people and had them go (to their posts); he chose those who were skilful, with strong and handsome bodies, and made them go (to their posts). Then, favuoring Arqai-qasar, he issued a decree: 'Let him choose heroes to make a unit of one thousand and, during the days of fighting, let them stand in front of me and fight! And during the many (other) (ie normal) days let them be my sentries on shifts!' And he (also) said, 'Let Ögele-cherbi command the seventy sentries, and let him consult with Qudus-qalchan.'

192. Again, Chinggis Qahan issued a decree: 'The quiver-bearers,[240] sentries on shift duty, cooks, door-keepers and equerries should go to (their) posts for the day shift, giving way before the sun sets to the night-guards, and going out to spend the night with their own geldings. At night, let the night-guards make those who should lie down next to (my) yurt lie down and make those who should be standing at the door in shifts, stand there. While we are eating our early morning soup, let the quiver-bearers and sentries report to the night-guards. The quiver-bearers, sentries, cooks and door-keepers are to carry out their given duties, assigned to their own places. (For those on) the three day and three night shift, after they have completed that shift, and spent three nights (and three days) on leave they will change shifts. Let them then become the nightguards (that) night, and spend the night lying near (my *yurt*).' In this way (Chinggis Qahan) completed forming the units of one thousand; he appointed the *cherbi* (commanders) and he had the eighty night-guards and the seventy sentries go to (their posts) in shifts. For Arqai-qasar he chose the

[240] Bearing a quiver was considered a great honour and quiver-bearers (*qorchin*) were trusted persons. Quivers symbolised the whole array of arms – in section 189 and 190 Tayang Qan threatens to take the Mongols' quivers, that is, he intended to defeat them in battle.

heroes and (then), from Keltegei ('Tilted') Cliffs at Ör-nu'u on the Qalqa (river) he rode out against the Naiman people.

193. In the Year of the Rat (1204), on the sixteenth day of the first month of summer – a 'red circle' day[241] – (Chinggis Qahan), after making the oblation to the banner, rode upstream along the Kelüren. He had Jebe and Qubilai go ahead as scouts. When they reached the Sa'ari Steppe, they (found that) the Naiman watchmen were there, on the peak of (Mt.) Kangqarqan. Our watchman (and theirs) chased each other and from our watchmen one off-white horse with an inferior saddle was taken by the Naiman watchmen. (After) taking that horse, the Naiman watchmen discussed it together. 'The Mongqols' geldings are lean', they said. When our (party) reached the Sa'ari Steppe they halted and discussed what they should do. Then Dödei-cherbi made a suggestion to Chinggis Qahan, saying, 'Not only are we few, but, on top of being few, we are tired, having come here like this. We should halt until our geldings are satisfied (with food) and we should set up camp, spreading out over this Sa'ari Steppe. Every able-bodied man should light five fires some distance (apart) and by the fires we will scare the Naiman people. It is said that they are many (but) it is (also) said that their Qan is weak and does not leave (his) *yurt*. By the fires we will distract them until our geldings have satisfied (themselves). After our geldings have become fat we will chase the Naiman watchmen, bearing down on them to make them (re-) join their main (army). It will be good if we can (then) fight with them during that confusion.' When he suggested this, Chinggis Qahan approved and issued a decree, saying 'Have the fires lit in this way!' and he announced this order to the soldiers. Thus they set up camp, spreading over the Sa'ari Steppe, and the able-bodied men made five fires burn at some distance (apart). At night, the Naiman watchmen on the peak of (Mt.) Kangqar (ie Kangqarqan), seeing the many fires in the night, said (to each other), 'Did we not say that the Mongqols are few? There are more fires than the stars!' After having (already) given the off-white horse with the inferior saddle to be sent to Tayang Qan, they (then) sent (word) to him, saying, 'Mongqol soldiers have set up camp and have choked the

[241] It is said that around the fifteenth of each lunar month, when the position of the sun and moon has shifted to 180 degrees, they are facing each other. The phase – 'a red circle day' means the 16th (of each lunar month); this phrase appears twice in the text and three times in my footnotes for the book, namely notes 52, 76 and 241. Also for the 'red circle day' see Bibliography no. 20, p 27. Thus a 'red circle day' means the 16th (of a lunar month), whereas a 'circle moon' or a 'full moon', this phrase does not appear in the text, means the 15th night (of each lunar month).

Sa'ari Steppe. Day (by day) they seem to be increasing (like a flood) (for) there are more fires than the stars!'

194. When this message of the watchman reached Tayang Qan, he was staying at the Qachir water on (Mt.) Kangqay. After having had this message delivered, he sent word to his son, Güchülük Qan:[242] 'The Mongqols' geldings are lean (but) (the watchmen) say that there are more fires than the stars and that the Mongqols are many. Now,

If we engage in battle properly,
Won't it be hard to disengage?
If we engage in battle properly,
They will not blink their black eyes.
If their cheeks are pierced,
If their black blood flows out,
they do not shrink. If, with the hardy Mongqols,
We engage in battle, what will happen?

It has been said that the geldings of the Mongqols are lean. Let us move and gather up our people and have them cross the Altai (mountains). Reorganising our soldiers, we will go, luring them (after us) until we reach the southern slopes of the Altai where we will fight a dog's fight.[243] Our geldings are fat – we should tighten up their bellies (as) we tire out the Mongqols' geldings. (Then) in their faces we will make our counter-attack!' This he said and sent. To these words Güchülük Qan said, '(That) woman Tayang again? He says these words (because) his heart fails him. From where have these many Mongqols come? The majority of the Mongqols, together with Jamuqa, are here with us. That woman Tayang (is like)

A pregnant woman, not going beyond her
urinating place,
A calf, (tethered to a cart-)wheel, not (able)
to reach beyond its pasture.

Is it not (because of this) that his heart fails him and he sends me these words?' Through an emissary he sent (this message) to his father speaking until (Tayang Qan) was pained and hurt. To these words, (by which) Tayang Qan himself had been spoken of as being a woman, Tayang Qan said, 'I hope the powerful and arrogant Güchülük, when we encounter (the enemy) and kill each other, will not lose this arrogance. When we encounter (them) and are properly engaged in

[242] Although used here as a personal name, *güchülük* meant 'strong; powerful, mighty' in the OT dialect. See B.1: 209.

[243] 'A dog's fight' (*noqai kerel*) – ie pretending to retreat, then suddenly turning and attacking.

battle, perhaps it will be difficult to disengage.' To these words, Qori-sübechi, a great lord in command under Tayang Qan, said, 'Your father, Inancha-bilge Qan, did not show the back of a man nor the rump of a gelding to an enemy that matched him. Now you, how can your heart fail you in spite of it being (so) early in the day? If we had known your heart would fail you like this we should have brought you mother, Gürbesü, in spite of her being a woman, and put her in command of the soldiers, should we not? Ah, what a pity it is that Kökse'ü-sabraq has become old! How lax our soldiers' (adherence to) regulations has become? Now is the Mongqols' time of fortune – not ours! Oh lazy Tayang! You seem to have failed.' So he spoke and, after slapping his quiver, trotted off in the opposite (direction).

195. At this, Tayang Qan became very angry and said, 'A dying life, a suffering body – they are the same to all (men). If that is so, let us fight!' He moved downstream along the Tamir (river) from the Qachir water and, after crossing the Orqon (river) and passing the foot of Naqu-kun (mountain) on the eastern side, arrived at Chakir-ma'ut. As he approached, Chinggis Qahan's watchmen saw him and delivered a message saying, 'The Naiman are approaching.' After this message had been delivered to him, Chinggis Qahan issued a decree: '(They) are many and will lose many, (we) are few and will lose few!' Facing them, he rode out against them and routed their watchmen. He (and his captains) decided to attack and to (re-)organise the soldiers so that they would march in the 'bush-clump' formation, stand (to fight) in the 'lake array' and attack with the 'chisel attack'.[244] Having said that, Chinggis Qahan himself became (part of the) vanguard. He put Qasar in charge of the main army and he put Otchigin-noyan in charge of the reserve horses. The Naiman withdrew from Chakir-ma'ud and lined up on the southern side of Naqu-kun, along the edge of the foot of the mountains. At that point, our watchmen chased the Naiman watchmen; they chased them until they reached and rejoined their main army on the southern side of Naqu-kun. Tayang Qan saw the chasing and arrival (of his men). Jamuqa was there with the Naiman, having set out with his soldiers and come together (with Tayang Qan)

[244] The 'bush clump' formation (*qaragana yorchil – qaraqana* is the name of a shrub, *caragana arborescens*, while *yorchil* meant going, movement, marching) involved dividing the soldiers into many small groups which, although keeping contact with each other, maintained a low profile as they advanced. The 'lake array' (*na'ur bayyildu*) involved sending 'waves' of men to surround and attack the enemy on all sides. The 'chisel attack' (*shi'üchi qatquldu'a*) involved direct hand-to-hand combat (qatquldu'a derives from the stem *qatqu-* 'stab, poke') fought by a line of soldiers penetrating straight into the centre of the enemy ranks. For details of these three manoeuvres see B.2: 193–5.

there. Tayang Qan asked Jamuqa, 'Why are these (men) coming, like wolves chasing many sheep until they reach the sheep-pen? Why are those people coming chasing like this?' Jamuqa said, 'My sworn brother Temüjin (has) four "hounds", raised on human flesh. They have been chained and tied (but now) they are coming, chasing our watchmen. These four "hounds" (have)

Foreheads of cast copper,
Chisels for snouts and
Awls for tongues.
With hearts of iron and
Whips for swords they go,
Eating the dew and
Riding the wind.
In the days of killing
They eat human flesh.
In the days of (battle-) encounter,
They make provisions of men's flesh.

They have been released from their iron chains. They were suppressing their frustration, were they not? (But) now they are coming, rejoicing thus and slavering.' (Jamuqa also) said, 'Who are these four "hounds"?' you ask. They are Jebe and Qubilai, Jelme and Sübe'etei – these four.' Tayang Qan said, 'Let us stand far from these barbarians'.[245] They slowly moved back and stood astride the mountain. Seeing them coming behind them, happily, circling around, Tayang Qan again asked Jamuqa, 'What kind of men run like foals that have been released in the early (morning), joyfully dancing around their mother and sucking their mother's milk? Why are they coming, circling around like this?' Jamuqa said,

'They chase after men (armed) with spears,
They pursue the bloody bandits and
The men (armed) with swords,
They cast them down and kill them.
These property takers –
They are known as the Uru'ut and Mangqut.

Now, are they not happy as they approach us joyfully like this?' At that Tayang Qan said, 'If that is so, let us stand far from these barbarians.' So, they climbed up the mountain and stood (there). 'Behind them (there comes one) like a starved falcon. Who is this who comes slavering, leading (an army)?' asked Tayang Qan of

[245] The word translated here as 'barbarians' (*doromji*) more literally means 'inferiors, second-rate people'. See B.1: 283–4.

Jamuqa. Jamuqa replied, 'This is my sworn brother Temüjin coming. His entire body is

Smelted from cast copper,
(So that) there is not a crack that an awl can pierce;
Forged from wrought iron,
(So that) there is not a crack a leather needle can pierce

Temüjin my sworn brother is coming thus – slavering like a starved falcon. Have you seen him? You Naiman companions, did you not (say) that when you saw the Mongqols you would not (even) leave them with the skin of a kid's hoof? Look (at them now)!' To these words, Tayang Qan said, '(This) is very awkward.[246] Let us climb (further) up the mountain and stay (there).' Saying this, they climbed up the mountain and once more Tayang Qan asked Jamuqa, 'Again, who are all these many people coming behind them?' Jamuqa said, 'Mother Hö'elün has raised one (of) her sons on men's flesh.

He has a three fathom body,
And an appetite for three-year old (male) ox.
He wears three layers of armour,
And approaches pulled by three bulls.
When he swallows an entire
Man with a quiver,
It does not (even) touch his throat.
If he swallows a whole man,
It does not satisfy his desire.
When he gets angry he draws back his 'angqu'a' arrow,[247]
And when he releases it
He shoots and runs through ten or twenty people
Who are over (ie on the other side of) a mountain.
In battle with the enemy,
He draws back his 'keyibür' arrow[248] and when he releases it
He shoots it directly and runs through
Those enemies who are across the steppe.
When he shoots, drawing back (the arrow) fully,
He shoots nine hundred fathoms' distance.

[246] Although the Chinese interlinear note gives the meaning of *amsa'ari* as 'frightening' it actually means 'open; opening; a hole'. (In the Buriad dialect it means 'idiot; stupid'.) The implication is that of something unplanned, a 'gap' in one's strategy, hence my translation as 'awkward'. (For details, see B.1: 90).

[247] An angqu'a arrow had a forked head with two points. See B.1: 87.

[248] A *keyibür* arrow was a thin, dart-like arrow. *Keyibür* was actually an iron-pointed spear or javelin. See B.1: 212.

(Even) when he shoots, drawing back (the arrow only) half way,
He shoots five hundred fathoms' distance.
He is a man different from (other) men;
He was born a lizard-like monster,[249] he is known as Jochi-qasar.

That is (what) he is!' After this, Tayang Qan said, 'If this is so, we must struggle upwards and climb to the mountain's peak!' They climbed up the mountain and stood (there). Once more, Tayang Qan asked Jamuqa, 'Who is coming behind him?' Jamuqa said, 'That is Mother Hö'elün's youngest son, Otchigin. It is said that he is friendly. He is an early sleeper and a late riser, (yet)

He does not stay behind the many (soldiers),
He does not remain behind the (fighting) array.'

Tayang Qan said, 'If this is so, let us go up to the (very) summit of the mountain!'

196. After speaking like this to Tayang Qan, Jamuqa separated from the Naiman and stood apart from them. He left and he sent a message to be delivered to Chinggis Qahan saying 'Tell (this) to (my) sworn brother,' and he said, 'Tayang Qan was scared to death at my words. Alarmed, he has struggled and climbed. Frightened by (the words of my) mouth of being killed he has climbed up the mountain. Sworn brother, be steadfast. They have climbed up the mountain and they will not (show) an opposing face. As for myself, I have separated from the Naiman.' It was late and the sun was (setting) when Chinggis Qahan surrounded the Naqu-kun. (So) they spent the night, standing (there). That night, the Naiman (tried) to escape, (but) while they were moving they rolled down from the top of Naqu, piling up one on top of another. Their bones were smashed and they fell to pieces until they were crushed and dead, (like) rotten logs. The following day, (Chinggis Qahan) took Tayang Qan and finished him off. Güchülük Qan was staying elsewhere and, with a few men he went out, turning his back (on his father). He was almost captured at his camp at the Tamir (river), but he could not stay at the camp and he escaped, setting out and going away. On the southern side of the Altai (mountain) (Chinggis Qahan) defeated the nation of the Naiman people and subjugated it. Those who had been with Jamuqa – the Jadaran, the Qatagin, the Saji'ut, the Dörben, the Tayyichi'ut, the Onggirat and others – (they) all submitted at that place. Chinggis

[249] The word translated here as 'lizard (like)', *görölgü* comes from the written Mongolian *gürbel*, although other scholars (eg de Rachewiltz B.12 vol 18: 75–6) think it modifies the following word and means 'coiling' (like a snake), the 'monster' (mentioned previously in Section 78).

Qahan had Tayang's mother, Gürbesü, brought in and said to her, 'Did you not say that the Mongqols have a bad smell? Why have you come now?' (Then) Chinggis Qahan took her (as his wife).

197. In the autumn of the same Year of the Rat, Chinggis Qahan fought with Toqto'a-beki of the Merkit at the Qaradal source.[250] He forced Toqto'a to retreat and on the Sa'ari steppe he plundered his people, his kinsmen and his nation. Toqto'a, with his sons Qudu and Chila'un and a few men, escaped with (just) their lives and went away. While the Merkit people were being plundered thus, Dayir-usun of the Qo'as Merkit decided to take his own daughter, Qulan-qatun, to show to Chinggis Qahan. On the way, some soldiers stopped him. Meeting Naya'a-noyan of the Ba'arit (there), Dayir-usun said to him, 'I wish to show this daughter of mine to Chinggis Qahan and so I am coming (this way).' Then Naya'a-noyan said, 'We will show your daughter together' and he held him up. As he delayed him, he said, 'Dayir-usun, if you go by yourself in these confused times, the soldiers (you meet) on the way will (certainly) not let you live and your daughter too will suffer trouble.' He held them up for three days and three nights. After that, Naya'a-noyan took Qulan-qatun and Dayir-usun together and delivered them to Chinggis Qahan. Then Chinggis Qahan said, 'Why did you hold them up, Naya'a?' He became very angry and questioned him severely and in detail, intending it to be a (matter of) principle. While he was questioning him, Qulan-qatun said, 'Naya'a said, "I am Chinggis Qahan's great lord. We will travel together to show your daughter to the Qahan (for) there are disorderly soldiers on the way." So he spoke and warned us. Now, if we had been apart from Naya'a and if we had met soldiers on the way, then in the confusion we might have been in a crisis. Perhaps meeting this Naya'a was our good (fortune). Before asking Naya'a, if the Qahan favours me, he may "ask" (ie examine) (my) body, born by Heaven's destiny, to (my) father and mother.' So she spoke and had this petition set before (the Qahan). While being questioned, Naya'a said, 'I will not turn my face from the Qahan to (an)other.

> Foreign people's girls and women with
> beautiful complexions,
> Geldings with fine rumps – when I encounter (these)
> I (always) say, "These are the Qahan's!"

[250] Although the use of the word 'source' (*huja'ur*) in this name would usually imply a river source, in fact Qaradal is *qara dal* (or *tal*) which means 'Black Steppe', a steppe that is located to the south-west of the city of Khovd (Qobd) in the MPR. See B.1: 171.

If my desire is (anything) other than this, let me die.' Chinggis Qahan approved Qulan-qatun's petition. Promptly the same day he verified (her words); when he tried (ie examined) her, it was as her petition (had stated). Chinggis Qahan showed favour to Qulan-qatun and loved her. Naya'a's words being (found) correct, he approved of him. (Chinggis Qahan said) 'He is a (man) of truthful words. I shall appoint him to great tasks.' So saying, he favoured (Naya'a).[251]

[251] Chinggis is angry because Naya'a has delayed Dayir-usun and his daughter for three days – he suspects that Naya'a has been doing something suspicious (eg sleeping with Qulan-qatun?). The daughter herself explains that Naya'a was only guarding them for the Qahan, and suggests to Chinggis that he should examine her. Chinggis does so and thus finds Naya'a innocent.

CHAPTER EIGHT

198. (After) plundering the Merkit people, (Chinggis Qahan) gave Döregene, one of the two wives, Tügei and Döregene, of Toqto'a-beki's eldest son, Qudu, to Ögödei-qahan. Half of the (captured) Merkit people rebelled and barricaded (themselves) into the Taiqal[252] Barricade. Then Chinggis Qahan gave orders to put Sorqan-shira's son Chimbai in command and sent him to surround and attack the barricaded Merkit with the soldiers of the left hand (army) Toqto'a and his two sons Qudu and Chila'un with (only) a few (men) had turned their backs and (barely escaped) with their lives. Chinggis Qahan pursued these escapees and spent the winter on the southern side of the Altai (mountains). In the spring of the Year of the Ox (1205) when he crossed the Alai, and, while he was going, Güchülük of the Naiman, whose people had been taken, rebelled and, travelling with a few men, united with Toqto'a of the Merkit. They joined together (to attack) at Buqdurma,[253] the source of the Erdish (river) and (each) put his soldiers in order. When Chinggis Qahan arrived, they fought each other. There Toqto'a fell, after being hit by a stray arrow.[254] His sons were unable to bury his bones (ie corpse) and could not take his body away (so), cutting off his head they took (that) and went. (Even) being joined (in the attack) there, the Naiman and Merkit could not stand (firm) and they retreated, moving away to cross the Erdish where the majority of them drowned, dying in the water. A few of the departing Naiman and Merkit managed to get across the Erdish (after which) they set out separately. Güchülük Qan of the Naiman travelled through (the territories of) the Ui'urtai and the Qarlu'ut and went to join the Gür Qan of the Qara-kidat who was

[252] Taiqal (*taiga, tayiga*) meant 'steep overhanging cliffs' in the OT dialect. It also referred to forests in mountain areas. See B.1: 254. Here, however, it is used as a proper name.

[253] The Buqdurma river, the source of the Erdish river, lies in the area of present day Ulaangom in the MPR. See B.1: 155.

[254] It is possible that the text means not 'stray' by *shiba* but a particular type of arrow. For example, in the OT dialect, *shiba* meant 'hail-like' arrows, that came raining down. See B.1: 247.

staying on the Chui river in the land of the Sarda'ul. The sons of Toqto'a the Merkit – Qudu, Qat (ie Qal) and Chila'un – and other Merkit set off and passed through the (territory of) the Kanglin and the Kimcha'ut. From there Chinggis Qahan returned, crossing the Alai and pitching at (his) base camp. Chimbai had finished off the barricaded Merkit at Taiqal barricade and Chinggis Qahan then issued a decree (concerning these) Merkit: 'Those to be killed have been killed and the remainder have been squandered by (our) soldiers'. (Once) again, the Merkit who had formerly submitted, rebelled from the base camp and rose up. (Fortunately) our retainers who were (left behind) in the base camp had kept them down. Then Chinggis Qahan issued a decree: 'I said that I would let them stay as a whole (tribe) but they revolted.' So they divided the Merkit between them in all directions until there were no more.

199. In the same Year of the Ox,[255] Chinggis Qahan issued a decree: 'Let Sübe'etei, in an iron cart,[256] pursue the sons of Toqto'a-Qudu, Qal and Chila'un'. Sending Sübe'etei, Chinggis Qahan issued a decree and had it verbally taken to him: 'Those sons of Toqto'a – Qudu, Qal and Chila'un – they ran frightened (of us) and retreated. We shot arrows at each other (but) they went, like wild asses with lassos (over their necks), like deer with arrows (in their flesh). If they develop wings and fly, ascending into the heavens, won't you become a gerfalcon, Sübe'etei, and fly (up) to catch them? If they become marmots, burrowing their way into the earth with their nails won't you become an iron bar, striking (the ground), searching and catching up with them! If they become fish, (swimming) into the Tenggis ocean, won't you become a large-game net, a small-game net, Sübe'etei, and take them (by) scooping and netting? Once more I am sending you to cross high passes, to ford wide rivers. Remembering (there are) far lands (to cross) look after the soldiers' mounts before they become (too) lean, economise on your provisions before they are exhausted. If a gelding becomes completely lean there is no use in looking after it. If your provisions are completely finished there will be no use in economising them. There will be many wild beasts on your way,

[255] Although the text states that it was the same Year of the Ox (*mün hüker jil*) as mentioned in section 198 – ie 1205 – Sübe'etei was actually sent out in 1216 and destroyed the two sons of Toqto'a in 1217, the next Year of the Ox. See B.4: 581. A similar mistake in the twelve-year cycle is made by the author(s) of the History in section 202 where events dated as the 1206 Year of the Tiger actually took place in 1218.

[256] The 'iron cart' would in fact have been a wooden cart, whose wheels were reinforced with iron. The word used here for 'cart' is *telege* instead of the more usual *terge(n)*. This is similar to an OT word, *tälgän*, which referred to a wooden machine specifically intended for use in battle. See B.1: 259. See also B.18: p 258, note 8.

thinking ahead (to this) as you go, do not let your soldiers gallop after the wild beasts, nor let them hunt without limit. If you wish to supplement the provisions for the soldiers and go group hunting, then limit the hunting. Apart from (such) limited hunting, don't let (your) soldiers attach the saddle's crupper, nor fasten the bridle. Travel leaving the bit free (of the horses' mouths). If you issue orders in this way how will (your) soldiers be able to gallop as they go? (If), in spite of the ordering, there are those who disobey the orders, (then) capture and beat them. Send to us the transgressors of our decree who (seem) like persons known to us. Make them come! The many who are not known to us, execute there on the spot.

Beyond the rivers you will be separated (from us).
(But) continue with the same principle.
Beyond the mountains
You will be divided (from us)
(But) apart from (your quest) think of nothing else.

