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The Secret History of the Mongols

A Mongolian Epic Chronicle of the Thirteenth Century



TRANSLATED BY
IGOR DE RACHEWILTZ
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SHORTER VERSION
Edited by John C. Street

December 11, 2015

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Cover illustration: Ögödei Qa'an (Ogedei Khan), third son and successor of Činggis Qan (Genghis Khan, ?1162-1227), reigned from 1229 to 1241. He was the real founder of the Mongol empire and, in the author's opinion, he played an essential role in the composition of the *Secret History of the Mongols*.

Colour on silk, date unknown (?14th c). Courtesy of the National Palace Museum, Taipei.

CONTENTS

Preface v

Abbreviations and Special Conventions vi

Introduction vii
- Origin and History of the Text viii
- The *Secret History* as History and Literature xvi
- Later Editions and Translations of the Text xviii
- The Present Translation xx

Translation
- Chapter 1 1
- Chapter 2 16
- Chapter 3 32
- Chapter 4 50
- Chapter 5 66
- Chapter 6 84
- Chapter 7 102
- Chapter 8 118
- Chapter 9 134
- Chapter 10 150
- Chapter 11 (= Sup. 1) 165
- Chapter 12 (= Sup. 2) 185

Index of Proper and Place Names 207

Index of Subjects 237

Literature and Abbreviations 260

Table: Genealogy of Činggis Qan 266

Map 1: Mongolia ca. AD 1200 270

Map 2: Eurasia ca. AD 1210 271

PREFACE

The pages below represent a shortened version of the three volumes — totaling over 1700 pages — of Igor de Rachewiltz's similarly-titled work published by Brill in 2004 and 2013.

The first two of these volumes provides a full English translation of the 13th century Middle Mongolian text known as the *Secret History of the Mongols*, with lengthy introduction explaining the nature and origin of that text (with much background information) plus detailed commentary on details in this new translation. After these come seven appendixes, full bibliography, and indexes of names, subjects, grammar and lexis. The volumes include also various maps and illustrations, and a table showing the genealogy of the man named Temüjin who became Činggis Qan – better known in the west as Genghis Khan.

Volume 3 consists of addenda and corrigenda to the earlier two, correcting a number of minor errors and omissions discovered after publication, and adding information provided by newly published works or other scholars.

Publishing such a massive work must, of course, have been very expensive, and Brill can scarcely be blamed for passing such expense on to purchasers. But the high price for all three books makes it likely that most copies will remain in libraries or be owned by specialists or one sort or another. The de Rachewiltz translation deserves a much broader audience, for unlike earlier attempts in English, it is pleasant and easy to read while remaining close to the spirit of the original.

It is hoped that the present shortened version of this invaluable work will be useful to students in various fields of study other than merely linguistics, philology, and Mongolian studies: to students of history, cultural anthropology, and geography, for example, or East Asian or Central Asian studies in general. And that it may give pleasure to many general readers as well.

John C. Street

14 June 2015
Madison, Wisconsin

ABBREVIATIONS AND SPECIAL CONVENTIONS

Common and conventional abbreviations are not listed

mo. = Written or Script Mongolian
n. = note
N.F. = Neue Folge ('New Series')
SH = the *Secret History*
tu. = Turkic

~ alternates with
= corresponds to, is the same as
§ one of the 282 sections of the *Secret History* text
? doubtful form
( ) for explanatory matter in the text
[ ] for lacunae in the text
< > for dittographies and redundancies in the text

In the translation only:

Italic type is used for English words added by the translator
Monotype Corsiva type is used for a few Mongol and foreign terms retained in their original form

We are extremely grateful to Prof. Dr. Manfred Taube for allowing us to include, at the end of the present book (as in the longer version of 2004), a table based on that in his *Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen. Herkunft, Leben und Aufstieg Dschingis Khans*.

INTRODUCTION

'The 13th century work known as the *The Secret History of the Mongols* (*Mongqol-un niuča* [= *ni'uča*] *to*[*b*]*ča'an*) is the earliest and most important literary monument of the Mongol-speaking people... . [It] is the only genuine (not to be confused with reliable) native account of the life and deeds of Činggis Qan – our Genghis Khan – one of the world's outstanding figures.'

So begins the Introduction (pp. xxv-lxxxii) to de Rachewiltz's volumes of 2004-2013, hereinafter abbreviated **RSH**, the chief points of which are summarized below.