If, with your strength and might increased by Eternal Heaven (Almighty Spirits), you hold the sons of Toqto'a in your hand, what is the use in bringing them (back here)? Be rid of them there!' So he issued the decree. Once more Chinggis Qahan said to Sübe'etei, 'I am sending you to hunt (now) (because), at the time when I was young, I was frightened by the Uduyit of the Three Merkit as they circled (Mt.) Burqan-qaldun three times. Now people like that, sworn enemies, have again gone, swearing (oaths against me) with their mouths and tongues. You (must) reach to the limit of distance, to the bottom of the deep. I wish you to pursue them to the end with the iron cart I have had made. In (this) Year of the Ox I am sending you to battle. If you go, thinking that even (though) we are behind you it is as if we are facing you, and even if (we are) far (from you) it is as if (we) were close, then you will be protected by Heaven Above (Almighty Spirits).'

200. (in AD1205) When (Chinggis Qahan) completely finished the Naiman and the Merkit, Jamuqa, who was staying there, (had) his people taken. With five companions he became a robber. They climbed up the Tanglu[257] (mountains) and, killing a wild sheep, roasted it and ate it. Then Jamuqa said to his companions, 'Whose sons today are killing wild sheep and eating it like this?'[258] While they were eating

[257] The Tanglu mountains are the present day Tangnu Range on the north-west border of the MPR and the USSR.

[258] Jamuqa's speech is a speech of complaint, indicating the depths to which he has sunk.

that wild sheep's meat, Jamuqa's five companions between them laid hands on him, held him and brought him to Chinggis Qahan. When Jamuqa was captured and brought by his own companions, he had someone say to his sworn brother the Qahan,

'It has become so that black crows
Capture qarambai nogosu;[259]
It has become so that
Commoners and slaves lay hands
On their own Qan.
Qahan, my sworn brother, how can you mistake (this)?
It has become so that the brown buzzards
Capture ducks and female ducks.
It has become so that
Slaves and slave-girls capture
Their rightful master, cutting him off and attacking him.
My wise sworn brother, how can you mistake (this)?'

To these words of Jamuqa, Chinggis Qahan issued a decree: 'How can I let men who have reached out their hands against their rightful Qan live: To whom would men like that be companions? Execute these people who have reached out their hands against their rightful Qan, them and all their kinsmen'. On the spot, before Jamuqa, he ordered the killing of the people who had laid hands on him. Chinggis Qahan said, 'Tell this to Jamuqa,' and he said, 'Now we two have joined (together), let us be companions. If we become (to each other like) the other shaft (of a cart) then would you think differently (from me) and separate (from me)? Now, we are joined (together) once (again), we should

Remind each other of (things) we have forgotten,
Wake each other from our sleep.
(Even) when you went away and were apart (from me),
You were (still) my lucky, blessed sworn brother.
Surely, in the days of killing and being killed,
The pit of your stomach and your heart pained (for me).
(Even) when you were apart (from me) and went away,
Surely, in the days of slaying and being slain,
Your breast and your heart pained (for me).
If you ask when,
It was when I fought
With the Kereyit people
At Qalaqaljit Sands

[259] *Qarambai nogosu* was a purple Mandarin duck (*aix galericulata* (sic, = Anas galericulata) – see B.2: 216 n 3 and Tz'u-hai (=Ci-hai): 3421, Hong Kong 1979), and not, as other translators have suggested, an adjective describing the other (unnamed) ducks.

And you alerted me to the words you had said
To (my) father, the Ong Qan.

Sending (that message) was your service (to me). Again, you sent a message (concerning) the Naiman people saying that

By (your) words you made them die,
By (your) mouth you killed them.
You convinced me that the frightened ones
Were the same (as if they were dead)

(This) was your service.'

201. After (Chinggis Qahan) had spoken, Jamuqa said, 'In earlier days, at the time when we were young, I agreed with the Qan, (my) sworn brother, to swear brotherhood in the Qorqonaq forest. Together we ate the food that is not to be digested[260] and we spoke to each other the words that are not to be forgotten,

Sharing together the quilt under (which we slept).
We have been provoked by one who cut across (us),
We have been goaded by one who came from the side.
We separated completely.
Saying (to myself) that we had exchanged serious words,
(I feared that) my black face
Would be flayed off (by shame)
And I could not come close to you.
Unable to look at the kind face
Of my sworn brother, the Qan,
I went.
Saying (to myself) that we had exchanged
The words that are not to be forgotten,
(I feared that) my red face
Would be peeled off (by shame).
Unable to look at the true face
Of my far-sighted sworn brother,
I went.

[260] This 'food that is not to be digested' (*Ülü shinggekü ide'e*) is gold dust, which was mixed with a little liquid and swallowed by the two parties who were swearing brotherhood. Previously, they would have drunk a little of each other's blood. See B.1: 131.

Now my sworn brother, the Qan, shows favour to me and says, "Let us become companions". (But) when it was the time for becoming companions, I did not become a companion. Now, (my) sworn brother

(You) have pacified the whole (of our) people,
You have unified all the foreign (peoples).

They have shown the throne (of the) Qan to you. Now, when the world is ready for you, what use is there in my becoming a companion (to you)? On the contrary sworn brother, in the black night I would haunt your dreams, in the bright day I would trouble your heart.

I would be the louse in your collar,
I would become the splinter in your door-panel.[261]
I had useless paternal grandmothers;[262]
Thinking of (things) beyond (my) sworn brother,
I made a mistake.

Now, sworn brother, in the life, (of) the two of us, my name has risen with the sun and set with the sun, (but) you were born with a wise mother, sworn brother, with a hero's birth. You had skilful younger brothers and powerful companions (who were) your seventy-three geldings.[263] I was overwhelmed by (my) sworn brother. I lost my mother and father when I was small and I have no younger brothers. My wife is a chatterer and I have no trusted companions. Because of this I was overwhelmed by (my) sworn brother, who was destined by Heaven. If you favour me sworn brother, you will quickly do away with me and then your heart will be eased. (If) you favour me sworn brother, let me die without shedding my blood. Kill me and lay down my dead bones in the high ground. (Then) eternally and for ever, I will protect the seed of your seed, and become a blessing for them. I was born with different origins (to you) and I was crushed by the majesty of (my) sworn brother, born with superiority. Do not forget the words I have spoken. Remember them

[261] The 'splinter in your door panel' – ie something that irritates you in everyday actions. Other translators have followed the Chinese interlinear note which gives 'inner lapel' (of a coat) for *jaking* (door panel) but it either refers to the wooden door itself (see B.1: 290) or to the handle (*jashing*) of such a door (see B.2: 219).

[262] 'Arbi Khün' means a useless person. For details see *Mongol–Khitad Toli* (Mongol–Chinese Dictionary) published by the Inner Mongolian Publishing House. Khökh Khot 1976 p 92.

[263] 'Geldings' – that is, warriors. (See, for example, section 272 where Tolui tells Ögödei that their father, Chinggis Qahan, chose Ögödei 'as one would choose a gelding'). Thus those seventy-three geldings refer to the seventy-three outstanding warriors who would have included Chinggis' mother, younger brothers, relatives and other warriors.

at night and in the morning and tell them to each other. Now, do away with me quickly.' When he had spoken, Chinggis Qahan said to these words of his, 'My sworn brother set himself apart (from me) and has spoken against us in mouthfuls, (yet) I have not heard that it was his thinking to harm (my) life. He is a man to learn from, (but) still he is not willing (ie to become companions). If I say, 'Let him die!' it will not come into the divination. If I cause harm to his life without reason it will not be fitting.[264] He is a man of serious principles. (But) say to him that (this) could be his reason, 'Formerly, Choji-darmala and Taichar both robbed each other of their horse-herds. Because of this, you, (my) sworn brother Jamuqa, perversely stirred up rebellion and came. We fought with each other at Dalan-baljut and you forced me to hide in the Jerene Pass. You frightened me there, didn't you? Now if I say, "Let us become companions!" you are not willing, if I spare your life you do not wish it.' (So) tell him, "Now following your words, I shall do away with you without shedding your blood." After saying this, he issued a decree saying that (Jamuqa) should be put to death without his blood being shed and that his bones should not be abandoned in the open but buried decently. (So) there he did away with Jamuqa and had his bones buried.

202. And so, after (Chinggis Qahan) had unified the people of the felt-walled tents,[265] they assembled at the source of the Onon in the Year of the Tiger (1206). After they had hoisted the white banner with nine pennants there, they gave to Chinggis Qahan the title 'Qan'. There also they gave to Muqali the title 'Guy Ong'.[266] There also they sent Jebe to battle, to pursue Güchülük Qan of the Naiman. Having finished imposing order on the Mongqolian peoples,[267] Chinggis Qahan issued a decree, 'To you who have served (me) together in establishing (this) nation, I wish to bestow words of favour (by) making units of one thousand and appointing you commanders of a thousand.' So he decreed, and he appointed the commanders of a thousand, naming them as: (1) Father Mönglik, (2) Bo'orchu, (3)

[264] Jamuqa knew that Chinggis did not approve of people who changed sides. Chinggis does not want to kill him because he is an 'anda,' ie sworn brother. Also Chinggis does not want to damage his own reputation of being just by killing without proper justification.

[265] See Introduction, p v.

[266] Guy Ong was a title of Chinese origin meaning 'Prince of the State'. See B.2: 223. In fact the title was not conferred at this time but twelve years later, in 1218. (The same applies to the mission of Jebe, mentioned in the next line – see B.2: 223–4, note 5.)

[267] The Mongolian peoples (or Mongolian state) consisted of the Tatar, Onggirat, Tayyichi'ut, Kereyit, Naiman, Merkit and Jadaran tribes, together with other smaller tribes.

Muqali guy-ong, (4) Qorchi, (5) Ilügei, (6) Jürchedei, (7) Qunan, (8) Qubilai, (9) Jelme, (10) Tüge, (11) Degei, (12) Tolon, (13) Önggür, (14) Chülgetei, (15) Boroqul, (16) Shigi-qutuqu, (17) Göchü, (18) Kököchü, (19) Qorqosun, (20) Hüsün, (21) Quyildar, (22) Shiluqai, (23) Jetei, (24) Taqai, (25) Chaqa'an-qo'a, (26) Alaq, (27) Sorqan-shira, (28) Buluqan, (29) Qarachar, (30) Kökö-chos, (31) Süyiketü, (32) Nayya'a (ie Naya'a), (33) Jungshoi, (34) Güchügür, (35) Bala, (36) Oronartai, (37) Dayir, (38) Müge, (39) Bujir, (40) Mönggü'ür, (41) Dolo'adai, (42) Bögen, (43) Qudus, (44) Maral, (45) Jebke, (46) Yuruqan, (47) Kökö, (48) Jebe, (49) Udutai, (50) Bala-cherbi, (51) Kete, (52) Sübe'etei, (53) Möngkö-qalja, (54) Qurchaqus, (55) Geügi, (56) Badai, (57) Kishiliq, (58) Ketei, (59) Cha'urqai, (60) Onggiran, (61) Toqon-temür, (62) Megetü, (63) Qada'an, (64) Moroqa, (65) Dori-buqa, (66) Iduqadai, (67) Siraqul, (68) Da'wun, (69) Tamachi, (70) Qa'uran, (71) Alchi, (72) Tobsaqa, (73) Tungquidai, (74) Tobuqa, (75) Ajinai, (76) Tüyideger, (77) Seche'ür, (78) Jeder, (79) Olar-güregen, (80) Kinggiyadai, (81) Buqa-güregen, (82) Quril, (83) Ashig-güregen, (84) Qadai-güregen, (85) Chigü-güregen, (86, 87 and 88) Alchi-güregen (commanding) three thousand Onggirat, (89 and 90) Butu-güregen (commanding) two thousand Ikires, (91, 92, 93, 94 and 95) Alaqush-digit-quri-güregen of the Önggüt (commanding) five thousand Önggüt. Excluding the people of the forest, (these) were the commanders of a thousand for the Mongqol people named by Chinggis Qahan. They became the commanders of ninety-five thousand (men).

203. Once again, Chinggis Qahan issued a decree, 'After having appointed those named – including my sons-in-law – as commanders of a thousand (over) the ninety-five thousand (men), there are however (some) among them to whom I wish to grant favours for their service.' Chinggis Qahan (then) issued a (further) decree, saying, 'Let Bo'orchu, Muqali and the other commanders come!' When he said this, Shigi-qutuqu[268] was there inside the *yurt*, and to Shigi-qutuqu (Chinggis Qahan) said, 'Go and summon them!' (But) Shigi-qutuqu replied, 'Compared to whom have Bo'orchu, Muqali and the others performed more services? Compared to whom have they served more fully? (If) there are favours to be given, surely I did not lack in performing services, surely I did not lack in serving fully?

> From the time (I was) in the cradle,
> At your noble threshold,
> Until these bristles sprouted and on (my) chin and I grew,

[268] See section 138. From 1206, he was the Chief Justice.

I did not think of anyone else.
From (the time) of incontinence at the crotch,[269]
At your golden threshold,
Until these bristles sprouted and around (my) mouth and I grew
I made no false steps.
She (ie Mother Hö'elun) made me lie at her feet,
And even brought me up as a son.
She made me lie at her side,
And even brought me up as a younger brother (to you).

Now, what kind of favour will you bestow on me?' At these words, Chinggis Qahan said to Shigi-qutuqu, 'Are you not the sixth younger brother? To you, my last-born younger brother, the favour is (one of) the younger brothers' shares which I shall divide among them. Furthermore, because of your services you shall not be punished for (up to) nine crimes.' So he decreed. And he said, 'At the time when I, being protected by Eternal Heaven (Almighty Spirits) was setting in order the entire nation, you became (my) seeing eyes, (my) listening ears. Share out the entire nation to (our) mother, to us (ie to myself), to (my) younger brothers and to (my) sons. Divide up the (people) of the felt-walled *yurts*, according to their tribes separate the (people) of board-doored (dwellings) and let no-one countermand your word!' So he decreed. And again he said to Shigi-qutuqu,

'Punishing the thieves and
Putting right the lies.

of the entire nation, kill those who, with reason, should be killed and punish those who, with reason, should be punished.' And he appointed (Shigi-qutuqu) to hold judgement over all. Then he said to him, 'Writing in a blue book, make a register of the shares (you) have divided the entire nation into, and the judgements (you) have made. Up to the seed of (my) seed, let no(-one) alter the blue writing of Shigi-qutuqu, ordained in consultation with me, (written) on white paper in a blue book and made into a register. Those people who alter it will be (found) guilty.' So he decreed. (But) Shigi-qutuqu said, 'How can a last-born younger brother like me take the same share, equal to (that of the others)? If, favouring me, the Qahan gives me an earth-walled town,[270] let that be his favour!' He petitioned and to these words (Chinggis Qahan) said, 'You have determined for yourself and you have decided.' After having been favoured himself in this

[269] 'Incontinence at the crotch' (*shi'ek*) – that is, infancy. See B.1: 246.
[270] It is possible that Shigi-qutuqu is referring to the towns of the Naiman in western Mongolia.

way, Shigi-qutuqu went out and, summoning Bo'orchu, Muqali and the other commanders, showed them into (the *yurt*).

204. Then Chinggis Qahan issued a decree, saying to Father Mönglik,

> '(As you) were born with (me), we were born together,
> (As you) grew up with (me), we grew up together,
> You are lucky and blessed!

Your services and protection, how many were they? Among them, (was the time when) (my) father the Ong Qan, and sworn brother Senggüm tricked (me) and summoned me (to the betrothal feast). I came and on the way spent the night in Father Mönglik's *yurt*. Father Mönglik, if you had not dissuaded (me) I would have entered

> The waters that were whirling,
> The fire that was red.

Remembering that service alone, how can it be forgotten, (even) up to the seed of (my) seed? Now, in memory of that service, I will have you to sit on the corner at the end of this seat.[271] Yearly and monthly, bestowing gifts in charity,[272] I will give favours to you, I wish this service to be (so), up to the seed of (your) seed!' So he spoke and decreed.

205. Chinggis Qahan further said to Bo'orchu, 'When I was small I was robbed of eight horses, the light bay geldings. I pursued them, spending three nights on the way. We met each other as I was going and there you said, "You have come (here) in suffering, I will become a companion to (you) friend." You were milking your mare and, without (sending) a message to your father at the *yurt*, concealing your leather bag and bucket in the open field, you made me give up my bald-tailed chestnut (horse) and made me ride a black-headed grey, (while) you yourself rode a swift dun. You left your horse-herds without a master and, in haste, you became a companion from the steppe to me. Again, we chased for three nights. We approached a circular camp and, at the camp's edge, the stolen light bay geldings were standing. We stole them and, driving them away, escaped and brought them (back), both of us. Your father was Naqu-bayyan ("Naqu the Rich"), and you were his only son – what did you know about me when you became my companion? (But) by your brave

[271] Although the text says *huja'ur* – 'root, origin, source' this could be a mistake for *üjü'ür* – 'tip, extremity'; hence 'the end of this seat' as my translation.

[272] 'Bestowing in charity' (*sataju*) derives from an OT word, *sadaka*, 'goods in charity'. When Mongol queens or princesses gave birth to a son, they were given gifts of gold, silver and silk by their Qahans and these gifts were called *sadaqai*. For *sataju* see B.1: 235–6.

heart you became (my) companion. I kept remembering (you) after that and I sent Belgütei to say "Let us be companions (again)." Riding a chestnut horse with a hunched back, tying your grey woollen cloak, across the saddle, you came to be my companion. And when the Three Merkit came (to attack) us and circled us three times around (Mt.) Burqan, you circled with (me). And again, after that, when I was sleeping after fighting with the Tatar people at Dalan-nemürges and the rain was pouring down continuously, day and night, in order to let me sleep you constantly shielded me with your cloak and did not let the rain fall on me. Until the night was over, you stood (there) shifting (your weight) from (one foot) to the other only once. (This) was a sign of your bravery. Not (counting) these, which of your brave (acts) could I finish telling? Bo'orchu and Muqali, you both made me reach this throne (by) urging me until I carried out my correct (duties) and dissuading me until I stopped my wrong (acts). Now, sitting on seats above all (the others) you will not (be) punished for (up to) nine crimes. Bo'orchu, you will be in charge of the ten thousand (men) of the right hand, extending up to the Altai!'

206. Further, Chinggis Qahan said to Muqali, 'When we set up camp in the Qorqonaq Forest, by the Saqlar ('Many Leaved') Tree – Qutula Qan's dancing place – because of the omen of words foretold to Muqali by Heaven's sign, and remembering (his father) Gü'ün-qo'a, I there pledged my word to Muqali. Therefore, (I am) sitting (now) on an upper seat; up to the seed of his seed, Muqali shall become the Guy-Ong of the entire people!' Saying (this) he gave him the title of Guy-Ong and made a decree, saying, 'Let Muqali be in charge of the ten thousand men of the left hand, extending up to Qara'un-jidün'.[273]

207. (Then), Chinggis Qahan said to Qorchi, '(Once) you prophesied (about) me,[274] and for a long time – from when I was small until now –

> When it was wet, we bore the wet together,
> When it was cold, we bore the cold together.

You have continually been a strong[275] and blessed (man) (for me). Qorchi, at that time you said, "If this prediction is correct, being

[273] Qara'un-jidün was first mentioned earlier, in section 183. It is a mountain range in NW Manchuria, now known as Xing-an to the Chinese and Shike (Yeke)-qahan to the Mongols. It is called 'Jiden Dawaa' in the Dawr Mongol area.

[274] For this prophecy see section 121. The stem of the word used here, *jönglejü* derives from *jöng* – 'drawing lots; prophesying'. See B.1: 302–3.

[275] 'Strong' is my translation of *nendü* (*nendü'üt* in section 231) which I take to be derived from *mendü*, meaning 'strong and healthy'. Other translators however, have thought the word refers to a kind of beneficent spirit called a Nenü(k) spirit. See for example, B.12, vol 21: 30, 53–54.

fulfilled by Heaven for (your) desires, then let me have thirty women!" Now, because it was correct, I shall favour you. Look over the fine women and fine girls of those subjugated peoples and, choosing thirty women, take them!' So he decreed. Again he spoke: 'In addition to the three thousand Ba'arin (of which he is in command), Qorchi, with both Taqai and Ashiq, shall make a full (unit of) ten thousand (with) the Chinos, the Tö'ölös and the Telenggüt of the Adarkin and he, Qorchi, shall be in charge. Freely establishing his camp along the Erdish (river) up to the camps (of) the people of the forest, he shall subjugate the people of the forest. Let Qorchi be in charge of the ten thousand (men).' So he decreed, and (then) he said, 'The people of the forest should not act like this or like that without consultation with Qorchi. (As for those who) act without consultation – why hesitate? (Punish them!)' So he decreed.

208. Further, Chinggis Qahan said to Jürchedei, 'Your major service (came) when we were fighting with the Kereyit at Qalaqaljit Sands – a time of worry. Sworn brother Quyildar promised (to protect me) (but) you, Jürchedei, carried out his work. In carrying (this) out, Jürchedei, you attacked the Jirgin, the Tübegen, the Dongqayid and Quri-shilemün (with his) thousand sentries – all of the important soldiers you crushed. Reaching (their) main army, you shot Senggüm's cheek with an uchuma[276] arrow. Because of this, the door's "rein" (ie handle) was opened (for me) by Eternal Heaven (Almighty Spirits). If Senggüm had not been wounded, what would have happened to us? That was Jürchedei's major and great service! After parting (from him) we went off downstream along the Qalqa, (but) I constantly thought of Jürchedei, comparing him to the shelter of a high mountain. We arrived at Lake Baljuna in order to water (the animals). Then we rode out from Lake Baljuna and (I) had Jürchedei (go ahead) as a scout. We rode out against the Kereyit and, our strength having been increased by Heaven and Earth, we finished off the Kereyit and plundered them. The (most) important nation being razed, the Naiman and the Merkit "broke off their faces" (ie lost confidence) and could not fight, (but instead) were scattered. (While) the Merkit and the Naiman scattered at the time of the battle, Jaqa-gambu of the Kereyit, because of his two daughters, remained with his subjects and his people (left) intact. When for a second time he became an enemy, Jürchedei lured those who had separated by tricks. He seized and captured Jaqa-gambu, who had completely separated (from us), and put an end to him (by suffocation). Then for a second time we killed

[276] For uchuma see page 80 note 211.

and squandered that Jaqa-gambu's people. This was Jürchedei's second service!'

In the days of slaying and being slain,
He disregarded his life – because of this,
In the days of killing and being killed,
He strove forward – because of this

Chinggis Qahan, favouring Jürchedei, gave Ibaqa-beki to him (as a wife). To Ibaqa he said, 'I have not said that you are not intelligent, nor that your looks and complexion are bad. You have entered my breast and my loins and have settled in the rank (of my wives). Mindful of the great principle (by which deeds are rewarded) I will favour Jürchedei. (Because) of Jürchedei's services when,

In the days of fighting and being fought,
He became our shield.
Against the enemy men,
He became our shelter.
The separated people,
He brought together;
The scattered people,
He united.

Mindful of the principle, I give you to him. From now on, my seed sitting upon our throne shall be mindful of the principle (regarding) services performed such as this; they shall not countermand my words. (Further), up to the seed of my seed, they shall not displace Ibaqa's seat.' So he spoke and decreed. And again Chinggis Qahan said to Ibaqa, 'Your father, Jaqa-gambu, gave you two hundred servants (as) dowry; he (also gave) you the two cooks, Ashiq-temür and Alchiq.[277] Now, you are going to the Uru'ut people. From your dowry, give me as a legacy Ashiq-temür, your cook, and one hundred servants, (then) go!' After taking them, Chinggis Qahan again said to Jürchedei, 'I am giving my Ibaqa to you. Will you not (also) take charge of your four thousand Uru'ut?' So he decreed, favouring him.

[277] Ashiq-temür, used here as a personal name but made up of an OT word *ashik* – 'helmet' and *temür* – 'iron', ie 'iron helmet'. See B.1: 95. Alchiq is also a personal name, but it meant 'spy' in the OT dialect. See B.1: 91.

CHAPTER NINE

209. Then Chinggis Qahan said to Qubilai, 'For me you pressed (down)

> The necks of the powerful,
> The buttocks of the wrestlers.

You, Qubilai, Jelme, Jebe and Sübegetei – these my "four hounds" – when I sent you, pointing you to (the place) I had in mind,

> When I said, "Reach (that place)!"
> You smashed the ores.
> When I said, "Attack!"
> You split the rocks (in two).
> You broke into pieces the shining stones,
> You parted the deep waters.[278]

Qubilai, Jelme, Jebe and Sübe'etei, you my "four hounds", I sent you to the place I had aimed you. When my "four war-horses", Bo'orchu, Muqali, Boroqul and Chila'un-ba'atur, were beside me when the days of fighting came, and when I made Jürchedei and Quyildar stand before me with their Uru'ut and Mangqut (troops), then my heart was completely at ease.' And favouring (Qubilai), he issued a decree: 'You, Qubilai, will you not take seniority in the armies' affair?' (Then) he said, 'Because of Bedü'ün's obstinacy I acted badly towards him and did not give him a thousand (men). You get along with him and with you he could manage a thousand. (If) he consults with you it will work.' And again he said, 'After some time, we will assess Bedü'ün.'[279]

210. Further, Chinggis Qahan said to (ie of) the Geniges Qunan, 'For you, Bo'orchu, Muqali and the other commanders, and for you, Dödei, Doqolqu and the other *cherbi*, this Qunan became a male wolf in the black night, a black crow in the bright day. When we were on

[278] His 'four hounds' obeyed his orders to fight.
[279] Nothing else is known about Bedü'ün.

the move he did not stop (to rest) and when we stopped (to rest) he did not move out.

With men who were outsiders,
He did not put on another face.
With men who were (my) personal enemy,
He did not put on another face.

Do not act without consultation with both Qunan and Kökö-chos; (after) consulting with them both, (then) act!' So he decreed. (Then) he issued a (further) decree, saying, 'Jochi is the eldest of my sons. Leading his Geniges under Jochi, Qunan shall be the commander of ten thousand!' (And he went on,) 'Qunan, Kökö-chos, Degei and Old Man Üsün – these four are the four who did not hide (from me) what they saw, who did not conceal (from me) what they heard.'

211. Then Chinggis Qahan said to Jelme, 'When I was born at Deli'ün-boldaq on the Onon, old man Jarchi'udai came down from Burqan-qaldun, carrying his bellows on his back and Jelme still in his cradle. He came and gave (me) swaddling clothes of sable. Since he (ie Jelme) became my companion, he has become

The slave of (my) threshold,
The personal slave of (my) door.

Jelme's services are many –

(As he) was born with (me), we were born together.
(As he) grew up with (me), we grew up together.

The origin (of our companionship) (lies) in (those) sable swaddling clothes, he is fortunate and blessed. If Jelme commits (up to) nine crimes he shall not be found guilty.' So he decreed.

212. Then Chinggis Qahan said to Tolun, 'How can it be that you, father and son, (each) be in charge of a separate thousand? When you were gathering together the people you (Tolun) became the other wing to (that of) your father. You strove together and gathered up the people – because of (this) I gave you the title, *cherbi*. Now, will you not consult with Turuqan and, with those you have gathered and obtained by yourself, form your own (unit of a) thousand?' So he decreed.

213. Again, Chinggis Qahan said to Önggür the cook, 'The Three Toqura'ut, the Five Tarqut and you Önggür, the son of Mönggetükiyan, with your Changshi'ut and Baya'ut (men), became one camp for me. You Önggür,

In the fog you did not go astray,
In the battle you did not forsake (us).
When it was wet, we bore the wet together,
When it was cold we bore the cold together.

Now, what kind of favour will you take?' When he said this, Önggür replied, 'If I have the choice of favour (let it be this): my Baya'ut kinsmen are each scattered among all the tribes. If you favour me, I wish to collect (together) my Baya'ut kinsmen.' When he said that, Chinggis Qahan issued a decree, saying, 'Let it be so. Collect (together) your Baya'ut kinsmen and take charge over a (unit of a) thousand!' Again Chinggis Qahan issued a decree, saying, 'Önggür and Boro'ul, you two cooks distribute food to the right side and the left side. On the right side, to those who are standing up and those who are seated, do not let there be a lack (of food). And on the left side, to those who are lined up and to those who are not lined up, [either sitting or standing] do not let there be a shortage (of food). If you two distribute (the food) like this, then my throat will not choke and my heart will be at ease. Now Önggür and Boro'ul, ride off and go to distribute food to (all) the many people!' And he issued a (further) decree, saying, 'When you arrange the seats to the right and left sides of the great (kumis) flasks, you should look after the food. Sit with Tolun and the others in the centre (of the *yurt*), (facing us),' and he pointed out (their) seats for them.

214. Then Chinggis Qahan said to Boroqul, 'You four, Shigi-qutuqu, Boroqul, Güchü and Kököchü, from the camps of other people, my mother

Found you on the ground
She placed you on her own lap,
And made you (her) sons, taking care (of you)
and bringing you up.
Pulling you all up by (your) necks,
She made you equal with (other) people.
Pulling you all up by (your) collar bones,
She made you equal with (other) men.

She brought you up, wishing you to become the 'companion-shadows' of us, her own sons. Who knows how many benefits and services you have rendered to our mother for her own benefit (to you) in bringing you up? Boroqul became a companion to me;

On (our) swift expeditions on rainy nights
You did not let me spend the night (with) an empty stomach.
Being engaged in battle with the enemy,
You did not let me spend the night without stew.

Again, blighting the Tatar people, the vengeful enemy, who finished (our) forefathers and fathers, we gained vengeance and sought revenge. We measured the Tatar people against a (cart's) linchpin and killed them off completely. At the time of (this) killing, Qargil-shira of the Tatar got away and became a bandit. Then, as he was suffering and hungry he came to (my) mother and entered her *yurt*. "I am a seeker of alms," he said. "If you are a seeker of alms," he was told, "(then) sit over there!" While he was sitting on the end of the bed, on the western side of (the *yurt*) next to the fire (by the door), Tolui, who was five years old, entered, coming in from outside. He then ran and went outside and, as he did so, Qargil-shira got up and, (snatching) the boy and tucking him under his arm, went out (of the *yurt*). As he went, he felt for his knife and drew it out. Boroqul's wife, Altani, had been sitting in (my) mother's *yurt* on the eastern side. As (my) mother was shouting, "The boy is finished!" Altani, running out immediately after her, caught up with Qargil-shira and, seizing his plaits of hair (from) behind (with one hand), she grasped his hand as it was drawing out the knife with her other hand. Upon her tugging, he dropped his knife. At that time Jetei and Jelme were killing a short-horned black ox for provisions at the back of the *yurt*. On (hearing) Altani's cry, Jetei and Jelme both came running, holding (their) axes, their fists red (with blood). With (their) axes and knives they killed Qargil-shira of the Tatar on the very spot. While Altani, Jetei and Jelme were arguing together about (whose) was the highest merit[280] in saving the life of the boy, Jetei and Jelme said, "If we had not come running swiftly, and if we had not killed him, what would Altani, a woman, have done? He would have brought harm to the boy's life. The highest merit is surely ours." (Then) Altani said, "If you had not heard my shouting, how would you have come? I myself ran, caught up with him, seized his plaits and pulled his hand that was drawing out the knife. If the knife had not dropped, Jetei and Jelme would not have come until he had brought harm to the boy's life." After she had said this (it was agreed that) the highest merit was Altani's. Because of her service (in saving) Tolui's life, Boroqul's wife became

[280] 'The highest merit' is my translation of *jüldü*, which was encountered in section 13 (see note 16, page 4) with a meaning of 'head, heart and lungs', that is, the best part of an animal, or the part consecrated to the spirits. The word also had other meanings such as 'champion wrestler' in the Khorchin area, and the first animal caught on a hunt which was presented to the leader of the hunt. See B.1: 304–5.

(like) a second cart-shaft to Boroqul. And again Boroqul, when we were fighting with the Kereyit at Qalqaljit (ie Qalaqaljit) Sands, when Ögödei[281] was hit in the neck vein by an arrow and fell, Boroqul dismounted and (stayed) over him. (He) sucked his congealed blood with his own mouth and spent the night with him. Next morning, he put (Ögödei) on a horse, (but) he could not sit up, (so) they rode double, (Boroqul) clasping Ögödei from behind, and repeatedly sucking the clotted blood, (so that) the corners of his mouth became red. He came, and safely delivered Ögödei's life. (For) my mother's favour of suffering to bring him up, he was of service (in saving) the lives of my two sons. Boroqul became a companion to me,

> He was never late for my constant summons,
> Even when the summons were indirect.

If Boroqul commits (up to) nine crimes, do not punish him!' So he decreed. And again, he said, 'As a favour, we shall give our daughters and their descendants to him (and his descendants).'

215. And again, he said, 'As a favour, we shall give our daughters and their descendants to him (and his descendants).'[282]

216. Further, Chinggis Qahan said to Old Man Üsün, 'Üsün, Qunan, Kökö-chos and Degei: these four did not hide (nor) conceal what they had seen and what they had heard, (but) used to inform me. What they understood and what they thought, they used to tell me. (According to) Mongqol practice, the custom is that (one) by the way of the lord ('Noyan') becomes a *beki*.[283] You are the descendant of the Elder Brother Ba'arin (Ba'aridai). (Following) the way of the *beki* let Old Man Üsün, who among us is above us (a generation), become a *beki*. After being elevated to (the rank of) *beki*

> He shall wear a white dress,
> He shall ride a white gelding;
> On the upper seat
> (I) shall make him sit and have him served.

[281] Ögödei (1186–1241) was the third son and eventual successor of Chinggis Qahan. The incident referred to is narrated in sections 172–173.

[282] These two lines ('And again he said . . .') appear at the end of section 214 and are immediately repeated. The problem lies in deciding which, if either, is a copyist's mistake. I have decided that the repetition is the mistake and that the first occurrence is part of the decree favouring Boroqul. Note, however, that de Rachewiltz decided that the second occurrence is the correct one and that in place of 'we shall give our daughters' he has 'Let us reward our female descendants' (B.12 vol 23: 117).

[283] 'Beki' meant either the chief of a clan or tribe, or an empress or princess. Here *beki* (from the OT *bäg -päk -bäi*) meant a high ranking officer. These *beki* wore white clothing and rode on white horses, white being a respected colour. See B.1: 147.

Further, yearly and monthly, let there be bestowals[284] and let him live (in peace).' So he decreed.

217. Further, Chinggis Qahan said, 'Because (my) sworn brother Quyildar, in the fighting, gave up his life before (any man) had opened his mouth, up to the seed of his seed (his offspring) shall receive an orphan's recompense.' So he decreed.

218. Again, Chinggis Qahan said to Chaqan-qo'a's son, Narin-to'oril, 'Your father, Chaqan-qo'a, exerted (himself) in fighting for my sake at Dalan-baljut. During the fighting he was killed by Jamuqa. Now let To'oril take an orphan's recompense for his father's service!' After being told this, To'oril said, 'If you favour me (grant me this): my Negüs kinsmen are each scattered among other tribes. If you favour me, I wish to collect (together) my Negüs kinsmen.' When he said (this), Chinggis Qahan issued a decree: 'If that is so then collect your Negüs kinsmen. And will you not be in charge of them, up to the seed of (your) seed?' So he decreed.

219. Then Chinggis Qahan said to Sorqan-shira, 'When I was small I was envied by Tarqutai-kiriltuq of the Tayyichi'ut and his kinsmen. When I was captured you, Sorqan-shira, realised that I was envied by my kinsmen. With your sons, Chila'un and Chimbai, you had your daughter, Qada'an, look after (me) and, having hidden (me), you released (me) and sent (me back). The good (of) that service of yours I remembered in (my) dreams in the black night and in (my) breast in the bright day. I kept thinking (of you) but you were slow in coming to me from the Tayyichi'ut. (However), if I now show favour to you, what kind of favour do you desire?' Being with his sons, Chila'un and Chimbai, Sorqan-shira said, 'If you favour us, free the camps (on) the Merkit's land, free it (for us) to camp along the Selengge. Any further favour I leave to Chinggis Qahan (to decide).' At that, Chinggis Qahan said, 'Let the camps in the Merkit's land (along) the Selengge be freed (for them) to camp (there). Furthermore, up to the seed of (their) seed, I will let them carry quivers. I will let them drink the ceremonial wine and they shall be freedmen. They shall not be found guilty for (up to) nine crimes!' So he decreed. Chinggis Qahan further favoured both Chila'un and Chimbai, (saying), 'Remembering the words that you both, Chila'un and Chimbai, spoke

[284] For 'bestowals' see page 113 note 272.

(once) formerly, how will you be satisfied?[285] Chila'un and Chimbai, whatever you both are thinking of, say it. If you lack for anything, then ask it. Do not speak through an intermediary, (but) by your own bodies, by (your own) mouths, tell me yourselves what it is you are thinking of, ask me yourselves for whatever you are lacking.' So he decreed. Again, (he said), 'Sorqan-shira, Badai and Kishiliq, you (are) freedmen. When, as freedmen, you again gallop after many enemies, if you find booty, (as much as) you find, you may take; if you hunt wild beasts, (then, as many as) you kill you may take.' So he decreed. (Then) he decreed (further), saying, 'If we talk of Sorqan-shira, he was merely the Tayyichi'ut's' servant;[286] if we talk of Badai and Kishiliq, they were both merely the herdsmen of (Yeke-) Cheren. Now, (with) my support, I shall have them become quiver bearers, I shall have them drink the ceremonial wine, and (I shall) let them enjoy (being) freedmen.'

220. Further, Chinggis Qahan said to Naya'a, '(Once), Old Man Shirgötü, (Shirgötü) together with you his sons – Alaq and Naya'a – seized Tarqutai-kiriltuq, and was coming to us. On the way you arrived at Qutuqul-nu'u ("corner") and there (you) Naya'a said, 'How can we go (on like this), seizing our rightful Qan and (then) forsaking him?' Unable to forsake him, (you) released him. Old Man Shirgötü came together with (you), his sons Alaq and Naya'a, and then you, Naya'a-bilji'ür ("the lark") said, "We laid hands on our rightful Qan and were coming (to you with him) but we could not forsake him and (so) we released him. We have come to serve Chinggis Qahan. If we had come, having laid hands on our rightful Qan, it would be said (of us) that how can people who lay hands on their rightful Qan be trusted in future? We could not forsake our Qan.' Then I approved of the words he had spoken (for) he had remembered the great principle (of loyalty) and (for this) reason could not forsake his rightful Qan, and I said, 'I shall rely on him for one task.' Now, (as) I have put Bo'orchu in charge of the ten thousand (men) of the right hand and Muqali, to whom I gave the title 'Guy Ong', I have put in charge of the ten thousand (men) of the left hand, let Naya's now be in charge of the ten thousand (men) of the centre.' So he decreed.

[285] Although de Rachewiltz (B.12 vol 23: 118) translates this as 'how can one ignore them' and Cleaves (B.11: 159) as 'how could I forget them' the actual meaning of *qandaju* (*qangqaju* in section 145; *qangqan* in Section 177) is 'satisfying' from *qanda* – 'to be satisfied'. Most translators have been puzzled by the Chinese interlinear note, *man li ti* ('that which stands full') but this seems to be a mistake for *Man tsu ti* ('satisfactory'). See B.1: 165.

[286] For servant – tödege, (sic tödöge) see page 61 note 169.

221. Again (Chinggis Qahan) said, 'Let Jebe and Sübe'etei make (units of) one thousand for themselves from those (men) they have obtained and gathered (together).'

222. And further he had Degei the shepherd gather (together) those who were unattached (to a leader) and he put him in charge of one thousand.

223. Then he said to Güchügür the carpenter, '(You) are lacking people. Mulqalqu from the Jadaran has been a constant companion (to me), so, gathering (men) from here and there, let Güchügür and Mulqalqu consult together and make (a unit) of one thousand.'

224. Those who had established the nation (with him) and those who had toiled (with him) he made commanders of a thousand. He favoured those who deserved favour and praised those who were praiseworthy. Making units of a thousand, he appointed the commanders of a thousand, of a hundred and of ten. Making units of ten thousand, he appointed the commanders of ten thousand. He favoured them and issued a decree, (saying), 'I gave favour to you commanders of ten thousand and one thousand (as you) are such that favour should be given.' Then he, Chinggis Qahan, issued a (further) decree, saying, 'Formerly I had eighty night-guards and seventy sentries (serving) on shift. Now, by the strength of Eternal Heaven (Almighty Spirits), by Heaven and Earth, my strength and might have been increased and the whole nation has been unified and submitted to my sole rule. Now choosing shift-sentries from the (units) of a thousand, have them enter into service for me. Enter night-guards, quiver bearers and sentries into service and when they enter, enter them so that they make a full ten thousand.' Then Chinggis Qahan proclaimed a decree to the (units) of a thousand (on) the choosing of guards and their entry into service: 'Have guards enter into service to us! Entering the sons of the commanders of ten thousand, one thousand and one hundred, and the sons of the ordinary people, let such as are skilful, strong and handsome, fit to serve at our side, enter into service. Have the sons of the commanders of a thousand enter and let them come with ten companions (each), leading one of their younger brothers.[287] Have the sons of the commanders of a hundred enter, and let them come with five companions (each), leading one of their younger brothers. Have the sons of the commanders of ten enter and have the

[287] The reasons for ordering them to take their younger brothers were: 1. In the event of illness affecting the elder brother, the younger one could take his place promptly. 2. The greater the number of commanders' sons with the Qahan, the more loyal would the commanders be.

sons of the ordinary people enter (with) three companions (each) and also leading one younger brother (each). Let them come from (their) original (units) with a mount made ready and let them strengthen (the number of those) serving at our side. The ten companions (for) the sons of the commanders of one thousand are to be gathered (from) their original (units) of one thousand and one hundred and given (to them). Apart from (anything) they may have already owned or received (from) their fathers, and any men or geldings they may have obtained by themselves, all such things should be levied at a rate fixed by us and having arranged this let it be completed. And also, in the same manner, apart from their personal shares, levy in the same way and give five companions (each) to the sons of the commanders of one hundred and three companions (each) to the sons of the commanders of ten and to the sons of the ordinary men.' So he decreed. And (again) he decreed, 'As soon as this our decree has reached the commanders of the thousands, the hundreds and the tens, and the many (ordinary) people, (if) in spite of hearing it, they transgress, they shall be found guilty. Those people who have entered into (service) with us who evade working (their) shifts and are not willing to serve at our side, if they think this to be a hardship, (then) have others enter into service. Punish those (former) men and send them to a far place, out of my sight.' And he said, 'Do not discourage those people who wish to serve at our side and are learning from being with us!'

225. The (night-guards) came, according to Chinggis Qahan's decree, which chose them from the (units of) a thousand and also chose them – again according to the same decree – from the sons of the commanders of one hundred and ten. Formerly, there were eighty night-guards, (but) he made them eight hundred. (Then) he said, 'In addition to the eight hundred, add (more to make) a full one thousand!' and he issued a decree, saying 'Prevent (discourage) no(-one) from entering into service as a night-guard!' (Then) he said, 'Yeke-ne'ürin shall be head of the night-guards and in charge of one thousand!' So he decreed. Formerly, he had chosen four hundred quiver-bearers. Choosing them he said, 'Let Jelme's son Yisün-te'e be head of the quiver-bearers and let him consult with Tüge's son Bügidei!' (Then) he decreed, 'The quiver-bearers shall go in to serve with the sentries, shift (by) shift. Yisün-te'e shall be at the head of one shift (of) quiver-bearers and shall go in (with them). Bügidei shall be at the head of one shift (of) quiver-bearers and shall go in (with them). Horqudaq shall be at the head of one shift (of) quiver-bearers and shall go in (with them). Lablaqa shall be at the head of one shift (of) quiver-bearers and shall go in (with them). Let (these four) have their quiver-bearers go in to

serve and carry (their) quivers with the various shifts of the sentries and in this way be at their heads. Let Yishün-te'e, filling up (the numbers) of quiver-bearers (to make) one thousand, be at their head.'

226. Filling up (the number of) sentries – those who had formerly entered into service with Ögele-cherbi – (to make) one thousand, (Chinggis Qahan) said, 'Let Ögele-cherbi from the clan of Bo'orchu be in charge (of them)!' And (he divided) the sentries (into units of) one thousand, saying, 'Let Buqa from the clan of Muqali be in charge of one thousand sentries, and let Alchidai from the clan of Ilügei be in charge of one thousand sentries!' (And he added) 'Let Dödei-cherbi be in charge of one thousand sentries; let Dolqolqu-cherbi be in charge of one thousand sentries! Let Chanai from the clan of Jürchedei be in charge of one thousand sentries and let Aqutai from the clan of Alchi be in charge of one thousand sentries. Let Arqai-qasar be in charge of one thousand sentries (who are also) one thousand chosen warriors. In days of peace let them be sentries, but in days of fighting let them stand in front (of us) as warriors.' So he decreed. He chose eight thousand from the various (units of) one thousand and those who came became sentries. They also became two (units of) a thousand of night-guards and quiver-bearers. (Then) Chinggis Qahan issued a decree, saying, '(After) strengthening the ten thousand guards who are closest to us, let them become the main army.'

227. Again, Chinggis Qahan issued a decree: 'Let the elders of the four shifts of the sentries be appointed. Let Buqa, being in charge of one shift of guards, set the guards in order and enter in; let Alchidai, being in charge of one shift of guards, set the guards in order and enter in; let Dödei-cherbi, being in charge of one shift of guards, set the guards in order and enter in; let Doqolqu-cherbi, being in charge of one shift of guards, set the guards in order and enter in.' Appointing the elders of the four shifts he had the shifts go in to serve. (Then) he proclaimed a decree, saying, '(On) starting the shift, the shift's commander shall be at his post and he should hold a roll call of those divided into shifts and (then) enter the shift. After spending three nights, let (the units) relieve each other. If a guardsman (on) a shift abandons that shift, let (his commander) teach the guard who has interrupted (with) three (strokes of) the rod. If the same guard again, for a second time, abandons a shift, let (the commander) teach him (with) seven (strokes of) the rod. If the same man, without (suffering) from (any) physical illness and without permission from the shift commander, abandons the shift for a third time, service to us being (too) difficult (for him), let (his commander) teach him (with) thirty-seven (strokes of) the rod and (then) send him to a far place.' So he

decreed. And he said, 'The elders of the guards shall announce this decree to the guards at every third shift.[288] If the guards' elders do not announce it, they shall be found guilty. If, in spite of the decree having been announced, (any man) transgresses the principle of the decree and, by doing so, interrupts the shift, the guards shall be found guilty.' So he decreed. And he said 'Elders of the guards, without my permission do not reprimand my guards who entered into service on an equal (footing) with you, just because you are (now) senior (to them). If (any man) offends against the law, report him to me! If there are those who should be executed, I will execute them. If there are those who should be beaten I shall make them lie down and beat them. If you reach out (against) my guards – who were (once) your equals – with hands or feet, or if you beat them with a rod, just because you are (now) their seniors, you shall be repaid (in kind) – if you beat them with a rod, in return you shall (receive) a rod, in return for (a beating with fists) you shall (receive) fists.'

228. Once more, Chinggis Qahan issued a decree: 'My guards are higher (in rank) than the leaders of a thousand (from) outside, and my guards' attendants are higher (in rank) than the outside leaders of a hundred and of ten. If, the outside members of a thousand by making (themselves) equal and matching my guards, dispute with my guards, (those) men – the leaders of a thousand – shall be punished!' So he decreed.