The author continues: In form, too, the *Secret History* is unique, 'for no other nomadic or semi-nomadic people has ever created a literary masterpiece like it, in which epic poetry and narrative are so skilfully and indeed artistically blended with fictional and historical accounts.' 'Its poetry reflects the pure, unmitigated tradition of the nomadic tribes of Mongolia and of the Turkic- and Mongolian-speaking inhabitants of the vast steppe-lands of Inner Asia.'[1]

'Linguistically too, the Secret History provides the finest and richest source of Preclassical Mongolian (in its reconstructed "written" form) dating from the first half of the 13th century, *and* of Middle Mongolian, the language actually spoken in the second half of the 14th century – a language lacking any artificiality, simple and direct in style, [and] far removed from the learned and often convoluted syntax of so-called Classical Mongolian. In this respect, one can say with A. Waley that its "story-tellers' tales…are some of the most vivid primitive literature that exists anywhere in the world", words echoed by F. W. Cleaves who called the Secret History "one of the great literary monuments of the world".'[2]

Although at a later date the text was divided quite arbitrarily into twelve or fifteen chapters and 282 sections or paragraphs, 'the *Secret History* is a continuous narrative with comparatively few lacunae and interpolations in the text. … The order of events discussed is chronological, but the first date, corresponding to AD 1201, appears only in §141 (Chapter 4). Chapters 1-12 (up to §268) describe the life and career of Činggis Qan from his birth, probably in 1162 (§59), to his death

in 1227 (§268), prior sections being devoted to his ancestry and the legendary origins of the Mongol tribe and clans. The final portion of the work (§§269-281; see below) deals with the election of Ögödei Qa'an…and with some events of his reign (1229-41), without however mentioning his death. The narrative ends (§282) with a brief and apparently incomplete colophon recording where and when our text was completed.'

1. *Origin and History of the Text*

The colophon just mentioned is deceptively precise: it states that 'The writing was completed at the time when the Great Assembly convened and when, in the Year of the Rat, in the month of the Roebuck, the Palaces (*ordos*) were established at Dolo'an Boldaq... .' The month of the Roebuck is the seventh lunar month, but to which Year of the Rat (in the duodenary animal cycle) does the colophon refer?

This whole matter has been extensively discussed by writers over the past seventy-five years.[3] At first the year 1240 was generally assumed, though our sources report no Great Assembly (*yeke qurilta*) for that year. The prior Rat Year was 1228, and such an assembly was in fact scheduled for that year – called to choose a successor to Činggis Qan, who had died just a year earlier – but at least partly because of internal dissention participants did not actually assemble until August of 1229.[4]

Činggis had designated his third son Ögödei as his successor, but it was Tolui, the fourth and youngest son (and thus by Mongol tradition 'keeper of the hearth') who had assumed temporary control of the empire after his father's death. Some participants instead supported the candidacy of Ča'atai (= Chagatai), the eldest surviving son.[5]

As matters turned out, the father's wishes were respected, and Ögödei was eventually chosen to rule the empire; he did so with notable success for twelve years. But that decision was not easily reached: even after the *yeke qurilta* actually met during the autumn of 1229, both Chinese and Persian sources show 'that there was disagreement in the assembly and that factional strife delayed the proceedings until almost mid-September.'[6]

Thus it appears that the *Secret History* was in fact completed just in time for oral presentation at this assembly; it must then have 'strengthened the hand of the "conservative" element

at court which supported Ögödei's candidature in accordance with Činggis Qan's will.'[7] One could in fact suggest that the one-year delay until 1229 resulted in part from an attempt on the part of followers of Ögödei's to gain support for their cause by composing the present text: to explain for younger listeners all that had transpired during the lifetime of Činggis Qan, and to emphasize for all listeners the importance of maintaining traditional Mongol ways.

* * *

Just who composed or compiled the original version of our text has never been definitively established. Clearly it was one or more family members or other individuals with intimate knowledge of all that had gone on during the lifetime of the man named Temüǰin who eventually became Činggis Qan.[8] The most likely candidate has long seemed to be one Šigi Qutuqu (ca. 1180-1260), who at an early age had been adopted by Činggis's mother, and eventually became one of the Qan's most trusted associates; in 1206 he was appointed grand judge and entrusted with the keeping of legal and population records.[9] But many readers of Igor de Rachewiltz's recent works have now become intrigued (if not fully convinced) by the author's suggestion that it may well have been Ögödei himself who wrote some or all of the earliest version of out text, or at least directed the whole compilation of this text.[10]

However this may be, the first version of our text must originally have been written in the Uighur script (adapted to Mongolian by 1206), and was presumably referred to by its original first line: *Činggis Qan-u uǰaγur* 'The origin of Činggis Qan.'