229. Again, Chinggis Qahan issued a decree, proclaiming the decree to the commanders of the shift guards: 'The quiver-bearers and the sentries shall enter (their) shift and perform the day's duties in each direction, each (following) his own path. At the sun's setting they shall yield to the night-guards and, going outside, spend the night. At night, the night-guards shall spend the night with us. The quiver-bearers shall leave (their) quivers and the cooks (their) bowls and vessels with the night-guards and then go. Those who have spent the night outside – the quiver-bearers, the sentries and the cooks shall sit at the horse-tethering place until we have eaten our (morning) stew. When (we) have finished eating (our) stew, they shall report to the nightguard who shall return the quivers to the quiver-bearers, their places to the sentries and their bowls and vessels to the cooks. Each shift that goes in to serve shall follow this rule like this in just the same manner.' So he decreed. And he said, 'After the sun has set, seize (any) man who crosses in front or behind the palace. The night-guards shall seize him and spend the night (with him). The following

[288] ie the shift which probably fell within the hours of daylight.

morning, the night-guards shall question him! When the night-guards exchange their shifts, those entering shall turn over their badges (of office) and come in. At the exchange (of shifts) those going off shall also turn over (their badges) and then go.' And he said, '(During) the night, the night-guards shall lie down around the palace, keeping close up against the door. Those night-guards who are standing shall smash the heads of any people entering in the night, cutting at their shoulders until they fall, (then) casting them away. If (any) people come in the night with an urgent message they shall tell the night-guards and (then), standing together with the night-guards at the rear of the *yurt*, they shall report (to me)!' (Then) he said, No-one shall sit on a seat beyond (behind) the night-guards (night sentry post); without word from the night-guards no-one shall enter; no-one shall walk beyond (behind) the night-guards; no-one shall walk between the night-guards; (no-one) shall ask the number (of) the night-guards. Any man who walks beyond (behind) the night-guards, the night-guards shall seize; any man who walks between them, the night-guards shall seize; (if) a man asks the night-guards(') number, the night-guards shall take that person, together also with the gelding (he had) ridden that day, the saddle and the bridle, and the clothes he was wearing!' So he decreed. (Thus, this is) how Eljigedei,[289] even though he was trusted, was captured by the night-guards when he went up beyond the night-guards.[290]

[289] This person Eljigedei appears in section 278 as Eljigidei who was made 'the senior of all the commanders (the sentries)'.

[290] Little else is known about his capture by the night-guards.

CHAPTER TEN

230. Chinggis Qahan said,

'My elder night-guards,
Lying down around my *yurt*
With the smoke hole
In the cloudy night,
Letting me sleep soundly and peacefully,
They let me reach this throne.
My blessed night-guards,
Lying down around my palace *yurt*
In the starry night,
Letting me not be scared in my bed,
They let me reach the high throne.
My true-minded night-guards,
In the blustering snowstorm,
In the shivering cold,
In the pouring rain,
Standing sleeplessly
Around my latticed *yurt*,
Easing my heart,
They let me reach the happy throne.
My trusted night-guards,
Among the simmering enemies,
Standing around my felt-skirted *yurt*,
Without blinking they have guarded me.
My energetic night-guards,
When the birch-bark quivers (of the enemy) rattled
They were not late in standing (to defend me).
My night-guards who are swift to act,
When the willow-wood quivers (of the enemy) rattled
They were not late in standing (to defend me).
My blessed night-guards,
Call them (now) "Elder night-guards".

The seventy sentries who entered into service with Ögöle-cherbi, call them (now) "Noble sentries", and Arqay's warriors, call them "Elder warriors"

Yisün-te'e, Bügidei and the other quiver-bearers,
Call them, "Noble quiver-bearers"'.

So he decreed.

231. (Then Chinggis Qahan) said, 'My ten thousand personal guards, that (were) chosen and sent for personal (service) next to me from the ninety-five thousand, from now on these guards shall (be) thought of as a legacy (by) my sons, who shall sit on the throne from seed to seed. Do not let them be unhappy and take care of them well. Are not these ten thousand guards called my strong and blessed ones?'[291]

232. Again, Chinggis Qahan said, 'The night-guards shall take charge of the attendant girls of the palace, the house-boys, the camel herders and the cow herders; let them (also) take care of the palace *yurt*-carts. The night-guards shall take care of the banners and drums, the pikes[292] and the spears; let the night-guards also look after the bowls and vessels. The night-guards shall be responsible for our drink and food. The night-guards shall also organise the uncut meat and food and cook it. If there is food or drink lacking we shall look to the supervising night-guards for it. (Then) he said, 'The quiver-bearers shall distribute the drink and food (but) they shall not distribute it without permission from the supervising night-guards. Before distributing the food (to anyone else), they shall initially distribute it to the night-guards.' And he said, 'The night-guards shall control those entering and leaving the palace-*yurt*. At the door, the door-keepers of the night-guards shall stand next to the *yurt*. Let two of the night-guards enter holding the great (kumis) flasks.' And he said, 'From the night-guards, the camp-masters shall travel (ahead) and set up the palace-*yurt*.' (Then) he said, 'When we go falconing and hunting, the night-guards shall go falconing and hunting together (with us), (though) they shall restrict (themselves) and half of them shall remain at the cart.'

233. Again, Chinggis Qahan said, 'When we ourselves do not go out to war, do not let the night-guards go out to war apart from us.' After being told this, (another) command (was) issued to them: '(Any) commanding *cherbi* (of the) soldiers who, being jealous of the night-guards, transgresses (my) decree and sends them out to war, will be found guilty.' And he said, 'You may ask why it is that the soldiers of the night-guards are not sent out (to war). This is because the

[291] The guards were a reminder to his sons of their benefactor, ie the guards (see section 230): 'they [guards] let me reach the happy throne.'

[292] Although de Rachewiltz translates *doro* as 'beneath' (B.12 vol 26: 41) and sees it as describing the position of the spears, the word comes from *dörü* and means 'a pike'. See B.1: 285, B.3: 349 n 4.

night-guards are solely to guard my golden life. When we go falconing or hunting, they suffer together (with me). Being the palace administrators, (whether) it is on the move or at rest, they look after the carts. Is it easy to spend the night guarding my person? Is it easy to look after the *yurt*-carts when the great camp is on the move and when it is settled? Thus I say that they have doubled duties, of many distinct (kinds), and thus I say do not let them go to war separately and apart from us.'

234. And again he issued a decree: 'Of the night-guards, (some) with judicial duties shall listen to judicial matters with Shigi-qutuqu (and pass judgement)'. And he said, 'From the night-guards, (some) shall look after the quivers, bows, armour and equipment and distribute them. Looking after (some) of the geldings they shall load the (hunting) nets (onto them) and go.' And he said, 'Together with the *cherbin* (stewards), (some) from the night-guards shall distribute the satin.'[293] And he said, 'When (the night-guards) have assigned the camps for the quiver-bearers and the sentries, Yisün-te'e, Bükidei and the other quiver-bearers, (with) Alchidai, Ögöle, Aqutai and the other sentries shall serve on the right side of the palace.' And he said, 'Buqa, Dödei-cherbi, Dolqolqu-cherbi, Chanai and the other sentries shall serve on the left side of the palace, and the brave warriors of Arqai shall go on duty in front of the palace.' And he said, 'After taking care of the palace's *yurt*-carts, the night-guards shall serve next to the palace, on the left side (sic left and right).' And he said, 'Dödei-cherbi shall remain in the palace and shall constantly assess all the guards, namely sentries who are on duty, (together with) the household boys around the palace, the horse herders, the shepherds, the camel herders and the cattle herders of the palace.' So he said and appointed. (Then) he issued a decree, saying,'Let Dödei-cherbi always be there, serving at the rear of the palace

> Eating left-over scraps,
> Burning cakes of dried horse-dung.'[294]

235. (Chinggis Qahan) sent Qubilai-noyan to fight the Qarlu'ut, (but) Arslan Qan of the Qarlu'ut came and submitted to Qubilai. Taking Arslan Qan, Qubilai-noyan came to Chinggis Qahan and caused (Arslan) to have an audience with him. Because he had not fought,

[293] The word for 'satin' (*a'urasun*) which also appears in sections 248, 249 and 250, can also mean 'property; effects'. See B.1: 85.

[294] The image is that Dödei-cherbi will be so busy that he will have no time to look after himself properly. *Qoq*, translated here as 'left-over scraps' can also mean 'bad quality grass; chaff; refuse' while dried horse dung was considered an inferior fuel to dried cow dung. Dödei-cherbi's appointment was an honour nonetheless.

Chinggis Qahan favoured Arslan and made a decree, saying 'We shall give a daughter (in marriage to him).'

236. Sübe'etei-ba'atur had pursued the sons of Toqto'a the Merkit, Qutu, Chila'un and others, in an iron cart, (in order) to fight with them. Catching up with them at the Chui river, he finished them and (then) came (back).

237. Pursuing Güchülük Qan of the Naiman, Jebe caught up with him at Sariq-qun ('Yellow Cliff'). After finishing him, he (also) came (back).

238. The Idu'ut of the Ui'ud[295] sent emissaries to Chinggis Qahan. By the two emissaries Atkiraq and Darbai,[296] he sent (this) petition:

> Like the clouds clearing
> (So one) can see Mother Sun.
> Like the ice clearing
> (So that one) can find the river water

(So) I rejoiced much on hearing the name and fame of Chinggis Qahan. If Chinggis Qahan favours me, if I (could) obtain

> A link from (your) golden belt,
> A thread from (your) scarlet garment,

(then) I would become your fifth son and serve you.' So he sent, petitioning. Chinggis Qahan favoured these words and sent a reply, saying, 'I shall give him (my) daughter and let him be (my) fifth son. Let the Idu'ut come, bringing gold and silver, small pearls and large pearls, brocades, damasks and silks.' So he sent. The Idu'ut, because he had been favoured, rejoiced. Bringing gold and silver, small pearls and large pearls, silks and brocades, damasks and satins, the Idu'ut came and had an audience with Chinggis Qahan. Chinggis Qahan favoured the Idu'ut and gave (his daughter) Al-altun (to him).[297]

239. In the Year of the Hare (1207) (Chinggis Qahan) had Jochi ride out with the soldiers of the right hand against the people of the forest. Guiding him went Buqa. Quduqa-beki of the Oyirat had come to submit before (the rest of) the Tümen-Oyirat (ten thousand Oyirat). He came to Jochi and, guiding him, led him to his own Tümen-Oyirat at Shiqshit, where he made them submit. (Then) Jochi made

[295] The title Idu'ut (from *idi* – 'holy scripture' and *kyt* – 'happiness') was used by kings and dukes of the Uighurs (here, 'Ui'ud') in the thirteenth century. See B.1: 112. The Idu'ut mentioned was Barchu-art-tegin – see B.12 vol 26: 62.

[296] Darbai is used here as a personal name, but in the OT dialect *darbai* meant 'conceited; self-exalted'. See B.1: 277.

[297] The princess's name. Al-altun means 'Red Gold' – see B.1: 90.

the Oyirat, Buriyat, Barqun, Ursut, Qabqanas Kangqas and Tubas (peoples) submit. When he arrived at the Tümen-Kirgisüt (ten thousand Kirgisüt), the Kirgisüt lords, Yedi-inal, Aldi-er and Örebek-digin[298] – these lords of the Kirgisüt submitted and came in (to join Jochi). Taking white gerfalcons, white geldings and black sables they came and had an audience with Jochi. Jochi made the adjacent forest peoples, the Shibir, Kesdim, Bayit, Tuqas, Tenlik, Tö'eles, Tas and Bajigid, submit to our side. (Then), taking the Kirgisüt leaders of ten thousand and one thousand and he came (back) and made them have an audience with Chinggis Qahan (giving him) the white gerfalcons, the white geldings and the black sables. (Chinggis Qahan) received Quduqa-beki of the Oyirat and favoured him, because he had submitted before (the rest of) the Tümen-Oyirat (the ten thousand Oyirat) and had come leading them. To his son Inalchi he gave Checheyigen and to Inalchi's elder brother Törölchi he gave Jochi's daughter Qoluyiqan.[299] To (the ruler of) the Önggüt he gave Alaqa-beki. Chinggis Qahan favoured Jochi, saying, 'You, the eldest of my sons, have now gone out from the *yurt*[300] on a smooth journey. Without losing men or geldings and without making them suffer, you made the fortunate forest people submit and (then) came (back). I wish to give (these) people to you.' So he decreed.

240. He also sent Boro'ul-noyan to fight against the Qori-tümet. When the lord of the Tümet people, Daiduqul-soqor, had died, his wife, Botoqui-tarqun,[301] had taken charge of the Tümet people. Upon arriving (there), Boro'ul with a three-man (party), went off, going ahead of the main force. In the late evening they were travelling unawares along a trail in the dense forest when they were attacked from behind by their (ie the Tümet) watchmen who blocked the trail. They captured Boroqul-noyan and killed him. Being informed that the Tümet had killed Boroqul, Chinggis Qahan became very angry. He started to ride out against them himself until Bo'orchu and Muqali

[298] Some more names: Yed-inal comes from the OT *yedi* – 'lord; god' (see B.1: 309) and the OT *inal* – 'emperor; qan' (see B.1: 107); Al-di'er comes from the OT *al-di'er* – 'prince; duke' (see B.1: 91); Orebek-digin comes from the OT *orebek* – 'clan; kinship; social background' and the OT title *digin* hence 'clan chief' (see B.1: 127).

[299] Although three of these names (Inalchi, Qoluyiqan and Törölchi) are used as personal names, they all had other meanings. Inalchi was an OT title for 'prince' or 'duke' (see B.1: 107); Qoluyiqan meant 'daughter of a tribal god' (see B.1: 178) and could perhaps, therefore mean 'goddess'; Törölchi is related to the OT *töre* – 'prince; son of an emperor; duke' (see B.1: 270).

[300] That Jochi has 'now gone out (*sayi garchu*, lit 'just gone out') from the *yurt*' meant that he has gone out on his first serious campaign.

[301] Botoqui-tarqun is used here as a personal name but it comes from the OT *botoqui* – 'violent' and the Mongol *Tarqun* – 'fat'. See B.1: 154.

both counselled him against it until he stopped. Instead, he appointed Dörbei-doqshin of the Dörbet, saying, 'Setting the soldiers strictly in order, and praying to Eternal Heaven (Almighty Spirits) strive (until) you make the Tümet people submit.' So he decreed. After putting the soldiers in order, he had 'empty actions' (ie decoys) performed along the roads, trails guarded by (the enemy) soldiers and in the passes where the enemy watchmen were looking, (in order) to deceive them. He ordered the (regular) soldiers to (travel) by the paths the red bull had made[302] and (said) that if any man, of the (entire) number of soldiers, gave up he (was to be) beaten and he made (each) man (cooks and drivers) carry ten sticks on his back (for this). (Then) he had the axes, adzes, saws, chisels and (other) weapons (tools) of the men (cooks and drivers), set in order. Along the path made by the red bull, he made them cut, chop and saw the trees that stood on the path, to make a (clear) path (for the attack). They went up on top of the mountain and suddenly (descended) (as though) through the top of the Tümet people's smoke holes and plundered them as they sat feasting.

241. Earlier, Qorchi-noyan and Quduqa-beki had both been captured by the Tümet and were there at Botoqui-tarqun('s camp). The reason Qorchi had been captured (was this): when (Chinggis Qahan) had issued the decree that (Qorchi) could take thirty wives from the beautiful girls of the Tümet people, (Qorchi) had gone off in order to take the Tümet people's girls. Earlier these people had submitted but (now) they began to fight back and they captured Qorchi-noyan. When Chinggis Qahan discovered that Qorchi had been captured by the Tümet, he said that he had thought Quduqa was familiar with the conduct [affairs] of the people of the forest, but when he sent him he too was captured. When he had finished making the Tümet people submit, he gave one hundred (of the) Tümet (to Boroqul's family) because of Boroqul's 'bones' (ie death). Qorchi took (his) thirty girls and to Quduqa-beki (Chinggis Qahan) gave Botoqui-tarqun.

242. Chinggis Qahan issued a decree: 'I shall give the (subject) people[303] to (my) mother and sons and to (my) younger brothers, dividing them (between them).' At the time of giving them he said, '(One of) those who suffered in gathering the nation together was (my) mother. Jochi is the eldest of my sons. Otchigin is the youngest of my

[302] No particular 'red bull' is meant, the soldiers were simply to follow animal tracks and to clear them to allow the main army through. In fact, the animal meant may not be a bull at all but a deer or stag, which has a reddish winter coat after shedding its summer wool. See B.1: 196.

[303] The 'subject peoples' referred to are all the people.

brothers.' To (his) mother he gave ten thousand (subject) people, (together with) Otchigin's share. His mother resented (this)[304], (but) did not utter a sound. To Jochi he gave nine thousand people; to Cha'adai[305] he gave eight thousand people; to Ögödei he gave five thousand people; to Tolui he gave five thousand people; to Qasar he gave four thousand people; to Alchidai he gave two thousand people and to Belgütei he gave one thousand five hundred people. Because Da'aritai had joined with the Gereyit (ie Kereyit) (he said), '(Get) him out of my sight and make an end of him.' When he said this, Bo'orchu, Muqali and Shigi-qutuqu – the three (of them) – said, '(That would be) like extinguishing one's own (hearth-) fire, like breaking up one's own *yurt*. Your paternal uncle is the sole reminder of your good (ie late) father, the (only one) remaining; how can you forsake him? He had no comprehension (of what he did) – do not act (harshly). Let him (stay with his family) and let the smoke (of their fires) rise up together from the camp of your good father's youth.' He was spoken to (like this) until it was (as if) smoke had gone up his nose (ie he sobbed). Being told clearly (like this) he said '(Yes) let it be,' and agreed (with them), and by the talk of Bo'orchu, Muqali and Shigi-qutuqu he became quiet.

243. (Then Chinggis Qahan said), 'Having given ten thousand people each (sic) to (my) mother and to Otchigin I am appointing from the leaders four (for them) – Güchü, Kököchü, Jungsai and Qorqasun. To Jochi I am appointing three – Qunan, Möngke'ür and Kete. To Cha'adai I am appointing three – Qarachar, Möngke and Idoqudai.' Then Chinggis Qahan said, 'Cha'adai is obstinate and narrow minded. Köke-chos shall stay beside him morning and evening and shall tell him what he thinks (ie advise him).' So he decreed. (And he continued) 'To Ögödei I am appointing two – Ilüge and Degei. To Tolui I am appointing two – Jedei and Bala. To Qasar I am appointing Jekbe and to Alchidai I am appointing Cha'urqai.'

244. Father Mönglik (of the) Qongqotan had seven sons. The middle one of the seven was Kököchü Teb-tenggeri. These seven Qongqotan joined forces and beat Qasar. When Qasar knelt down to report to Chinggis Qahan, saying that he had been beaten by the seven Qongqotan who had joined forces, Chinggis Qahan was angry over other (things). While Qasar was in the middle of telling him, Chinggis Qahan in his anger said to him, 'You used (to say) that you could not be defeated by anyone. How have you been defeated (now)?'

[304] Because she thought she deserved more.
[305] Cha'adai (1183–1242) was the second son of Chinggis Qahan.

Qasar shed tears at being told this and, getting up, went out. Qasar was angry (with Chinggis Qahan) and for three days did not come (to see him). Then Teb-tenggeri said to Chinggis Qahan, 'By Eternal Heaven's decree (Almighty Spirits' decree), the prediction (for the) Qan said once that Temüjin should hold the nation and once it said that Qasar should. If you do not attack Qasar suddenly we do not know (what will happen).' After being told this Chinggis Qahan rode out (that) same night in order to capture Qasar. When he had gone Güchü and Kököchü both informed Mother (Hö'elün) that he had gone to capture Qasar. After discovering (this), Mother immediately (that) night harnessed her white camel to the black wooden-framed covered cart and, travelling all through the night, followed them, arriving at sunrise. Chinggis Qahan had tied Qasar's sleeves, removed his hat and sash and was interrogating him at that time. Chinggis Qahan was surprised at Mother's arrival and was afraid of her. Mother arrived angry and, getting down from the cart, she untied Qasar's bound sleeves and released him herself; she (also) gave (back) to Qasar his hat and sash. Mother was furious and, unable to contain her anger, sat cross-legged, pulling out her two breasts and exposing them on her knees saying, 'Have you seen them? These are the breasts that you sucked. Those . . .' (she said) citing (old sayings) and going over them[306] '. . . (those) are the ones who gnawed their own afterbirth, who cut their own birth cords. What has Qasar done? Temüjin could finish (the milk) of this one breast of mine; Qachi'un and Otchigin both together could not finish one breast. As for Qasar, he could finish my two full breasts until my bosom loosened. He set my bosom at ease and made it loose. Therefore, my knowledgeable Temüjin is skilful in mind and my Qasar is powerful and skilful in shooting. Because of this

> He shot at those who went,
> (Shooting at him) and made them submit.
> He shot long distance (arrows) at those who went,
> Afraid of him, and made them submit.

Now, thinking that you have finished off (all) the enemy men, you cannot bear to look on Qasar.' After he had pacified Mother, Chinggis Qahan said, 'Mother, I made you furious

[306] This slightly awkward translation reflects the awkward structure and meaning of the original where two important words – *qadalun da'un* – are not glossed in the Chinese. However, *qadalun* comes from the OT stem *qadal* (*kadal, kazal*) meaning 'insert; squeeze; seek' (see B.1: 175), while in Dawr dialect *da'un* means 'going over'. As the words are immediately followed by what seems to be a quotation, the most likely explanation is that Hö'elün was citing 'old sayings' as in section 78. For further details, see B.12 vol 26: 79.

Being afraid, I was afraid.
Being ashamed, I was ashamed.

(then) he said, 'we will withdraw', and they withdrew. Unknown to Mother he secretly took (away) Qasar's people and gave to Qasar (only) one thousand four hundred people. When Mother found this out, the thought of it prematurely (killed her). The reason (for her death) came quickly like this. Jebke of the Jalayir then became scared and he escaped, going into Barqujin.[307]

245. (in AD 1210) After that, the 'people of the nine tongues'[308] gathered around Teb-tenggeri and those who gathered around Teb-tenggeri were many more than those at Chinggis Qahan's horse-tethering place. While they were gathering like this, the people who were subject to Temüge-otchigin (also) went to Teb-tenggeri. Otchigin-noyan sent an emissary named Soqor to request (the return) of the people who had gone. To the emissary Soqor, Teb-tenggeri said 'Otchigin and you, you two ladies now have an ambassador!'[309] After beating his (ie Otchigin's) emissary Soqor he made him carry his saddle and sent him back on foot. Otchigin (heard that) his emissary Soqor (had been) beaten and sent back on foot, and the next day Otchigin himself went to Teb-tenggeri and said, 'When I sent my emissary Soqor you beat him and sent him back on foot. Now I have come in order to request (the return of) my people.' After he had said this, the seven Qongqotan blocked Otchigin this way and that way, saying 'You were correct to send your emissary Soqor'. Otchigin, afraid of being seized and beaten said, 'I was wrong in sending my emissary'. (Then) the seven Qongqotan said, 'If you were wrong then kneel down and plead'. And he knelt down behind Teb-tenggeri and his own people were not returned to him. Early the following morning, when Chinggis Qahan was in bed having not yet got up, he entered (his tent) and, after crying, he knelt and said, 'The "people of the nine tongues" have gathered around Teb-tenggeri and I sent an emissary named Soqor to request (the return) of my own subject people from Teb-tenggeri to me. They beat my emissary Soqor and he was sent back on foot, carrying his saddle on his back. When I

[307] See section 243, which explains how Jebke was assigned to Qasar by Chinggis (as adviser), therefore he is frightened because Chinggis is angry with Qasar.

[308] 'Nine', as well as being an auspicious number, also means 'many'. For a note on who these people might be, see de Rachewiltz (B.12 vol 26: 80–81). See also B.1: 307–8.

[309] This is a sardonic comment by Teb-tenggeri. *Jirin* means 'two' and is generally used in relation to a pair of female creatures. Teb-tenggeri is being insulting by calling them 'ladies', and he is also implying that they have an exaggerated idea of their own importance.

went myself in order to make (this) request I was blocked by the seven Qongqotan this way and that way. They made me plead and kneel down behind Teb-tenggeri.' So he said and cried, (but) before Chinggis Qahan could utter a sound, Lady Börte raised herself and sat up in bed, covering her breast with the edge of the quilt. Seeing Otchigin crying, she shed tears (herself) and said, 'What are the Qongqotan doing? Recently they also joined forces to beat Qasar. Why have they now made this Otchigin kneel down behind them – what is the reason (for) this? Thus like this they will secretly harm your younger brothers who are like cypresses and pines. In truth, later on

When your body, like a withered old tree,
Comes falling down
By whom will they let your people –
Who are like tangled hemp –
Be governed?
When your body, like (the stone base of) a pillar,[310]
Comes tumbling down
By whom will they let your people –
Who are like (a flock of) red-polls –
Be governed?

How will people who would secretly harm your younger brothers, who are like cypresses and pines, let my three or four "bad youngsters" (ie sons) govern until they have grown up? The Qongqotan, what did they do? This has been done to your younger brothers by them – how can you sit still?' And after saying this, Lady Börte shed tears. At these words of Lady Börte, Chinggis Qahan said to Otchigin, 'Teb-tenggeri is coming now. Whatever you are able to do to him you are in charge'. At that, Otchigin got up and after wiping his tears went out. He forewarned three strong men and lined them up. Soon after, Father Mönglik came, together with his seven sons. The seven all entered and Teb-tenggeri sat down on the right side of the (kumis) flasks. Otchigin seized Teb-tenggeri's collar and said, 'Yesterday you made me plead. Let us try (against each other).' Seizing his collar he pulled him towards the door, (but) Teb-tenggeri, facing Otchigin, seized his collar and wrestled with him. As they wrestled, Teb-tenggeri's hat fell behind the hearth-fire. Father Mönglik took his hat and, smelling it, tucked it into his bosom. (Then) Chinggis Qahan

[310] This word 'tolu' was pronounced 'toola' in the Dawr dialect. When hunters cooked their food in the hunting area, they put their cooking pot on three stones which were laid in the shape of a triangle (to contain the fire). Those three stones were called 'toola choloo' (choloo = stone).

said, 'Go out and compete together for the might of wrestlers'. As Otchigin went out of the door, pulling Teb-tenggeri, the previously forewarned three strong men were facing Teb-tenggeri on the threshold. Seizing him, they pulled him out and broke his spine, throwing him beyond the carts on the eastern side (of the *yurts*). (Then) Otchigin came in saying, 'Teb-tenggeri made me plead, (but) when I said, "Let us compete" he was not willing and making an excuse, lay down. He was (only) a short-term companion.' After he had said this, Father Mönglik, realising (what had happened) shed tears and said,

'Since the huge earth
Was like a clod;
Since the oceans and rivers
Were like narrow streams,

I have been your companion.' And as he spoke, his six Qongqotan sons blocked the door and stood around the hearth-fire rolling up their sleeves. Chinggis Qahan was wary and being crowded in he said, 'Yield and let me go out!' As soon as Chinggis Qahan came out the quiver-bearers and sentries encircled him and stood around him. Chinggis Qahan saw that after they had broken his spine they had thrown Teb-tenggeri beyond the carts on the eastern side (of the *yurts*) and he had a small grey tent brought from behind (the *yurts*) and set up over Teb-tenggeri. (Then) he said, 'Bring in transport and let us move out,' and from there they set out.

246. Having put Teb(-tenggeri) inside they covered the smoke-hole of the small tent and wedged shut the door. (Chinggis Qahan) set people to guard it, (but) on the third night, as dawn broke, (Teb-tenggeri) opened the *yurt*'s smoke-hole and went out bodily. When they inspected (the *yurt*), they confirmed that it had definitely been Teb-tenggeri who went through there (the smoke-hole). Chinggis Qahan said, 'Because Teb-tenggeri laid hands and feet (sic) on my younger brothers and because he spread baseless slander among my younger brothers, he was not loved by Heaven and his life – as well as his body – has been taken and sent away.' Then Chinggis Qahan reprimanded Father Mönglik, saying, '(As) you did not curb your sons' natures they came to think themselves equal (with me) and (by this) you risked Teb-tenggeri's head. When I realised your nature was like this I should have done for you as I did for Jamuqa, Altan, Quchar and the rest.' So he reprimanded Father Mönglik. Then, after he had finished reprimanding him he said, 'If in the evening I break (a promise) I had spoken in the morning or if in the morning I break (a promise) I had spoken (the previous) evening then I would be talked

of and certainly shamed. Earlier I made a promise to you[311] (let that) be enough'. He calmed down and then showed favour to him. 'If you had reined in your over-reaching nature who could have equalled Father Mönglik's descendants?' he said. After he had disposed of Teb-tenggeri, the morale of the Qongqotan was withered.

[311] This earlier promise of Chinggis Qahan to Father Mönglik is recounted in section 204.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

247. After that, in the Year of the Sheep (1211) Chinggis Qahan rode out against the Kitat[312] (Kitad) people. Taking Wujiu, he went across the Hünegen ('Fox') pass and, taking Söndeiwu, sent Jebe and Güyigünek-ba'atur (ahead) as vanguards.[313] Arriving at Chabchiyal[314] (they found) that the Chabchiyal pass was being guarded. Then Jebe said, 'We will lure them, make them move and come (after us) and then we shall fight them,' and he turned back. (As) he turned back from them, the Kitat soldiers decided to pursue him and they came pursuing him until they choked valleys and mountains. Arriving at the spur of (Mt.) Söndeiwu, Jebe reined in (his horses) and turned back. He attacked the (ever) expanding oncoming enemy and overcame them. Chinggis Qahan, following closely with the main army, displaced the Kitat and overcame the powerful and courageous soldiers of the Jüyin from the Qara-kitad and the Jürchet, slaughtering them until they piled up as far as Chabchiyal (like) rotten logs. Jebe took the gate of Chabchiyal and Chinggis Qahan, after taking the passes and crossing them, set up camp at Shira-dektür.[315] Surrounding and attacking Jungdu,[316] he sent (his) soldiers to surround and attack various towns

[312] 'The Kitad people', that is, the inhabitants of northern China.

[313] Wujiu is Fu-chou (also known to the Mongols as *Qara balqasun* – Black City). It is situated in Chang-pei hsien, to the north of Kalgan, northern China. The 'Fox' (*hünegen*) pass is located in Wang-Chu'an District, to the north-west of Kalgan (see B.1: 198–9). Söndeiwu (Hsüan-te fu) was called Bayan Süme ('Rich monastery') by the Mongols between 1644 and 1911 (see B.3: 374 n 4); it was called Hsuan-te chou until 1262 when it became Hsuan-te fu. See B.19: 81. Today it is called Hsüan-hua hsien and it is located to the south-east of Kalgan. Güyigünek is mentioned here for the first and last time. His name means a kind of mouse-catching falcon in the OT dialect, identified as *buteo vulgaris* (see B.1: 208–9).

[314] The Chabchiyal (called Chüyung kuan in Chinese) was a famous pass north west of Peking. The long narrow valley separated the plain of Peking from the Chang-chia k'ou plateau and was guarded by a famous gate, mentioned later in the passage.

[315] Shira-dektür ('Yellow Terrace') was called Lung-hu-t'ai by the Chinese and was located between Nan-kou and Peking. See B.1: 250.

[316] Jungdu, the Mongolian pronunciation of Chung-tu, became Da-du during the Mongol Empire. It is now Beijing (Peking). See B.3: 375–6.

and cities. He sent Jebe to mount the attack on the city (of) Dungchang.[317] (But) after he reached the city (of) Dungchang he was unable to mount an attack and returned. Arriving at a place six days' (journey from there),[318] (so that the enemy) became unaware of them, he reined in his horses and then returned. Travelling through the night, the men leading extra horses, they arrived while (the enemy) was (still) unaware and took the city (of) Dungchang.[319] (It was located in Shan-tung Province.)

248. After taking the city (of) Dungchang Jebe came back and joined Chinggis Qahan. Jungdu had been surrounded and attacked and the Altan-qan's great lord, Ongging-chinsang,[320] petitioned Altan-qan, saying, 'It is the destiny of Heaven and Earth that the time has arrived when the great throne (ie dynasty) might be changed. The Mongqols have come with great strength, overcoming our powerful and courageous Qara-kitad's and Jürchet's[321] Juyin's best soldiers and slaughtering them until they were finished. They have also captured the reliable Chabchiyal (pass). Now, if we again put our soldiers in order and go out and if they are again overcome by the Mongqols, certainly they (ie our soldiers) will scatter to their various cities. Furthermore, if we gather them to us and they are not willing, they will become our enemies and not our friends. Altan-qan, if you favour us, submit to the Mongqol's qan for the time being and let us consult with them. If, after entering consultations, the Mongqols withdraw, then, after their withdrawal, we shall discuss again with other intentions. Further, it is said that the men and geldings of the Mongqols find (this) place unsuitable and are catching fever. Let us give a princess to their qan and let us take out and generously distribute gold, silver, satin and (other) goods to the men of (his) army. How can we know whether they will or will not accept this proposal of ours?' When he had (finished) petitioning the Altan-qan approved these words of Ongging-chingsang and said, 'If that is so then so be it.' He submitted and

[317] Dungchang was Tung-ching, now the city of Mukden in Manchuria. Jebe was sent there to assist a high ranking Kitat official, Ye-lü liu-ke (1165–1220) who was turning to the Mongolian side. See B.4: 267–75, 336–38; B.3: 376 n 10, 11. According to other sources, the city was named Dungchang in 1276. See B.19: 81.

[318] De Rachewiltz states (from another source) that a day's journey was about 45 km, the total distance being some 270 km. See B12 vol 30: 108.

[319] Dungchang. In reality, the city of Tung-ching taken in January 1213. For details see Bibliography No 20, pp 752–3 n 37.

[320] Ongging-chingsang was actually called Wan-yen Che'eng-hui or Wan-yen Fu-hsing. For details see B.3: 377 n 2; B.4: 255.

[321] The Jürchet established the Chin Dynasty (1115–1234). Their first emperor was A ku-ta (Aqutai) – see B.2: 298 n 6.

presented Chinggis Qahan with a princess named Gungjü[322] and from Jungdu he presented the men of (Chinggis Qahan's) army with gold, silver, satin and (other) goods, (as much as) they thought their strength could carry. He sent Ongging-chingsang to Chinggis Qahan. Having been sent, he submitted and Chinggis Qahan agreed to their proposal. He had the soldiers who had set up camp and been surrounding and attacking the various towns return and they withdrew. Ongging-chingsang accompanied Chinggis Qahan until they reached the spurs called Mojiu and Wujiu and (then) returned.[323] Our soldiers loaded (as much of) the satin and (other) goods as they were able to carry and, tying their loads with silk, departed.

249. During that advance, he went to the Qashin people (also). When he arrived after heading that way, Burqan-qan of the Qashin[324] people said (to him), 'I shall submit and serve you (by) becoming your right hand (army),' and he presented to Chinggis Qahan a princess named Chaqa and gave her (to him). Furthermore, Burqan-qan said, 'After hearing (of) Chinggis Qahan's name and fame we were awed. Now your mighty person has arrived and come to us and we have been awed by (your) might. Being awed, we Tangqut people shall become your right hand and serve you.' And he said, 'At the time of serving you, we possess

Established camps and
Solidly-built cities.

Being (your) companions

When (you) are executing a swift campaign,
When (you) are fighting a sharp battle,

(We) will not be able to catch up with (your) swift campaign, we will not be able to fight together at the time of the sharp battle. (But) if Chinggis Qahan favours us, we Tangqut people

Wish to present you with many camels,
Reared in the shelter of tall broom-grass,
And given as a levy.
Weaving woollen cloth and making satin,

[322] Actually, *gungjü* simply means 'princess' (*kung-chu* in Chinese). Her real name was Chi-kuo – see B.2: 294 n 17; B.4: 266.

[323] Chinggis Qahan returned to the north and spent the sixth lunar month at the lake of Dal-nur (Tal-nu'ur) – see B.4: 292–3, map 10. Wujiu has already been mentioned in section 247; Mojiu (Mo-chou) was Ma-ch'ih – see B.12 vol 30: 112–115.

[324] The Qashin people are discussed on page 65 note 181, 'Burqan-qan' means 'Buddha ruler' and the Qashin were Buddhists; the earlier uses of *burqan* in the History (eg section 9) are Shamanistic, not Buddhist. See B.12 vol 30: 115–116).

We wish to give (them to you).
Training falcons to fly (at prey)
We will gather them,

wishing to send the best of them (to you).' So he petitioned and he kept the words he had spoken. He levied camels from the Tangqut people until it was impossible to drive (any more). He brought them (to Chinggis Qahan) and gave (them to him).

250. During that advance, Chinggis Qahan made the Altan-qa'an of the Kitad people submit and took (from him) many satins. He made Burqan of the Qashin people submit and took (from him) many camels. During that advance, in the Year of the Sheep (1211) Chinggis Qahan made the Altan-qan of the Kitad, who was named Aqutai, submit. He (also) made Iluqu-burqan of the Tangqut people submit.[325] (Then), returning, he set up camp on the Sa'ari steppe.

251. Again, after that, (since) Jubqan at the head of many other (of) our emissaries who were sent to Jeu-gon[326] to seek allegiance had been obstructed by Aqutai, the Altan-qa'an of the Kitad people, Chinggis Qahan, in the Year of the Dog (1214) rode out again against the Kitad people. 'Having completely submitted, why have they obstructed those (I) sent to Jeu-gon (-Chao Kuan) as emissaries?' So he said and rode out. Chinggis Qahan, aiming at Tunggon Pass, had Jebe (go) through Chabchiyal. Realising that Chinggis Qahan had (gone) through the Tunggon pass, the Altan-qan put Ile, Qada and Höbögetür in charge of the soldiers and selected the (best) soldiers. He organised the 'Red Jackets'[327] as a vanguard and said, 'Struggle (for) the Tunggon Pass and do not let them cross the ridge.' He quickly sent the three – Ile, Qada and Höbögetür – (with) the soldiers. Aiming at the Tunggon Pass, (Chinggis Qahan found so many) of the Kitad soldiers that the land could (hardly) bear them. Chinggis Qahan fought with the three – Ile, Qada and Höbögetür – and forced Ile and Qada to move off. (When) Tolui and Chügü-gürgen ('son-in-law') arrived, they attacked from the sides and made the 'Red Jackets' retreat. They forced Ile and Qada to move off and overcame them, slaughtering the Kitad until

[325] For Aqutai, see note 321. For Iluqu-burqan, see note 324. The epithet *iluqu* means 'victorious'.

[326] Jeu-gon (-Chao Kuan) was the Mongolian name for the reigning Sung emperor Ning-tsung (1195–1224). Jeu-, Jü (eg Jüyin – section 53, 247, 248, 260), Jau (eg Ja'ut-quri, section 134), Chau (eg Cha'ut-quri – section 179), and Jaqu (eg Jaqut – section 281) all have the meaning of 'frontier' or 'outsider' and were applied indiscriminately by the Mongols. 'Gon' (-Kuan) referred to emperor of the Sung dynasty (1127–1278) in Southern China. For further details, see B.12 vol 30: 119–120.

[327] A top fighting force, so called because of the red jackets or capes (*degelen*) they wore. See B.1: 281.

they piled up like rotten logs. Realising that his own soldiers had been completely slaughtered, the Altan-qan escaped from Jungdu and went to the city (of) Namging.[328] His remaining soldiers, becoming thin and dying, ate human flesh between them. To Tolui and Chügü-gürgen Chinggis Qahan said, 'You have performed well,' and he favoured Tolui and Chügü-gürgen most (of all).

252. Having camped at Qoshiwu,[329] Chinggis Qahan set up camp on the Shira steppe[330] of Jungdu. Jebe broke the gate of Chabchiyal and made the soldiers guarding Chabchiyal move off. (Then) he came and joined Chinggis Qahan. When the Altan-qan had departed from Jungdu he had appointed Qada as *liu-shiu* (vice-regent) in Jungdu and (then) gone. Chinggis Qahan had an inventory taken of Jungdu's gold, silver, goods, satins and other things and he sent Önggür the cook, Arqai-qasar and Shigi-qutuqu (there), the three (of them). Because these three were coming, Qada received them face to face. Taking golden and figured satins, he went out from Jungdu and came up to them. Shigi-qutuqu said to Qada, 'Formerly these goods of Jungdu, and (this) same Jungdu (itself) belonged to the Altan-qan. Now Jungdu is Chinggis Qahan's. How can you steal Chinggis Qahan's goods and satins and bring them (here) to give (to us) behind his back? I shall not take them.' Shigi-qutuqu did not take (any), (but) Önggür the cook and Arqai both took them. After taking an inventory of Jungdu's goods and other things, these three came (back). Chinggis Qahan asked the three (of them), Önggür, Arqai and Qutuqu, 'What did Qada give you?' Shigi-qutuqu said, 'He brought out golden and figured satins, (but) when he gave them (to us) I said, "Formerly this Jungdu belonged to the Altan-qan. Now it had become Chinggis Qahan's. How can you Qada, steal Chinggis Qahan's goods and give them (to us) behind his back?" I did not take them, but both Önggür and Arqai took (the goods) which he gave (them)'. Then Chinggis Qahan reprimanded both Önggür and Arqai greatly. To Shigi Qutuqu he said, 'You thought of the great principle,' (ie of obeying the Qahan), and he favoured him greatly. (Then) he issued a decree, saying, 'Will you not become my seeing eyes, my listening ears?'

253. The Altan-qan, after entering Namging, submitted himself and abased himself. He sent his own son, named Tenggeri, to Chinggis Qahan with one hundred companions to act as sentries and was (thus)

[328] Namging (Nan-ching) is the present-day city of K'ai-feng in Ho-nan province, central China. See B.4: 263 map 9.
[329] Qoshiwu (Ho-hsi-wu) was north-east of Wu-ch'ing district in Ho-peh. See B.1: 181.
[330] It is said that Shira steppe was located in the north western part of Jungdu. See Bibliography No 20 p 749, note 32.

subjugated by him. Chinggis Qahan said, 'We will withdraw,' and as they withdrew through the Chabchiyal (pass) he sent Qasar with the soldiers of the left hand (army) along the edge of the ocean, saying as he sent him, 'Set up camp at the city (of) Beiging[331] and make the city of Beiging submit. (Then), going beyond, pass through (the land of) Wuqanu[332] of the Jürchet. If Wuqanu intends to fight against you then attack him. If he submits, pass through their border cities and go along the banks of the Ula and Na'u.[333] Cross the Tawur river upstream and come to join (me) at the main base camp.' Together with Qasar he sent three of the (other) commanders – Jürchedei, Alchi and Tolun. Qasar brought the city (of) Beiging into submission, made Wuqanu of the Jürchet submit and brought (other) cities which were on (his) road into submission. (Then), coming upstream along the Tawur river, Qasar (back) to the main base camp and dismounted (in 1213).

254. After that, Uquna and one hundred of his own emissaries that Chinggis Qahan (had sent) were obstructed and killed by the Sarta'ul people.[334] Chinggis Qahan said, 'How can my "Golden Rein" (of authority) be cut off by the Sarta'ul people?' And he said,

> 'To gain vengeance and
> To seek revenge

(for the deaths of) Uquna and my other hundred emissaries, let us ride out against the Sarta'ul people.' Then, as he was about to ride out, Yisüi-qatun put forward a petition to Chinggis Qahan, saying, 'Qahan,

> You are thinking of crossing high ridges
> And fording wide rivers,
> Executing distant campaigns
> And pacifying your many nations.

(But) all creatures that are born are not eternal.

> When your body, like a withered old tree,
> Comes falling down,
> To whom will you designate your people,

[331] Beiging meant 'Northern Capital' and was located in Manchuria, in the Qarchin territory. See B.3: 384–5, n 2; B.4: 293 map 10.

[332] It was actually this Wuqana (P'u-hsien Wan-nu) who sent his son to Chinggis Qahan to act as a sentry, not the Altan-qan as mentioned at the beginning of this section. See B.12 vol 30: 128.

[333] The Ula and the Na'u are the Songari and Na'un (Nonni) rivers. *Ula* simply meant 'river' in the Manchu language (see B.1: 120).

[334] This occurred either during late 1216 or early 1217. For details see Bibliography No 20 pp 874–5 n 4.

Who are like tangled hemp?
When your body, like the stone base of a pillar,
Comes tumbling down,
To whom will you designate your people,
Who are like (a flock of) red-polls?

Which of your "four steeds" – your sons – born (to you) will you designate? (This) being realised by us – your sons, your younger brothers, the commoners and the "bad one" (ie myself) – I have put forward our understanding (of this matter). Your decree shall decide (the issue).' As she petitioned him, Chinggis Qahan made a decree, saying, 'In spite of her being (merely) a woman of noble rank, Yisüi's words are beyond correction. Not one of you younger brothers or sons, you Bo'orchu, Muqali and the others – have put forward (an idea) like this. I also,

Having not followed (any) ancestors,[335]
Forgot (this).
Not suffering from (the fear of) death,
I became sleep (complacent).

Jochi is the eldest of my sons, tell me what you say.' (But) before Jochi could utter a sound, Cha'adai said, 'By telling Jochi to speak are you saying that you are designating him (as your successor)? How could we be governed by that genuine foundling of the Merkit?'[336] As he said this, Jochi got up, seized Cha'adai's collar and said, 'I have not been told by the Qahan (our) father that I am (any) different (from you). Why do you discriminate against me? By what kind of skill are you superior (to me)? Only in your stupidity you are perhaps superior. If I am overtaken by you in long-distance arrow shooting, I will cut off my thumb and throw it away. If I am defeated by you in wrestling, I will not rise from the place where I fell. Let the decree of (our) father the Qahan decide (this matter)!' As Jochi and Cha'adai both stood holding each other by the collar, while Bo'orchu pulled on Jochi's arm and Muqali pulled on Cha'adai's arm, Chinggis Qahan sat silently listening. Then Kökö-chos, standing to the left (of them), said, 'Why should you hurry Cha'adai? Among the Qahan, your father's sons, it was of you that he had expectations. Before you (sons) were born

[335] 'Having not followed (any) ancestors': Chinggis Qahan is pointing out that he is the first Qahan, the first to rule over the Mongol nation, and hence he has no precedent to follow in the matter of his succession.

[336] Cha'adai is intimating that Jochi's father is not Chinggis Qahan but one of the Merkit who abducted Börte, Chinggis' wife. See Sections 101, 104–111. The word *chul* means 'genuine' and ulja'ur (= walja'ur in Dawr Mongol) means 'windfalls'; here, however, I have translated it as 'foundling'.

The starry heavens
Turned once,
And many people fought with each other.
Not (pausing) to get in their beds,
They took advantage of each other.
The surface of the globe
Was rolling,
And all the people fought with each other.
Not (pausing) to lie under their quilts,
They acted shamelessly towards each other.
In such a time (your mother joined the Merkit)
Not wishing it, but doing it,
It being a time when (people did not want to meet enemies but) encountered them
Not (wishing) to run away, but doing it,
It being a time when (people) were fighting together.
Not being in love, but doing it,
It being a time when (people) were killing each other.

Speaking (as) you do, you will congeal your mother's – the wise lady – heart (of) butter, you will sour (her) heart (of) milk.

From the warmth,
Were you (two) not accidentally born from the same belly?[337]
From the heat,
Did you (two) not come out by chance from a single womb?
If you cause your mother who bore you from her heart,
To blame you
Her nature will cool (towards you)
And if you (try) to appease her,
it will have no effect.
If you cause your mother who bore you from her belly,
To grumble (against you),
Her grievance (will grow)
And if you (try) to diminish it,
it will have no effect.
When the Qan, your father,
Established the entire nation
He tied his black head to the saddle strap,
He poured his black blood into a leather flask,
And his black eyes did not blink.
He did not lay his flat ear on a pillow,

[337] Although the interlinear Chinese note gives 'suddenly' rather than 'accidentally' I favour the latter – see B.1: 168. Kökö-chos does not mean that Jochi and Cha'adai were accidentally born, but that it was not planned that they should be brothers. Now they are they must accept it.