* * *

No copy has survived of the hypothetical earliest version of the *Secret History* to which the colophon properly applied. What we know today as the *Yüan ch'ao pi-shih* 元朝秘史 (*Secret History of the Yüan Dynasty*), or *Mongqol-un niuča to*[*b*]*ča'an* (*Secret History of the Mongols*), is a much altered, expanded, and elaborately edited version of the Mongol text that was first printed shortly after 1400. Precisely how these two versions are related, and just why, where, and when specific changes were made are matters as yet not fully understood: reconstruction of the textual history 'is still to a large extent conjectural.'[11]

Most changes in the original text apparently took place during the reign of Qubilai Qa'an (1260-94), son of Tolui. It was at this time that 'research into the earlier history of the Mongol ruling house was officially promoted with the establishment in 1261 of a Department of National (= Mongol) History... within the College of Literature or Han-lin Academy... .'[12] There scholar-officials 'collected all the written sources available and prepared drafts in Mongolian (ca. 1290). These were duly revised and translated into Chinese. The [resultant] Mongol chronicle was known simply as *Tobčiyan* or *History*; its Chinese counterpart was the *Shih-lu* 實錄 or *Veritable Records*. The records of Činggis' and Ögödei's reigns...were completed in 1303.' It was probably texts of this sort, written in the style of the *Činggis Qan-u uǰaγur* (but that on Ögödei never completed), that were eventually incorporated into the *Secret History* as 'supplementary chapters' 11 and 12 (see below).

At the same time, but independently, some unknown editors apparently tried to 'improve' the *Činggis Qan-u uǰaγur* by '1) introducing new material, including the passages favourable to the house of Tolui to which Qubilai also belonged; 2) expunging references to events and personages no longer approved of... ; and 3) altering titles to confer posthumous honours on the imperial ancestors.'[13] As an example of their meddling with the text, one may mention the word *qa'an* (mo. *qaγan*). This Old Turkic title, used for a supreme ruler, was first adopted as imperial title and personal epithet by Ögödei after his election in 1229. Sometime around 1266,[14] early in the reign of Qubilai, this *Qa'an* was substituted for *Qan* whenever the latter occurred after *Činggis* in the original text – except once in §255, 'due to an oversight.'[15] The same change was made for Činggis Qan's 'most illustrious ancestors, both direct and collateral (Qabul, Qutula, Ambaqai, Yisügei).'[16]

But most revision was probably a gradual process, 'carried out in all likelihood during Qubilai's reign' by Mongols: for 'one cannot detect any Chinese historiographical bias or influence in the text itself.'[17] The eventual result may be called the *Činggis Qaγan-u uǰaγur*, to distinguish it from the earlier *Činggis Qan-u uǰaγur*. This altered text – or some intermediate version – is additionally reflected in the *Altan Tobči*, a text in the Uighur

script containing much of the *Secret History*, a manuscript of which was discovered in Mongolia only in 1926.[18]

* * *

In early 1369, immediately after the fall of the Yüan dynasty, historiographers of the College of Literature began serious work on compilation of the official history of the previous dynasty, the *Yüan-shih* 元史. Investigators retrieved from the secret archives of the former Imperial Library a variety of documents including at least two copies of the late 13th century *Činggis Qaγan-u uǰaγur* (one surely in Uighur script), and an additional text on the reign of Ögödei.[19]

These copies were not used during preparation of the hastily-completed official history of the Yüan, but 'attracted the attention of the Mongol and Chinese scholars in the College of Literature.'[20] It was they who added to the older text two final, 'supplementary' chapters that dealt first with Činggis Qan's campaigns from 1215 until his death in 1227, then (less coherently, in §§269-281) with events during the years of Ögödei's rule, but including no mention of his death. They then 'transferred the original colophon to the end of [these twelve chapters] and made a free summarized version in Chinese of the entire text using one of the copies in Uighur script. Subsequently they prepared an interlinear phonetic transcription with a word by word interlinear translation into Chinese.' (An example is shown in Figure 1 below.) By 1382 this whole work, which lacked a 'proper' title, was renamed *Yüan pi-shih* 元秘史 or *Secret History of the Yüan*, and *Mongγol-un niγuča tobčiyan* in Mongolian, 'the latter being merely the Mongol counterpart of the Chinese title.'