(But), made a pillow of his sleeves
And spread out his skirts (as a mattress).
He had only his saliva to drink,
And (ate) meat (caught) between his teeth at night.

He struggled forward until the sweat of his brow reached the soles (of his feet), until the sweat from his soles soaked up to his brow. While he went on in (his) endeavours, your mother suffered together (with him).

Wearing her high hat uprightly,
Shortening (her skirts) with her sash,
Wearing her high hat tightly,
And tying her sash firmly
As she reared you her (sons).
As she swallowed
She gave you half her (food).
Her throat choking
She gave you all of it
And went empty.
Pulling you up by your shoulders,
(Saying) 'How (shall I) make you equal with (other) men?'
Pulling you up by your necks,
She said, 'How (shall I) make you equal with (other) people?'
Cleaning your bodies
And making you lift your heels,
She made you reach up to men's shoulders,
Up to geldings' rumps.

Now, is she not thinking that she wishes to see your good? Our wise lady had a heart

Bright like the sun and
Wide like a lake.

255. At this, Chinggis Qahan said, 'How can you speak like this about Jochi? Is not Jochi the eldest of my sons? From now on do not speak in this way.' So he decreed. At these words Cha'adai smiled and said, 'I do not wish to talk about Jochi's strength, (nor) our intellectual skills.

(Game) killed by mouth
Cannot be loaded (onto a horse);
(Game) slaughtered by words
Cannot be skinned.

Jochi and I are the eldest of (your) sons. We wish to serve the Qahan (our) father in partnership. Let us split open the one (of us) who

shirks, let us slash the heels of the one (of us) who lags behind. It is Ögödei who is peaceful – let us decide on him. Ögödei is close to the Qan (our) father, if he (the Qan) makes him understand the form (of the) teachings of "the great hat",[338] it will surely be appropriate.' To these words Chinggis Qahan said, 'What do you say, Jochi? Speak!' Jochi said, 'Cha'adai has said it (for me). Cha'adai and I wish to serve you in partnership – let us decide on Ögödei.' Chinggis Qahan issued a decree and said, 'Why should you (go) as far as acting in partnership? Mother Earth is wide and (her) rivers and waters are many. Extending the camps as shares (for you), you shall rule over (separate) lands and I shall (thus) separate you.' (Then) he said, 'Jochi and Cha'adai, both (of you) keep your words!

Do not let yourselves be laughed at by people,
Do not let yourselves be ridiculed by others.

Formerly both Altan and Quchar promised like this, but they did not keep their word. Because of (this) what was to be done? What became of them? Now (some) of the descendants of both Altan and Quchar I shall divide along with you. Looking at them, how will you be negligent?' (Then) he said, 'What do you say Ögödei? Speak!' Ögödei said, 'When I have been told by the Qahan to speak, what should I say? How can I say that I cannot? Definitely I can say that I will be as steadfast as I can. Later on, should (some) among my descendants be born and (be rejected so that)

Even if wrapped in sedge they would not be eaten by a cow,
Even if wrapped in fat, they would not be eaten by a dog,

then they would miss the elk crosswise (as well as) the rat lengthwise.[339] I'll say this much – what else (can) I say?' At these words Chinggis Qahan issued a decree, saying, 'If Ögödei has spoken words such as these then that will do.' Further he said, 'What do you say Tolui? Speak!' Tolui said, 'Being at the side of my elder brother, named by the Qahan (our) father

I (shall be) a faithful companion,
Reminding him of things he has forgotten,
Waking him (when) he has slept.

[338] The 'teachings of "the great hat"': that is, the duties and obligations of being a Qan, the hat being a symbol of authority (see section 103, note 100, p 33).

[339] '. . . the elk crosswise . . . the rat lengthwise': that is, they would miss both easy (an elk, sideways on) and difficult targets (a rat running away). What Ögödei is saying in this passage is that although he can promise to be a worthy ruler, he cannot guarantee that his descendants will be. He therefore intimates his need for support, which is given in the following speeches of Tolui and Chinggis Qahan.

Becoming the whip of his chestnut horse,
I shall not fail in agreement,
I shall not depart from the ranks.
I shall campaign for him on distant campaigns
And fight for him in close fights.

When he had said this, Chinggis Qahan approved and issued a decree, saying, 'Let one of Qasar's descendants govern, let one of Alchidai's descendants govern, let one of Otchigin's descendants govern and let one of Belgütei's descendants govern.[340] Thinking this way and having one of my descendants governing, if you do not break my decree and (if) you do not change it, then you will not make a mistake, you will not err. If Ögödei's descendants are born (so that)

Even if wrapped in sedge, they would not be eaten by a cow.
Even if wrapped in fat, they would not be eaten by a dog,

then will not (even) one of my descendants be born good?' So he decreed.

256. When Chinggis Qahan was riding out (to fight) he sent emissaries to Burqan of the Tangqut people to say, 'You said, "I wish to be your right hand". The "Golden Rein" (of my authority) has been cut off by the Sarta'ul people and I am riding out to confirm (their rebellion). Become the right hand (of my army) and ride out.' When he sent (this message), before Burqan could utter a word, Asha-gambu said, 'Since (his) might is impotent, why did he go so far as to become Qan?' So saying he did not provide extra soldiers and, talking boastfully, sent (the emissaries) back. Then Chinggis Qahan said, 'How can I be spoken to by Asha-gambu like this?' and he said, 'Calculating (this), if I sent (soldiers), (making) a detour immediately and aiming at them, what difficulty would we have? (But) we are intent on aiming at other people at the present; that is enough. If I am protected by Eternal Heaven (Almighty Spirits) then definitely when I return pulling firmly on (my) "Golden Reins", that shall be (settled)'.

257. In the Year of the Hare (1219) Chinggis Qahan rode out against the Sarta'ul people, crossing through the Arai and taking, from among the ladies, Qulan-qatun (with him) on the campaign. From his younger brothers he placed Otchigin-noyan in charge of the main base-camp and (then) rode out. He sent Jebe (ahead) as a vanguard and sent Sübe'etei as Jebe's rearguard. As Sübe'etei's rearguard he sent Toquchar. Sending those three, he said (to them), 'Go (round) the

[340] The descendants will govern the entire nation, ie the Mongol state.

outside and get on the far side of the Sultan. Wait for us and we will attack jointly.' (Then) he sent them. He – Jebe – went and passed by the cities of Qan-Melik, travelling (round) the outside without touching them. After him, Sübe'etei passed by without touching them in the same way. (But) behind him, Toquchar raided Qan-Melik's border cities and plundered his farmers. Because his cities had been raided, Qan-Melik turned his back (on us) and moved out to join with Jalaldin-soltan. Jalaldin-soltan and Qan-Melik both rode out in opposition to Chinggis Qahan. Shigi-qutuqu went as a vanguard in front of Chinggis Qahan. Fighting with Shigi-qutuqu, Jalaldin-soltan and Qan-Melik overcame him and they pressed on to reach Chinggis Qahan. As they came forward however, Jebe, Sübe'etei and Toquchar came behind Jalaldin-soltan and Qan-Melik and, overcoming them, slaughtered them. Not letting them join (together) in the cities (of) Buqar (Bukhara), Semisgab (Samarkand) and Udarar (Otrar) they overcame them and pursued them as far as the Shin (Indus) river.[341] There, the (Jalaldin-soltan and Qan-Melik) lost many of their own Sarta'ul in the Shin river, where they fell in and drowned. Jalaldin-soltan and Qan-Melik both saved their own lives and escaped upstream along the Shin river. Chinggis Qahan went upstream along the Shin river and plundering Bat-kesen (Badakhshan),[342] went (on). Reaching the Eke ('Mother') stream and the Ge'ün ('Mare') stream he set up camp in the Baru'an (Parvan) steppe. He sent Bala of the Jalayir to pursue Jalaldin-soltan and Qan-Melik. Greatly favouring both Jebe and Sübe'etei, (Chinggis Qahan said), 'Jebe, you were named Jirqo'adai. Coming from the Tayyichi'ut, you became Jebe. Toquchar, of his own will raided Qan-Melik's border cities and made him rebel. Making an ordinance, I shall execute him!' However, (once) he had finished, he did not execute him but reprimanded him greatly, punishing him and demoting him from being in command of the soldiers.

258. Thus Chinggis Qahan, returning from the Barula (ie Baru'an) steppe, said to (his) three sons Jochi, Cha'adai and Ögödei, 'Cross the Amui (Amu) river with the soldiers of the right hand and set up camp at the city (of) Ürünggechi (Urgench Gurganj),[343] and he sent them. To Tolui he said, 'Set up camp at Iru (Herat), Isebür (Nishapür) and many other towns,' and he sent him. Chinggis Qahan himself set up camp at the city of Udirar (Utarar). Jochi, Cha'adai and Ögödei, the

[341] For details of these locations, see B.3: 398–399 n 8–11.
[342] Bat-kesen was famous for the production of precious stones. See B.3: 399 n 13.
[343] Ürünggechi (Örünggechi in section 260) was the capital city of Khwarizm which was the region to the south-west of the Ural Sea. See B.3: 401 n 2 and B.5 vol 3: 224–5, note 3.

three sons, sent a petition: 'Our soldiers are completely ready and we have arrived at the city (of) Ürünggechi. According to whose words should we act?' When they sent (this) petition, Chinggis Qahan issued a decree and sent it (to them) saying, 'Act according to Ögödei's own words.'

259. Thus Chinggis Qahan brought the city (of) Udarar (Utarar) into submission. Moving out from the city (of) Udarar he set up camp in the city (of) Semisgab. From the city (of) Semisgab he moved out and set up camp in the city (of) Buqar. Then, waiting for Bala, Chinggis Qahan spent the summer at the ridge of Altan-qorqan, at the summer quarters of the Soltan, and sent emissaries to Tolui, saying, 'The season has become hot. The other soldiers are also setting up camp, (so come) and join with us.' Tolui had taken the cities (of) Iru, Isebür and others and had broken up the city (of) Sisten (Sistan). While he was attacking the city of Chüqcheren (Chukhcharan), the emissaries (arrived). When they had delivered the message, Tolui, after breaking up the city (of) Chüqcheren, returned and set up camp, joining with Chinggis Qahan after he came.

260. The three sons, Jochi, Cha'adai and Ögödei, brought the city (of) Örünggechi into submission and divided the city's people among the three of them. They did not set aside a share for Chinggis Qahan. When these three sons came (back) and dismounted, Chinggis Qahan reprimanded (his) three sons, Jochi, Cha'adai and Ögödei, and did not permit them to have an audience (with him) for three days. Then Bo'orchu, Muqali and Shigi-qutuqu petitioned him, saying, 'We brought down the Soltan of the Sarta'ul people, the one who had resentfully opposed (us), and took his people and cities. The city (of) Örünggechi which was taken and divided and the sons who took it and shared it among themselves – all (these) belong to Chinggis Qahan. (Our) strength increased by Heaven and Earth, we have brought the Sarta'ul people down like this. Your many men and geldings are rejoicing and bustling happily. Why Qahan are you angry like this? (Your) sons realise their fault and are afraid. Let them learn for their future (behaviour). We are afraid of being negligent of your sons' characters. If you show them favour and let them have an audience (with you) will that not serve (to solve this problem)?' When they had petitioned, Chinggis Qahan calmed down and caused (his) three sons – Jochi, Cha'adai and Ögödei to have an audience (with him). He reprimanded them

Citing old men('s) words,
Quoting ancient words,

until they almost sank into the place where they stood, until they were unable to wipe the sweat from their brow. Shouting (at them), he taught them by scolding. While he was making them listen, Qongqai-qorchi, Qongtaqar-qorchi and Chormaqan-qorchi – these three quiver-bearers petitioned Chinggis Qahan saying, 'Like young falcons just about to learn their training (your) sons are just about to learn like this about campaigning. Why (then) are you reprimanding (your) sons, continually disheartening them? (Your) sons are afraid and we fear that we are being negligent of their desires. There are enemy people from (where) the sun sets to (where) it rises. When, provoking us – your huge sheep-hounds[344] – you send us (against) the enemy people, our strength is increased by Heaven and Earth and we wish to bring gold, silver, satin and (other) goods, people and kinsmen to you. If you say, 'Which people?' then we say (to you) that in the west there is said (to be) Qalibai-soltan of the Baqtat (Baghdad) people[345] – let us go to war (with him)!' When they petitioned him (like this) the Qahan gave up (his anger against his sons) and calmed down at these words. He approved (their suggestion) and made a decree favouring the three quiver-bearers Qongqai, Qongtaqar and Chormaqan: 'Let Qongqai of the Adargin and Qongtaqar of the Dolonggir be at my side!' Chormaqan of the Ötegedei, he sent to attack the Baqtat people and Qalibai-soltan.

261. He also sent Dörbei-doqshin of the Dörbet to attack (the cities of) Aru (Iru/Herat) and Maru (Merv) and the city (of) Abtu of the Madasari people, (all of which lay) between the (lands of) the Hindus people and the Baqtat people.[346]

262. He also sent Sübe'etei-ba'atur northwards to attack as far as the lands and peoples (of) these eleven tribes[347] – the Kanglin, Kibcha'ut,

[344] The Chinese interlinear note gives 'Tibetan dogs' for *töbödüt noqod*. However, *töböd* (plural *töbödüt*) meant '(large) sheep dog' in the OT dialect. See B.1: 268–9.

[345] Qalibai-soltan: ie the Caliph Sultan of Baghdad. The Caliph was the highest title of Islamic secular and ecclesiastical rulers during the middle ages. 'Sultan' simply means king or emperor. See B.1: 168.

[346] Aru (a mistake for Iru, which is Heret) and Maru (Merv, Mari) were tribal names – see B.3: 406 n 3; the location of Abtu is not clear, but it may be a form of Alamut, a city of the Mazandaran – see B.5 vol 3: 238–9 n 4; the Madasari (Mazandaran) were a Shia Muslim sub-tribe, also known as the Mulahida who lived in the area of the southern part of the Caspian Sea – see B.5 vol 3: 238–9 n 4; the Hindus were the inhabitants of north India.

[347] Kanglin was a place located on the steppe in the Kirgiz area – see B.3: 407 n 1; the Kibcha'ut were Islamic Turkish nomads, living in the southern Russian steppe – see B.3: 407 n 2; for the Bajigit see B.11: 203 n 119; for the Orosut see B.3: 407–8 n 4;

Bajigit, Orusut, Majarat, Asut, Sasut, Serkesüt, Keshimir, Bolar and the Raral (ie Kerel) – and, crossing the great waters (of the) Idil (Volga) and the Jayaq (Ural) rivers (he made) Sübe'etei-ba'atur to go as far as Kiwa Men-kermen (the wooden city of Kiwa, ie Kiev).

263. Having also finished taking the Sarta'ul people, Chinggis Qahan issued a decree placing resident commanders in the various cities. From the city (of) Ürünggechi came a father and son of the Qurumshi clan (of the) Sarta'ul, named Yalawachi and Masqut.[348] They told Chinggis Qahan (about) the customs and regulations of the city. Having been told (so that) he knew as much (as they did), (Chinggis Qahan) appointed his (ie Yalawachi's) son the Qurumshi Masqut and put him in charge together with our resident commanders of the cities (of) Buqar, Semisgen, Ürünggechi, Udan (Khotan), Kisqar (Kashgar), Uiryang (Yarkend), Güsen-daril (Kucha-tarim) and others.[349] He brought his (ie Masqut's) father to the city of Jungdu of the Kitat and, having brought him (there), put him in charge. Because both Yalawachi and Masqut from the Sartaqtai people were able (to explain) the regulations and customs of the city, (Chinggis Qahan) put them in charge of the Kitat people, appointing them with the resident commanders.

264. (Chinggis Qahan) passed seven years (in the land of the) Sarta'ul people. While he was waiting for Bala of the Jalayir there, Bala, crossing the Shin river, had pursued both Jalaldin-soltan and Qan-Melik as f·.r as the land of Hindus. (There) he lost both Jalaldin-soltan and Qan-Melik and (even though) he searched as far as the heart of the (land of) the Hindus he was unable (to find them). Returning, he plundered the people on the edge (of the Hindus' territory) and, taking many camels and many castrated goats, came back. Then Chinggis Qahan returned (to his own lands), spending the summer on the way

the Majarat were the Hungarians – see B.3: 408 n 5; the Asut lived in the northern Caucasus – see B.3: 408 n 6; for the Sasut see B.11: 203 n 123; the Serkesüt (Circassians) also lived in the northern Caucasus – see B.3: 408 n 8; for the Keshimir see B.3: 408 n 9 and B.11: 203 n 125; the Bolar (mistranscribed as Buqar in section 270) were the Bulgarians who lived in the area to the east of the Volga – see B.3: 408 n 10; for the Raral (a mistranscription of Kerel, correctly written in section 270) see B.3: 408 n 11.

[348] Yalawachi was a personal name but in the OT dialect it meant 'envoy; prophet' – see B.1: 306. For details of his son's name see B.3: 410 n 3. Their clan, the Qurumshi is the transcriber's version of Xwar(i)zmi, for which see B.11: 203 n 131. The Qurumshi were Muslims (Sarta'ul).

[349] Buqar, Semisgen and Ürünggechi have already been mentioned (see notes 341 and 343). Udan was called Ho-t'ien or Khotan, a place in Chinese Turkestan – see B.3: 410 n 6 and B.11: 204 n 135; Kisqar is the Turkish city of Kasgar (Kashgar) – see B.11: 204 n 136; Uriyang is the Turkish city of Yarkend – 'Bluff City' – see B.11: 204 n 137; for Güsen-daril (Kucha-tarim) see B.11: 204 n 138.

on the Erdish (Irtysh) (river). In the autumn[350] of the seventh year (spent in the lands of the Sarta'ul) – the Year of the Cock (1225) – he set up camp at the palaces in the Black Forest of the Tu'ula.

[350] Autumn (sic). This should read spring 1225. For details see Bibliography No 20 pp 892–3 note 30.

CHAPTER TWELVE

265. Spending that winter (there), and saying, 'Let us ride out against the Tangqut people!', Chinggis Qahan counted the numbers (of his men) afresh and in the autumn of the Year of the Dog (1226 sic, 1225)[351] rode out against the Tangqut (ie Tangut) people. From the ladies he took Yisüi-qatun and went. On the way, (during) the winter, Chinggis Qahan hunted many wild horses in Arbuqa[352] while riding on his (horse), Josotu-boro ('reddish grey'). (Once), when the wild horses came charging by, Josotu-boro shied, and Chinggis Qahan fell from the horse. His flesh was very painful and they set up camp at Cho'orqat. When they had spent the night (there), the next morning Yisüi-qatun said, 'Princes and Lords, (you must) talk together! The Qahan has passed the night, his flesh hot (with fever).' Then, when the Princes and Lords had assembled, Tolun-cherbi of the Qongqot-ad[ai] made a suggestion saying, 'The Tangqut people have

> Solidly-built cities
> And established camps.

They won't depart, carrying away their solidly-built cities on their backs; they won't depart, leaving behind their established camps. We will withdraw, but when the Qahan's flesh has cooled down again we will ride out against them.' When he said this, all the Princes and Lords approved of these words and petitioned Chinggis Qahan. (But) Chinggis Qahan said, 'The Tangqut people will say of us that our hearts have failed us and that we have returned. We should send an emissary to them and nurse (my) illness (here) at this very Cho'orqat. If we withdraw after considering their reply, so be it.' Then he sent an emissary and had him convey a message: 'Last year, you Burqan said, "We Tangqut people wish to be your right hand (army)." So

[351] By 1226 the Mongols were already fighting in the Tangqut area, therefore the hunting would have taken place in 1225. For the date 1225, see B.20, pp 941–2, note 4.

[352] Arbuqa was also called Archabogda Mountain, located in the former Sain Noyon Khan Aimag of Mongolia. For Arbuqa see Bibliography No 20 pp 941–2, note 4.

you said, (but) when I sent (a message) and requested (your help), saying, 'The Sarta'ul people have not entered into my consultation, let us ride out (against them)' you, Burqan, did not keep your word and you did not give me (your) soldiers. (Instead) you came and ridiculed (me) with (your) words, I was heading towards others (but) I said that later on I would confirm (your rebellion). I rode out against the Sarta'ul people and, being protected by Eternal Heaven (Almighty Spirits), brought the Sarta'ul people directly into submission. Now Burqan, I intend to come and confirm (your rebellion). When he sent (this message), Burqan said, 'I did not speak ridiculing words,' and Asha-gambu said, 'I spoke the ridiculing words. By now you Mongqols (should) have learned (how) to fight. If you say, "Let us fight!". (Well) I have a camp in the Alashai[353] myself.

With yurts (that are) latticed tents,[354]
With laden camels,

(so) head towards the Alashai and come to me. There we shall fight. If you need gold, silver, satins and (other) goods, then head for Eri-qaya[355] or Eri-je'ü (instead)'.[356] After saying (this) he sent (the emissary) back. When these words were delivered to Chinggis Qahan, Chinggis Qahan – his flesh (still) hot (with fever) – said, 'That is (too much). How can we withdraw, letting him speak boastfully like this! Even (if) I die, I must face his boastful words. Let us act!' And he (also) said, 'Eternal Heaven (Almighty Spirits) you shall be in charge.' Chinggis Qahan headed for Alashai and arriving, fought with Asha-gambu. He overcame Asha-gambu and forced him to barricade (himself) on the Alashai. He took Asha-gambu and squandered his people, those

With yurts (that are) latticed tents,
With laden camels,

until they blew (in the wind) like ashes. (Then) he issued a decree saying, 'Slaughtering the powerful, courageous, good (yet) fickle Tangqut, capture and obtain such as you can, this and that, of the Tangqut for the men in (our) army.'

266. Chinggis Qahan spent the summer on Chasutu ('snowy') Mountain (Hun Chui Shan). He sent soldiers (against) the Tangqut, those

[353] The Alashai is now the Alashan Banner (administrative sub-unit) in the Alasha Mountains, north-western China. See B.3: 417 note 7.
[354] For terme gertü – latticed tents, see Section 184, note 228.
[355] The city of Eri-qaya (Irqai, Irghai) is now called Yin-ch'uan in Ning-hsia province. Erije'u is now called Wu-wei, also in Ning-hsia. See B.3: 417 note 8.
[356] These towns were wealthy, see note 355.

who with Asha-gambu had climbed up the mountain, those who had rebelled, those

> With yurts (that are) latticed tents,
> With laden camels

until they were completely squandered as planned. After that he showed favour to both Bo'orchu and Muqali, saying, 'Take, until you think your strength (can carry no more)'. So he decreed. Again he issued a decree, showing favour to Bo'orchu and Muqali, 'Because I did not give you (any) of the Kitat people, both of you (may) take the Jüyin of the Kitat people, dividing them equally between you. Make their fine sons follow you as you go, holding your falcons. And bring up their fine daughters to arrange your wives' skirts. The Qara-kitad Jüyin people were the trusted intimates of Altan-qan of the Kitad people, they finished the forefathers and fathers of the Mongqols. Now Bo'orchu and Muqali, you are both my trusted intimates.' So he decreed.

267. Chinggis Qahan moved out from Chasutu (mountain) (Hun Chui Shan in north-western China) and set up camp in the city (of) Uraqai. (After) he had moved out from the city (of) Uraqai, while he was breaking up the city (of) Dörmegei,[357] Burqan came to have an audience with Chinggis Qahan. There, Burqan, while having an audience, (presented Chinggis Qahan with a set of gifts) headed by golden images of the Buddha; then bowls and vessels of gold and silver, nine of each (kind); boys and girls, nine of each; geldings and camels, nine of each. All kinds (of other things), arranged in nines by their kind or colour, (were presented) while he had an audience. Chinggis Qahan made Burqan have his audience with the felt door closed (so that Burqan remained outside)[358] and during that audience he felt revulsion inwardly. On the third day Chinggis Qahan issued a decree giving the name Shidurqu ('loyal') to Iluqu-burqan,[359] then

[357] Uraqai has not been identified, but Dörmegei, known as Ling-chou by the Chinese, was the secondary capital of Hsi-Hsia, a small kingdom located in north-western China. See B.5 vol 3: 269–70, note 13.

[358] New information shows that by the time Burqan (later Li Hsien or Shidurgu) had an audience with Chinggis Qahan the latter had already died. Hence the audience was conducted with the felt door closed. This so-called audience would have taken place after the death of Chinggis on 25 August 1227. For details see Bibliography No 20 p 913.

[359] Chinggis Qahan seems to change the name of the defeated Tangqut ruler for two reasons. First, he wishes to change it away from 'Burqan' – the name of a Shamanistic god and later a term meaning 'Buddha', especially as Iluqu had come bearing gifts and religious icons. Secondly, by giving him the new name 'Shidurqu' ('loyal') Chinggis assures his loyalty towards the descendants of Chinggis, even after his execution.

Chinggis Qahan, being visited by Iluqu-burqan Shidurqu, said that he would have Iluqu killed and he said to Tolun-cherbi, 'Lay hold of him and kill him!' So he decreed. Then, when Tolun-cherbi petitioned Chinggis Qahan, telling him that he had laid hold of Iluqu and suffocated him, Chinggis Qahan issued a decree, saying, 'When I came to the Tangqut people to confirm (their) words (of rebellion) and when, as we hunted the wild horses of Arbuqa on the way, my flesh pained (me), it was Tolun who said, 'Let it heal!' and, being concerned (about) my life and body, suggested words (of advice). Coming (because of) the enemy's poisonous words, our strength increased by Eternal Heaven (Almighty Spirits), we took our revenge and brought them under our control. Let Tolun take these (things) that Iluqu came and brought – the mobile palace, the bowls and vessels – (all of them) together.' So he decreed.

268. Plundering the Tangqut people, making Iluqu-burqan (change his name to) Shidurqu (and then) suffocating him. (Chinggis Qahan) finished off the mothers and fathers of the Tangqut up to the seed of their seed (until) they were no more. Then he issued a decree, saying, 'While we eat (our) food, talk (of how) we made them die, (how) we finished them and say, "That was the end, they are no more".' Because the Tangqut people spoke words (ie made promises) but did not keep their word, Chinggis Qahan a second time hunted down the Tangqut people. Having finished off the Tangqut people he came (back) and in the Year of the Pig (1227) (on the 12th day of the 7th lunar month = 25 August) Chinggis Qahan went up to Heaven.[360] After he had gone up, (they) gave many of the Tangqut people to Yisüi-qatun.

269. In the Year of the Rat (1228), Cha'adai and Batu (the second son of Jochi) and other princes of the right hand, Otchigin-noyan, Yegü, Yisüngge and other princes of the left hand, Tolui and other princes of the centre, the princesses, the sons-in-law and the commanders of ten thousand and one thousand, forming a whole, assembled (in their) entirety at Köde'ü-aral (for which see note 382, section 282) on the Kelüren (river). According to the same decree of Chinggis Qahan which named him, they raised up Ögödei-qahan as Qan (September 1228–1241).[361] Afterwards elder brother Cha'adai and Tolui handed

[360] He died in Ching-shui District, Kang-su Province of north-western China.

[361] Some scholars say that Ögödei Qahan was elevated as the Great Qahan (Khan) in 1229. Actually he was elevated to this position in September 1228; but it was a tradition at the time that if one became a Qahan in the first half of the year, his reign started in the same year, if one became a Qahan in the latter half of the year, his reign started in the following year. For details see B.18: 399–402, note 17; also see B.19: 82.

over to Ögödei-qahan those who had guarded the golden life of their father, Chinggis Qahan – the night-guards, the quiver-bearers and the eight thousand sentries – and those who served at the side of my father the qan[362] – the ten thousand personal guards. In the same way they handed over the central (part) of the nation (the homeland of Mongolia).

270. Ögödei-qahan, having been raised up himself as Qan, and having finished assigning to himself the ten thousand guards who serve inside (the palace) and the central part of the nation, consulted with (his) elder brother Cha'adai before (anything else). He sent both Oqotur and Mönggetü to campaign as Chormaqan-qorchi's rearguard, who was campaigning against the Qalibai-soltan of the Baqtat people – a people his father Chinggis Qahan had not yet left (subdued). Furthermore, Sübe'etei-ba'atur, campaigning against the cities of Meket (Magas) Men-kermen, Keyibe (Kiev) and others and crossing the great waters of the Adil and Jayaq (rivers), had earlier reached as far as (the lands of) the Kanglin, Kibcha'ut, Bajigit, Orusut, Asut, Sesüt, Majar, Keshimir, Sergesüt, Buqar and Kerel people.[363] Sübe'etei-ba'atur encountered difficulties with these people and (so) (Ögödei-qahan) had Batu, Büri, Güyük, Möngge and many other princes ride out as Sübe'etei's rearguard. He issued a decree, saying 'Batu shall be in command of all those princes who are campaigning.' And he issued (another) decree, saying, 'Güyük shall be in command of those who have gone from the centre (army).' (Then he said) 'On this campaign have the princes who are in charge of a domain send the eldest of their sons to campaign. And also have the princes who are not in charge of a domain, the commanders of ten thousand, one thousand, one hundred and ten and many (other) people – whoever they are – send the eldest of their sons to campaign. And in the same way have the princesses and the (imperial) sons-in-law send the eldest of their sons to campaign.' After issuing this decree, Ögödei-qahan said, 'This principle, of sending the eldest sons to campaign, has come from (my) elder brother Cha'adai. Elder brother Cha'adai has sent (me) word, saying "I have sent Büri, the eldest of my sons, to campaign as Sübe'etei's rearguard. If the eldest sons campaign and if many (more) soldiers go out, then morale will be high and they will go with (great) strength. The enemy people out there have many countries and beyond them are terrible people who, if they were angry, would die by their own weapons. It is said their weapons are sharp." So he spoke and sent (this message to me).' (Then) Ögödei-qahan said, '(According)

[362] The author is showing his feelings towards Chinggis.
[363] These peoples are discussed in note 347 pp 154–5.

to these words and through elder brother Cha'adai's zealous strength, let us send out the eldest sons!' He proclaimed (this decree) in all directions and it is for this reason that he sent Batu, Büri, Güyük, Möngge and the other princes to campaign.

271. Again, Ögödei-qahan sent (word) to (his) elder brother, Cha'adai, and consulted with him: 'I have sat (on the throne) prepared by my father Chinggis Qahan, but will it be said of me, "Through what skills had he sat (there)?" Elder brother Cha'adai, if you approve, I now wish to ride out against the Kitat people, (as) the Qahan our father did not leave Altan-qan of the Kitat people (subdued).' When he sent (this request) and consulted with him, (his) elder brother Cha'adai approved saying, 'What trouble will there be? Appoint a good (ie trustworthy) man at (your) base-camp and ride out. I will select soldiers from here and send them (to you).' So he sent (his message). Appointing Oldaqar-qorchi[364] (to be in charge of) the great palaces . . .

272. . . .Ögödei-qahan rode out against the Kitat people in the Year of the Hare (1231). He sent Jebe[365] (ahead) as a vanguard. And so he overcame the Kitat's soldiers, slaughtering them until they piled up like rotten logs. Crossing over the Chabchiyal, he sent soldiers in all directions to surround and attack their (ie the Kitat's) towns and cities. (Then) Ögödei-qahan set up camp at Shira-dektür. There, catching (some) illness, Ögödei-qahan lost (the use of) (his) mouth and tongue and was in (great) difficulty. When various shamans and sooth-sayers prophesied, (they said), 'The spirit-lords of the Kitat people's lands and waters rage violently (against the Qahan) (for) their kinsmen have been plundered and their cities and towns destroyed. As substitutes (for the Qahan) we shall give people and kinsmen, gold and silver, livestock and food.' Yet when they divined, (the spirit-lords) did not release Ögödei but (continued) to rage violently. When they divined, saying 'Would a kinsman do (as an offering)?' the Qahan opened his eyes and asked for water. After drinking he said, 'What happened?' and, having been asked, the shamans answered, 'The spirit-lords of the Kitat people's lands and waters were raging violently (against you) (because) their lands and waters have been destroyed and their kinsmen plundered. Yet when we divined and said "What other substitute can we give?" you suffered violent cramps; (but) when we said "Would a kinsman do (as an offering)?" they released (their hold on you). Now we leave it to your decree.' When they had petitioned him, (Ögödei)

[364] For details on Oldaqar-qorchi, see B.12 vol 31: 61.

[365] Jebe actually died *c*1225. See B.18: pp 405–6 note 23. See also B.4: p 584, saying that Jebe died in 1224.

issued a decree and said, 'Who among the princes is beside (me)?' When he spoke, Prince Tolui was at his side and said, 'In spite of there being elder brothers above you and younger brothers below you, our fortunate father Chinggis Qahan chose you, elder brother the Qahan, as one (would choose) a gelding, feeling you as one (would feel) a wether. Pointing your body to his great throne, he placed on you the load of the many peoples. As for me, being at the side of (my) elder brother the Qahan, I was told to serve (by)

Reminding you of things you have forgotten,
Waking you (when) you have slept.

Now, (my) elder brother the Qahan, if I lose you, whom shall I remind of things they have forgotten, whom shall I wake (when) they have slept? Indeed, if the Qahan my elder brother becomes incorrect (ie dies)

Many Mongqol people will be orphaned
And the Kitat people (will gain) the satisfaction of revenge.

I will take the place of (my) elder brother the Qahan.

I have split the trout's back
And I have sliced the sturgeon's back.
I overcame Ile
And I impaled Qada.[366]
I have a handsome face
And a tall back.

Shamans, perform your spells and swear your oaths!' When the shamans had made the oaths Prince Tolui drank the 'oath-taking water' and, after sitting for a short while, he said, 'I have become drunk and until I wake from my drunkenness I leave it to you, (my) elder brother the Qahan, to take care of (your) young and orphaned younger brothers and your widowed sister-in-law until they gain intelligence and character (ie grow up). I have said all the words (I

[366] Ile (I-le Pu-a) and Qada (Wan-yen Qada) were two of the three high-ranking officials appointed by the Altan-qan to fight against the Mongols. They were garrisoned at Teng-chou with the finest army of the Chin Dynasty, but wished to return to the capital, Pien Ching. Most cities between Teng-chou and Pien Ching had submitted to the Mongols and the army had few supplies or support. On 16 January 1232 they arrived at Chün-chou (present-day Yü-hsien of Ho-nan province) and were attacked by Tolui and the Mongol army which had arrived without waiting for Ögödei-qahan. The ensuing battle, one of the most famous in the Mongol-Chin battles, was won by Tolui and the commanders, Ile and Qada were captured and executed. For details see B.4: 518 and Section 251 p 144 of the History.

wished to speak). I am drunk.' After saying this he went out and departed, and in this way he became incorrect (ie he died).[367]

273. Thus (Ögödei), after finishing Altan-qan, gave him the name 'Se'üse' ('page').[368] After plundering their (ie the Kitad's) gold, silver, golden and figured satins and (other) goods, piebald horses and pages, (Ögödei) appointed scouts and garrison commanders. After appointing resident commanders to Namging, Jungdu and to cities in various directions (in 1232), he returned completely peacefully and set up camp at Qara-qorum.[369]

274. Chormaqan-qorchi brought the Baqtat people into submission. Knowing that the land was said to be good and its possessions fine, Ögödei-qahan issued a decree saying, 'Chormaqan-qorchi shall remain right there as garrison commander and yearly he shall make (the people) bring yellow gold, gilt, *naqut* (gold brocades), brocades and damasks, small pearls and large pearls, sleek western (ie Arab) horses with long necks and tall legs and dull brown workhorses, camels and small-humped camels, pack-mules and (riding) mules, and he shall send (them to me).' Batu, Büri, Güyük, Möngge and the many other princes campaigning as the rearguard of Sübe'etei-ba'atur brought the Kanglin, Kibcha'ud and Bajigid (peoples) into submission and, (crossing) the Ejil and Jayaq (rivers)[370] to break the city (of) Meget, squandered the Orusut (people), slaughtering them until they were finished. Plundering the people of Asut, Sesüt, Bolar, Man-kerman, Kiwa and other cities, they made them submit and, after appointing resident commanders and garrison commanders, they returned. (Ögödei-qahan) sent Yisüder-qorchi to campaign as the rearguard of Jalayir-tai-qorchi who had earlier been campaigning against the Jürchet and the Solongqas (Koreans in 1258) and he issued a decree, saying 'Let him (ie Yisüder-qorchi) remain (there) as garrison commander.'

275. From the Kibchaq campaign Batu sent (one) of (his) emissaries to petition Ögödei-qahan: 'By the strength of Eternal Heaven (Almighty

[367] Tolui takes Ögödei Qahan's place (by offering himself to the spirit-lords) and dies, late in 1232. In his final speech he seems to offer two reasons why he should substitute for his brother. First, he points out that he has committed possibly worse deeds (the trout and sturgeon in his poem represent innocent victims); secondly, he is tall and handsome – a fitting sacrifice. For these ideas and further details, see B.12 vol 31: 65–66.

[368] The personal name of the Altan-qan was Shou-hsū. Thus, although *se'üse* does mean 'serving boy, page; son' (see B.1; 237), Ögödei Qahan may not so much have renamed the Altan-qan as reinterpreted (in a derogatory way) his original name. See B.12 vol 31: 66.

[369] Qara-qorum was not constructed until 1235–36.

[370] The Ejil is another form of the Mongols' name for the Volga (Idil). The Jayaq was, as noted before, the Ural.

Spirits) and the fortune of the Qahan, (my) uncle, I have broken the city (of) Meget, plundered the Orusut people and brought eleven (foreign) countries and (their) peoples directly into submission. Turning and pulling in the "golden reins" we decided to hold a feast (before) departing. We erected a great tent and, during the feasting, I was the first to drink one of two bowls of ceremonial wine, being somewhat the eldest of these princes. Because of this, both Büri and Güyük acted badly towards me; they did not participate in the feast (but) rode off. As they rode off, Büri said, 'In spite of being (our) equal, why did Batu drink first?

Old women with beards (like him)
Who become (our) equals,
We should push them (away) with (our) heels
and trample them with (our) feet.

Güyük said, 'Those old women with quivers (like him), let us beat their chests, those (old women)!' And Eljigidei's son Harqasun said, 'Let us stick wooden tails on them!'[371] (So), while we, who had been made to ride out against rebellious people with different livers (ie foreigners), were discussing whether (the campaign) had been conducted successfully and properly, we were spoken to like this by Büri and Güyük. We dispersed without accord. Now I leave it to the decree of my uncle, the Qahan.' So he sent his petition.

276. At these words of Batu, the Qahan became very angry and did not let Güyük have an audience with him, saying, 'Whose words are inciting this lowly one (so that) he speaks with a full mouth (ie boasts) of a man who is (his) senior? Let him rot (like) a lone egg. He was antagonistic towards the breast of (that) same man, his senior

Making him a scout,
I shall make him climb
City (walls) that are like mountains
Until the nails of his ten fingers drop off.
Making him a garrison commander,
I shall make him climb
Beaten-hard city (walls)
Until the nails of his five fingers splinter.

And you Harqasun, pettily wicked and lowly, imitating whom did you speak of our kinsman with your mouth full of big words (ie boastfully)? I will send both Güyük and Harqasun (away to exile). I would have executed Harqasun, but you would have said that I was

[371] Something which has a wooden tail will be constantly beating itself.

prejudiced (in favour of Güyük). As for Büri, if you are talking about him, tell Batu to send him to (my) elder brother Cha'adai, telling him (what he has said). Let elder brother Cha'adai decide (on this matter)!'

277. (Then) Mönggei[372] from the princes and Alchidai, Qongqortai and Janggi from the lords, (together) with other lords, petitioned (Ögödei-qahan) and made a suggestion: '(By) a decree of your father, Chinggis Qahan, matters of the field should only be judged in the field and matters of the home should only be judged in the home. The Qahan is angry with Güyük (but) this is a matter of the field. If the Qahan favours us, would it (not) do to send (Güyük) to Batu and rely on (his judgement)?' When they had petitioned, the Qahan approved of these words and calmed down. He caused Güyük to have an audience and he reprimanded him with words of admonishment: 'It is said of you that on the way, while travelling and campaigning

You did not spare the buttocks,
Of (any) man with buttocks.

It is (also) said of you that

You broke down the morale
Of (all) the men in the army.

Did the Orusut people subjugate (themselves), fearing your anger and wrath? And thinking as though you alone made the Orusut people submit, you (now), having an arrogant heart, act with hostility towards a man who is your senior. There is (this) in the decree of Chinggis Qahan, our father: Many (people) cause one to fear, deep (waters) cause one to die. Did he not say (this)? You (act) as though you achieved (the victory) alone, (but) you went in the shelter of both Sübe'etei and Büjek, joining together with all (the men) to attack, to bring the Orusut and Kibcha'ut into submission. You obtained one or two Orusut and Kibcha'ut (but) you have not yet gathered (even) the hoof of a kid (before) you flaunt your manliness. Having gone out (only) once from the *yurt* you (act) as though you achieved everything by yourself, coming with words of provocation. (But) Mönggei, Alchidai, Qongqortai, Janggi and the others

Being companions beside (me),
(They) have restrained (my) excited heart.
Being (like) a wide ladle,
(They) have let the overflowing cauldron (of my anger) be calmed.

[372] Mönggei was Tolui's son and a future Qahan (r. 1251–1259) – see B.2: 411 n 17.

Enough of this! They have said it is a field matter for Batu (to judge). I leave both Güyük and Harqasun to Batu.' And he sent (them to him). (Then) he said, 'I leave Büri to elder brother Cha'adai.'

278. Again, Ögödei-qahan issued a decree: 'In announcing (this) decree, which newly proclaims the duties of all the guards – the night-guards, the quiver-bearers and the sentries – (all) those who served my father Chinggis Qahan, however they served formerly, according to the decree of the Qahan (my) father in the same way, (that is how) they shall serve now!' So he decreed. (Then) he said, 'According to the former rule, the quiver-bearers and sentries shall follow their own paths (during) the day and, with the sun (setting), yield to the night-guards and spend the night outside.' So he decreed. (Then) he said, 'Let the night-guards spend the night with us. Let the night-quards stand at the door and around the *yurt* and let the night-guards patrol behind and in front of the palace. After sunset, the night-guards shall seize (any) person who moves in the night and (hold) him for the night. After the multitude have dispersed, the night-guards shall seize (any) person, other than the night-guards who are spending the night (on duty), who enters inside and mixes with them, and they shall split open their heads and throw them aside. If in the night a man comes with an urgent message, let him tell the night-guards and (then), standing together with the night-guards at the rear of the *yurt*, let him report (to me). Let Qongqortai, Shiraqan and others (administrators), together with the night-guards, be in charge of comings and goings at the palace *yurt*. (It is) said that Eljigidei, in spite of being trusted, was seized by the night-guards when he went behind the night-guards. The night-guards who are trusted should also not countermand my decrees.' So he decreed. And he said, '(No-one) shall ask the numbers of night-guards and (no-one) shall walk behind the night-guards' seat (ie post). (No-one) shall walk between the night-guards. Let the night-guards seize (any) person who walks behind the night-guards or walks between them. From the man who has asked the number of night-guards, let the night-guards take the gelding he has ridden that day and the saddle and bridle, together with the clothes he has worn. (No-one) shall sit on the seat of the night-guards, whoever (they are). Let the night-guards take care of the banners, drums, pikes, spears, bowls and vessels. Let them (also) organise the drink, food and uncut meat.' (Then) he decreed: 'Let the night-guards take care of the palace *yurt*-carts. When We do not go out on campaign in person the night-guards shall not go out on campaign differently and apart from Us. While We are falconing or hunting they shall restrict (themselves); half of them shall remain at the palace *yurt*-cart and half of the

night-guards shall go with Us. From the night-guards the camp administrators shall go (ahead) and set up the palace (*yurt*). Let (some of) the night-guards stand as doorkeepers next to the door. Qada'an, the (commander of) one thousand, shall be in charge of the entire (company of) night-guards.' So he decreed. Again, he appointed commanders to the various shifts of night-guards, (saying), 'Qada'an and Bulaqadar, both forming one shift and consulting together, shall enter (into service) and organise (their men), dividing (so as to) sit (ie take up positions) on the right and left sides of the palace. Amal and Chanar, both consulting together and forming one shift, shall enter into (service) and organise (their men), dividing (so as to) sit on the left and right sides of the palace. Qadai and Qori-qachar, both consulting together and forming one shift, shall enter into (service) and organise (their men), dividing (so as to) sit on the left and right sides of the palace. Yalbaq and Qara'udar, both consulting together and forming one shift, shall enter into (service) and organise (their men), dividing (so as to) sit on the left and right sides of the palace.

Furthermore, the shift (company) of Qada'an and Bulqadar and the shift (company) of Amal and Chanar, (these) two shifts shall camp on the left side of the palace and enter (their) shifts (from there). The shift (company) of Qadai and Qori-qachar and the shift (company) of Yalbaq and Qara'udar, (these) two shifts shall camp on the right side of the palace and enter (their) shifts (from there).'

And he said, 'Let Qada'an be in charge of these four shifts (companies) of night-guards. Further, the night-guards shall stand around the palace, (right) next to my person, and they shall lie down close up against the door. Let two men from the night-guards enter the palace and present the (kumis) flasks.' So he decreed. Again he said, 'The four quiver-bearers, Yisün-tö'e, Bükidei, Horqudaq and Lablaqa, shall form separate shift (companies) and, organising the quiver-bearers from (among) their followers, shall enter the four separate shifts of sentries, carrying quivers.' So he decreed. Furthermore, he appointed elders to the shifts of sentries from the seed (ie children) of those who had formerly been in charge, (saying), 'Being formerly in charge (of the sentries), Alchidai and Qongqortaqai shall both consult together and, organising one shift of sentries, let them enter (into service). Temüder and Jegü shall both consult together and, organising one shift of sentries, shall enter (into service). Mangqutai, who had been in charge of the rearguard, shall organise one shift of sentries and enter (into service).' Again he issued a decree: 'Eljigidei shall be made the senior of all the commanders and they shall serve according to Eljigidei's words (ie commands).' And again he decreed: 'If, when a man enters (into service) on the shift, he abandons the shift, then

(according to) the rule of the former decree let (his commander) teach him with three (strokes of) the rod. If the same man, entering the shift again, for a second time, abandons the shift, let (his commander) teach him with seven (strokes of) the rod. And again, if the same man, without illness or (other) cause and without consulting the shift senior (ie senior officer), abandons the shift for a third time and if he finds his service to Us (too) difficult, then, having been taught with thirty-seven (strokes) of the rod, send him to a distant place out of my sight. Again, if the elders of the shift do not register the guards who are (serving) on the shift and (thus) abandon (their duty) on the shift we shall punish the elders. Furthermore, let the shift elders announce this decree to the guards at every third shift when they (ie the guards) enter and when they exchange (shifts). If, in spite of having heard (this) decree, the guards abandon the shift, then by the rule of (this) decree we shall punish them. If the shift elders do not announce this decree to the guards then they shall be guilty. Furthermore, the elders of the shift, just because they are (now) senior (to them), shall not without my permission punish my guards who entered (into service) on an equal (footing). If they (ie the seniors) breach (this decree), report to us! If there are those who should be killed, I shall execute them. If there are those who should be punished, I shall teach them. If they (the seniors) by themselves, just because they are (now) (the guards') seniors, reach out (against the guards), without reporting (to me), they shall be repaid (in kind) – a rod in return for a rod, a fist in return for a fist.' Then he issued (a further) decree and said, 'Furthermore, my guards are higher (in rank) than the leaders of one thousand outside (the palace and its guard), and my guards' attendants are higher (in rank) than the outside leaders of one hundred and of ten. If the outside leaders of one thousand dispute with my guards, we shall punish (those) leaders of one thousand!'