During this same period (1369-98) the Ming government decided 'to train Chinese students as interpreters[21] in their dealings with the troublesome neighbours on the northeastern frontier, [and] the College of Literature prepared a basic Sino-Mongolian glossary with the Mongol words given in phonetic transcription, followed by a reader consisting of twelve official documents in Mongolian, interlinearly transcribed and translated into Chinese... . The work was published in 1389 under the title of *Hua-i i-yü* 華夷譯語 or *Sino-Foreign (=Mongolian) Vocabulary.*'[22]

During preparation of this work, the *Yüan pi-shih* had been mined for words to be included in the *Hua-i i-yü* vocabulary. At some point it was decided to supplement the *Hua-i i-yü*'s vocabulary and bureaucratic texts (some with quite complex syntax, and thus difficult for students) by using the entire text of the *Yüan pi-shih*: 'i.e. the continuous free translation and the already "processed" Mongol text, to provide 1) an additional rich source of language material for future interpreters, and, at the same time, 2) a vast store of sundry information on the lore and customs of the Mongols.' The aim of the editors at this period 'was essentially linguistic', so – fortunately for us – they 'did not interfere with the text itself nor with the contents of the book, and they totally ignored problems of chronology, internal contradictions and historical accuracy.'

It must have been at this time, too, that Chinese editors divided the existing text into chapters and sections. The edition published for the first time probably during the years 1403-05 contained twelve chapters of almost equal length, but a version to be included in the monumental Ming encyclopedia *Yung-lo ta-tien* 永樂大典 (compiled in 1403-08) had fifteen. Division into 282 sections or paragraphs was the same in both, but in many cases quite arbitrary. In the *Yung-lo ta-tien* version the title was altered to the now-familiar *Yüan ch'ao pi-shih* 元朝秘史.

'Thus, by 1408 we may assume the existence of three texts of the *Yüan (ch'ao) pi-shih*: (A) the printed text in 12 (10+2) chapters, (B) the manuscript copy of the *Yung-lo ta-tien* in 15 chapters, and (C) the manuscript, originally copied for the *Yung-lo ta-tien* (in 1404), of the free summarized translation also in 15 chapters.' '<u>All</u> the later manuscripts and printed editions of the text in transcription, i.e. of our *Secret History*, derive from A and B, and all the manuscripts and printed editions of the free summarized translation derive from C.' Of the early 12-chapter version only 41 leaves have survived, and these were included in the photographic reproduction of the entire text published by the Commercial Press of Shanghai in 1936. (The remaining pages there come from manuscript Y^2, the so-called 'Ku certified text' made in 1805, 'which is regarded as the best modern edition.') The original text of 15-chapter *Yung-lo ta-tien* edition was lost, 'probably during the Boxer War and the destruction of the

College of Literature in Peking in 1900'; but some manuscript copies have survived – as, almost miraculously, has C.

* * *

A few remarks may be appropriate here concerning the formatting and transcription in Chinese printed versions of the *Secret History* text. Figure 1 below shows the first two leaves of Chapter 1 of our text. These are here very severely reduced in size from leaves of the above-mentioned Ku certified text of 1805; and here the vertical dimension has been increased slightly for better legibility. It is stated on the verso side of the title page of the Commercial Press edition of 1936 that the printed area on a half-leaf of the original edition of 1403-05 was 24 x 18 cm, or roughly 9½ x 7 inches. When one realizes that the entire text occupied some 610 leaves of the sort shown below, the amount of work required to incise such wooden printing blocks is truly astonishing, not to mention all the time and labor put in by the earlier editors.

It will be noted that the title shown at the beginning of the text on leaf one (the extreme upper right hand corner here) is the newer *Yüan ch'ao pi-shih*, while at the leaf-fold line on each leaf we find the older and simpler title *Yüan pi-shih*. Beneath the latter is the chapter number ('one'), and lower down the leaf numbers ('one' and 'two' respectively). At the end of each section is given the free Chinese summary-translation of the whole – in much smaller characters.