279. Again, Ögödei-qahan said, 'I shall not make the nation suffer that my father, Chinggis Qahan, established (through his) suffering. Let us rest

> Their feet on the earth,
> Their hands on the ground,[373]

and let them rejoice. Sitting (on the throne) prepared by my father the Qahan and not (wishing) to make the people suffer, let these people give one two-year old sheep yearly from (their) herds for (my)

[373] The poem means that the people should no longer go to war – they should stop riding horses ('feet on the ground') and should dig the ground ('hands on the ground').

soup (ie provisions). Taking out one sheep from (every) hundred let them give it to the poor and needy within the same (military unit as themselves). Furthermore, how can drink (ie kumis) be levied from the people on every (occasion) when (my) elder and younger brothers, the many men, geldings and guards gather? From the various (units of) one thousand in the various directions (the men) shall provide mares and after milking them, those who milked them shall herd them. The camp organisers shall constantly provide replacement (mares) and shall (themselves) be the herders of foals and colts. Again, when (my) elder and younger brothers gather, I shall give them rewards and gifts. Pouring satins, (silver) ingots, quivers, bows, breastplates and weapons into the store-houses I shall have (men) to guard (them). I shall choose store-keepers and grain-keepers from various directions and they shall guard (the stores). Furthermore, dividing the pastures,[374] let us give them to the people (of) the nation. If we provide camp organisers, choosing them from the various (units of) one thousand and make them settle in the pastures, won't that do? Further, in the Chöl (ie desert) lands there is nothing other than wild beasts. For the people living in the wide (open spaces) let the camp organisers, headed by Chanai and Ui'urtai, dig wells and fence them in. Again, (at present) (when) we have the messengers gallop, we let them gallop through (the settlements of) people and the galloping messengers (thus) delay (our) official business and the people (of) the nation also suffer. Now, we shall settle (this) once and for all and provide post-station keepers and post-horse keepers from the various (units of) one thousand of every direction and establish post-stations at various stages (on the route). If we (thus) make the messengers gallop by (way of) the post-stations and not through (the settlements of) the people, unless it is urgent, will it (not) do?[375] When Chanai and Bolqadar, who both understand (these things), suggested (this) to us, I thought that they were correct and said, 'Let elder brother Cha'adai decide. If these matters that have been talked of are correct and if he approves then let (the decision) come from elder brother Cha'adai.'[376] When I sent this to him, elder brother Cha'adai sent (a reply) saying, 'You sent asking about these matters. I approve of all (of them). Do it in the way (you suggest).' Elder brother Cha'adai sent a further (message) saying, 'From here I will have post-stations (established) facing (you)

[374] The phrase used in the text, *nuntuq usu*, literally means 'camp (or pasture)-waters', but it is a compound meaning 'pastures (and their contents)'.

[375] See Introduction, p viii, which explains that 4,000 miles could be covered in forty days.

[376] Cha'adai was older than Ögödei so, by tradition, Ögödei would ask his older brother's opinion.

to join (your stations) together with mine. Furthermore, I will send a messenger to Batu and let Batu (establish) post-stations facing (me) to join (my stations and his) together,' and again he sent (a message) saying, 'Of all the matters (discussed), having post-stations established is the most fitting that has been proposed.'

280. Then, Ögödei-qahan said, 'Elder brother Cha'adai, Batu and the other princes of the right hand – all the elder and younger brothers; Otchigin-noyan, Yegü and the others, all the elder and younger brothers of the left hand; the princes, the princesses and (imperial) sons-in-law of the centre, the commanders of ten thousand, one thousand, one hundred and ten have all approved. When they approved (they agreed that) if (the people) provide one two-year old wether yearly from (their) herds for the Dalai ('Universal')[377] Qahan('s) soup (ie provisions), what is that (to them)? And it is good for them to provide one two-year old wether from (every) hundred sheep and give it to the poor and needy. When we provide post-station keepers and post-horse keepers, having had the post-stations established, there will be peace for many people. There will also be convenience for the messengers in travelling. When they said this, all of them approved.' After he had consulted with elder brother Cha'adai, the Qahan's decree was approved by elder brother Cha'adai. (The Qahan) had all the people from the various (units of) a thousand from the various directions, according to the Qahan's decree, provide yearly one two-year old wether from (their) herds for (the Qahan's) soup and one two-year old wether from (every) hundred (for the poor and needy). He had them provide mares and he had herders of foals and colts assigned. He had them provide herders of foals and colts, store-keepers and grain-keepers and he had them provide post-station keepers and post-horse keepers. He had them measure the locations of the various stages (on the route) and had them establish the post-stations. He put Arajan (-Arasen) and Toquchar in charge and at the stages (where there was) a post-station he made there be (exactly) twenty post-horse keepers and at every (other) stage made there be about twenty post-horse keepers each. Then he decreed, saying, 'From the limits fixed by us from here, of the post-horse geldings, the sheep for provisions, the milch mares, the oxen harnessed to carts and the carts (themselves),

If (even) a short string is missing
I will divide (the goods of the thief)

[377] *Dalai* meant 'sea' or 'ocean' and thus, by extension, 'vast, great'. See B.1: 275–6, and B.12 vol 31: 83.

Right down the centre[378] (ie half) and make him guilty.
If (even) a spoon-shaped spoke[379] is missing,
I will divide (the thief) down (the line of his) nose
And make him guilty.

281. Ögödei-qahan said, 'Sitting on (my) father's great throne, the deeds I have accomplished after my father('s reign) (include) campaigning against the Jaqut people.[380] I finished off the Jaqut people. (For) my second deed, I had post-stations established (so that) our messengers (could) gallop swiftly on the way and also for transporting our own necessities. Again, (for) the other (ie third) deed, I had wells dug in places with no water and made (the water) come forth. I let the people (of) the nation have a sufficiency of water and grass. Again, (for my fourth deed), I placed scouts and garrison commanders among the people of cities in all directions and I have let the people (of the) nation rest

(Their) feet on the earth,
(Their) hands on the ground.

I let them be (ie live). After (my) father the Qahan, I have added four deeds (to his). But again, having been made to sit on the great throne by the Qahan my father and loading his many people on my (back once) he had gone, it was my fault to have been conquered by wine. This has become one fault of mine. (For my) second fault I listened without reason to women's words and I had (all) the girls of (my) father's brother Otchigin's nation brought (to me). (This) was a mistake. In spite of being the Qahan, the lord of the nation, I took part in mistaken deeds without (any) reason. This became one of my faults. Again, (it was) one of my faults to harm Doqolqu secretly. If you say, 'Why was (that) a fault?' (the answer is that) it was a fault and a mistake to harm secretly Doqolqu,[381] who had struggled forward in front of his rightful (master), my father the Qahan. Who struggles forward in front for me like that now? I blame myself for having secretly harmed, without appreciating (him), the man who diligently adhered to principles in front of my father the Qahan and (in front)

[378] 'Right down the centre' renders *ör qol*. Ör meant 'pit of the stomach; heart' while *qol* meant 'central, centre'. To divide the goods of the thief in this way meant confiscating half his possessions. See B.1: 127.

[379] A 'spoon-shaped spoke' (*qalbuqa kekesün*) was presumably a very small flat piece of wood. The point of the two images (the short string and the spoke) is that they are trivial items yet Ögödei commands total honesty and obedience on the part of his men.

[380] 'The Jaqut people' – ie the inhabitants of northern China.

[381] Little else is known about Doqolqu; for more details see bibliography no 12, vol 31, p 88.

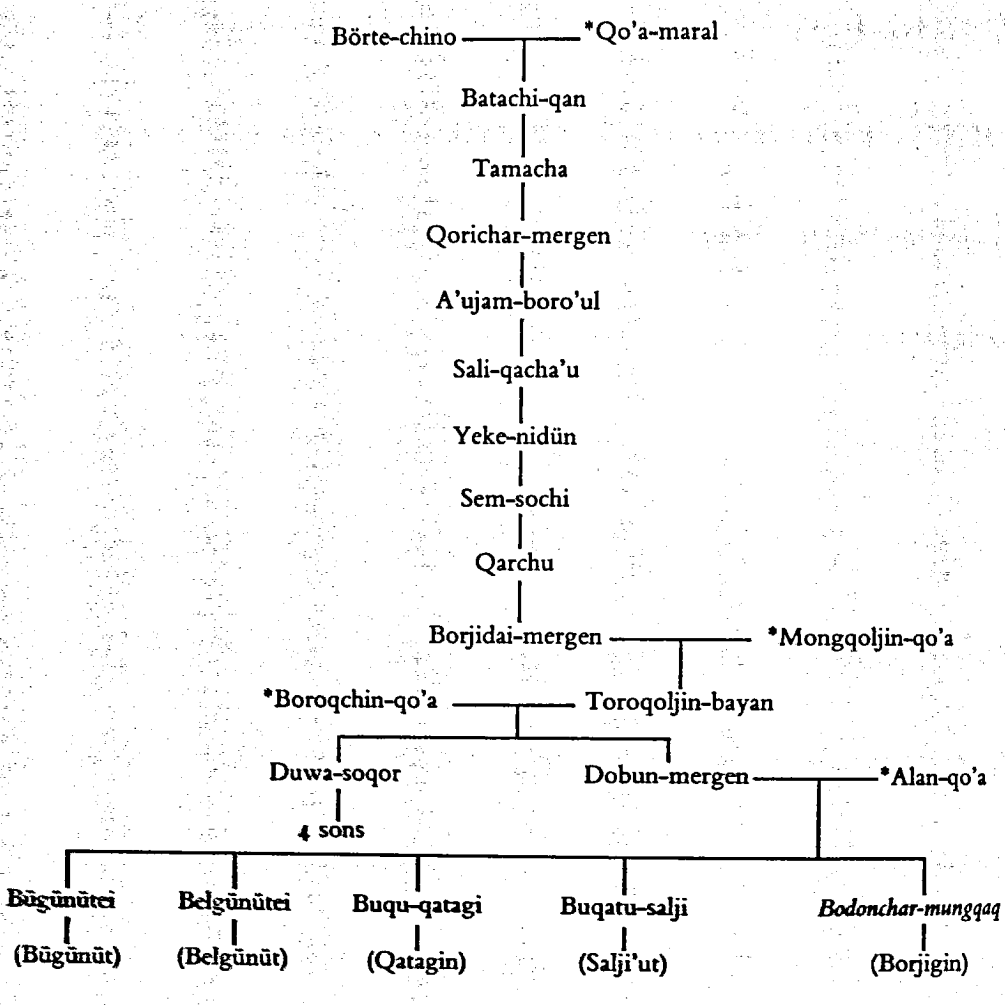
of all. Furthermore, because I am greedy, and fearing that the wild beasts – born destined by Heaven and Earth – would go towards (the lands of my) elder and younger brother, I had fences and walls built. While I was stopping (them from straying) I heard words of complaint from (my) elder and younger brothers. (This) also became (one of my) faults. After the Qahan my father I added four deeds (to his) (but) there were also four deeds (that were) faults.'

282. At the time when the great assembly gathered, in the Year of the Rat in the month of the Roebuck (1228, 7th month), and the palaces were set up at Dolo'an-boldaq of Köde'e-aral[382] on the Kelüren (River), between Shilginchek and (another place),[383] (we) finished writing (this History).

[382] Dolo'an-boldaq is now called 'Dolood' meaning 'seven'. Köde'e-aral is now called 'Bayan Ulaan Uul' meaning 'Rich Red Mountain'. These places are located in the eastern region of MPR, for details see B.22, pp 14 and 16.

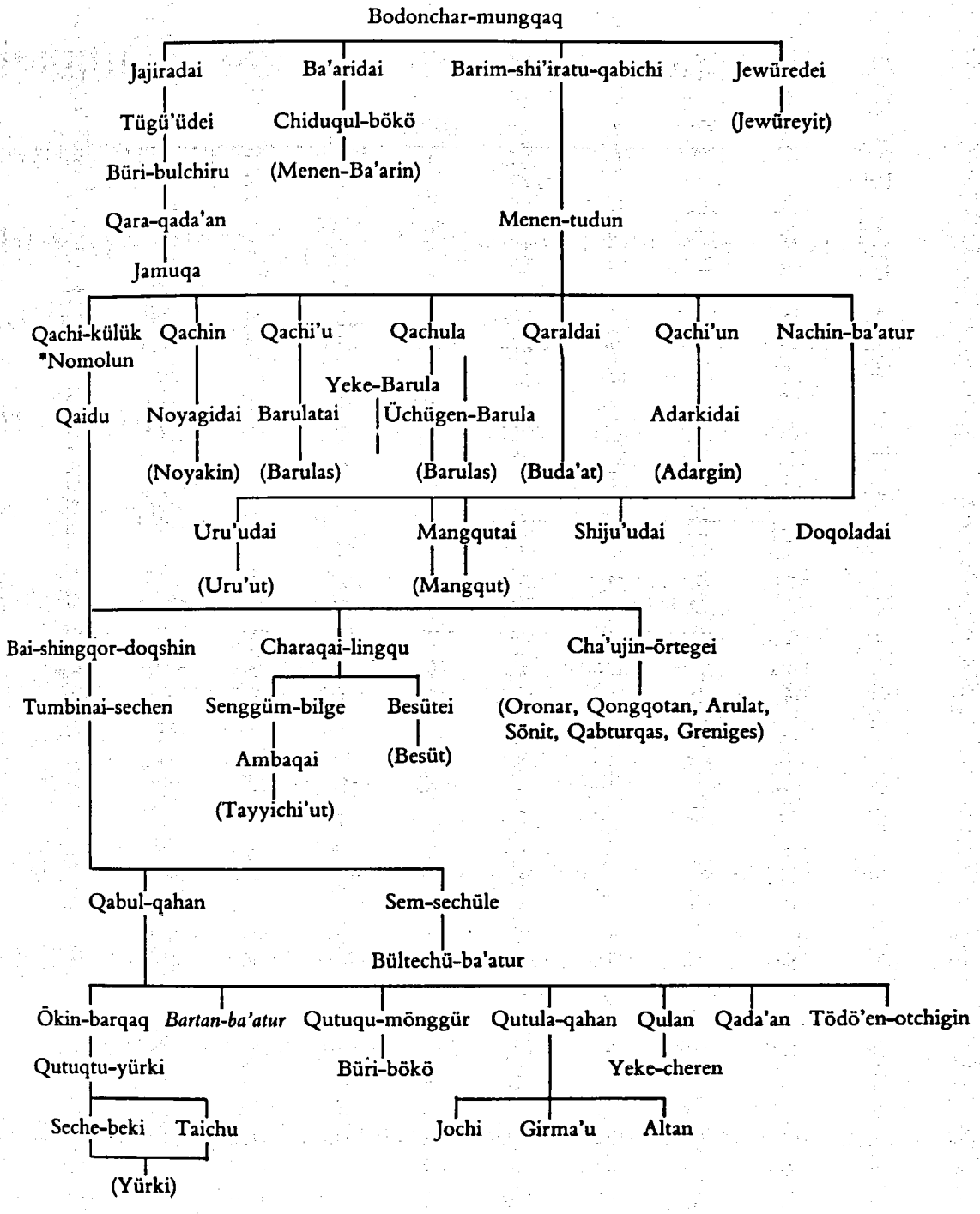
[383] Although the text reads *Shilginchek qoyar ja-ura* (lit. 'Shilginchek both between') no other place-name is mentioned. See B.12 vol 31: 91–92. *Shilginchek*, although a place name here, was also a type of charm to preserve the body from evil. See B.1: 250.

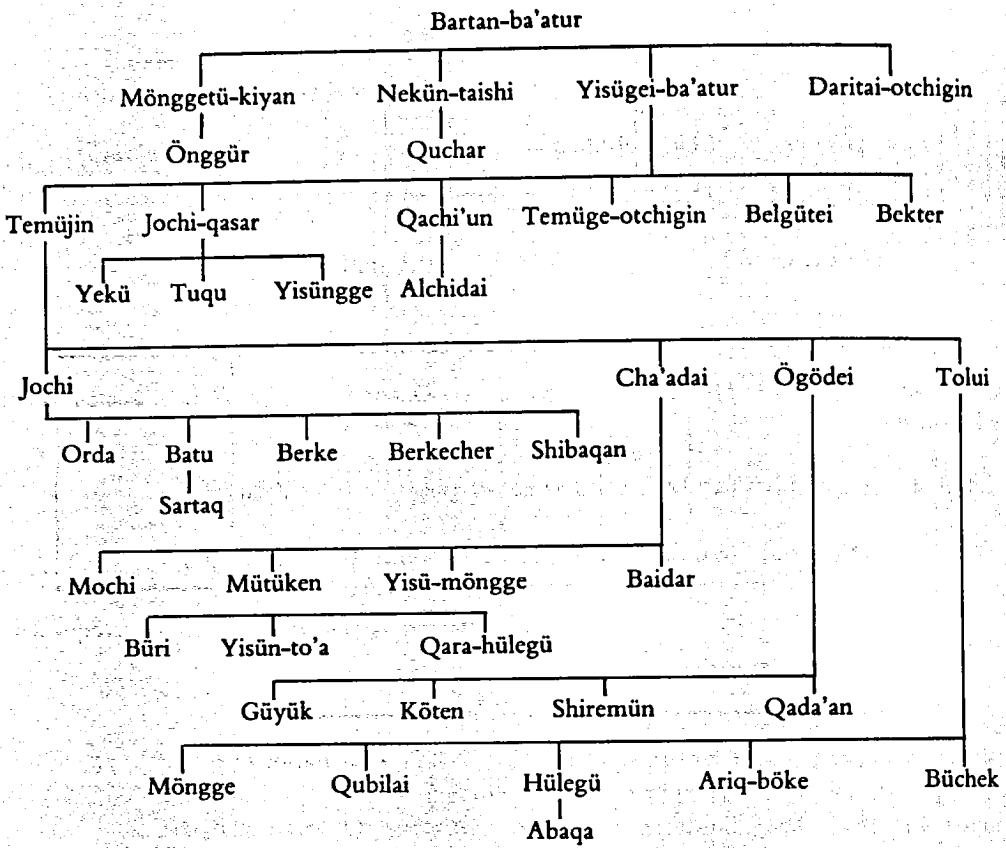
GENEALOGY OF THE MONGOLS



*Wife

Names in parentheses are clan names


Bodonchar-mungqaq
Jajiradai
Ba'aridai
Barim-shi'iratu-qabichi
Jewüredei
Tügü'üdei
Chiduqul-bökö
(Jewüreyit)
Büri-bulchiru
(Menen-Ba'arin)
Qara-qada'an
Menen-tudun
Jamuqa
Qachi-külük
*Nomolun
Qachin
Qachi'u
Qachula
Qaraldai
Qachi'un
Nachin-ba'atur
Yeke-Barula
Qaidu
Noyagidai
Barulatai
Üchügen-Barula
Adarkidai
(Noyakin)
(Barulas)
(Barulas)
(Buda'at)
(Adargin)
Uru'udai
Mangqutai
Shiju'udai
Doqoladai
(Uru'ut)
(Mangqut)
Bai-shingqor-doqshin
Charaqai-lingqu
Cha'ujin-örtegei
Tumbinai-sechen
Senggüm-bilge
Besütei
(Oronar, Qongqotan, Arulat,
Sönit, Qabturqas, Greniges)
Ambaqai
(Besüt)
(Tayyichi'ut)
Qabul-qahan
Sem-sechüle
Bültechü-ba'atur
Ökin-barqaq
Bartan-ba'atur
Qutuqu-mönggür
Qutula-qahan
Qulan
Qada'an
Tödö'en-otchigin
Qutuqtu-yürki
Büri-bökö
Yeke-cheren
Seche-beki
Taichu
Jochi
Girma'u
Altan
(Yürki)


Bartan-ba'atur
Mönggetü-kiyan
Nekün-taishi
Yisügei-ba'atur
Daritai-otchigin
Önggür
Quchar
Temüjin
Jochi-qasar
Qachi'un
Temüge-otchigin
Belgütei
Bekter
Yekü
Tuqu
Yisüngge
Alchidai
Jochi
Cha'adai
Ögödei
Tolui
Orda
Batu
Berke
Berkecher
Shibaqan
Sartaq
Mochi
Mütüken
Yisü-möngge
Baidar
Büri
Yisün-to'a
Qara-hülegü
Güyük
Köten
Shiremün
Qada'an
Möngge
Qubilai
Hülegü
Ariq-böke
Büchek
Abaqa

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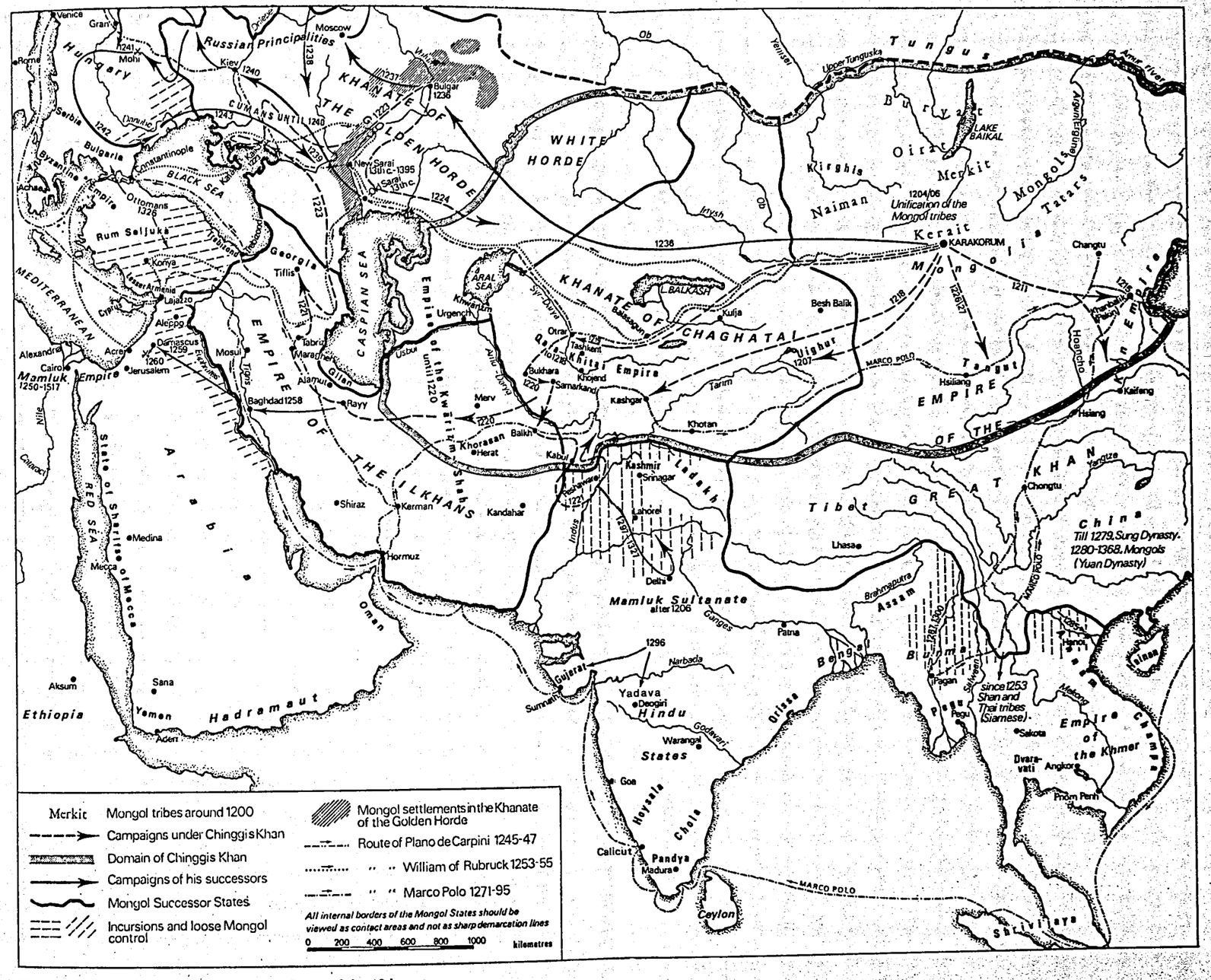
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