Each side of a leaf is divided into five columns, to be read, of course, from right to left. Within these, each syllable of the Mongol text is transcribed phonetically, proper names indicated as such, and other syllable-sequences broken into bracketed sequences demarcating words and suffixes. In the edition by Kuribayashi from which Figure 1 is reproduced, each page of the sort shown here is faced by one romanizing the Mongol text, line by line. In this case the following romanization is given for the start of SH §1:[23]

01:01:01 Mongol-un niuča to[b]ča'an
01:01:02 Činggis_qahan-nu huǰa'ur
01:01:03 de'ere tenggeri-eče ǰaya'atu töre=ksen Börte_čino a=ǰu'u .
01:01:04 gergei in-u Qo'ai_maral a=ǰia'i . Tenggis ketül=ǰü ire=be .
01:01:05 Onan_müren-nü teri'ün-e Burqan_Qaldun-na nuntuqla=ǰu
01:01:06 töre=ksen Batačiqan a=ǰu'u

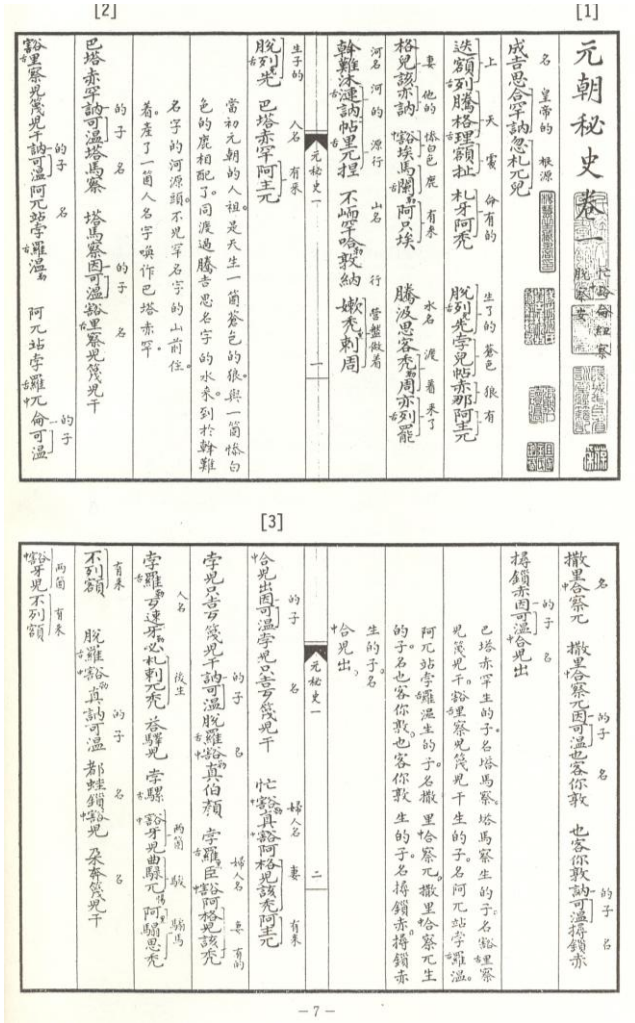


FIGURE 1: First two leaves of manuscript Y^2 of the *Secret History* (reproduced from KCI [= Kuribayashi 2001], p. 7, where a page number and section numbers 1 through 3 were included)

The Chinese translation follows; then the initial lines of §2.

Contrasting with the immediate contiguity of sequential characters in the Chinese translation here (which follows normal Chinese practice within sentences), the columns of Figure 1 show notable differences in spacing between the Chinese characters here used to transcribe the Mongolian phonetically. It seems clear that 14th century editors attempted to use such differences in spacing as a kind of punctuation:[24] characters representing syllables of Mongolian were grouped together (without significant intervening blank space) into sequences of one or more words that formed syntactic units; and larger blanks between successive groups indicated more significant syntactic breaks than smaller ones (or terminal silence at sentence-end). Thus, for example, in Kuribayashi lines 01:01:05-6 we find:

[5] *Onan_müren-nü teri'ün-e / Burqan_Qaldun-na / nuntuqla=ǰu #* [6] *töre=ksen / Batačiqan a=ǰu'u #*

Literally this is:

'Onan River-of head-at / Burqan Qaldun-at settle=ing # be-born=ppl. / Batačiqan be=past #'

And in proper English:

'When [they had] settled on [Mt.] Burqan Qaldun, at the head of the Onan River, Batačiqan was born [to them].'

Here, in both languages, the essential clause 'Batačiqan was born [to them]' is modified by the much longer adverbial phrase.[25]

But this attempt to use spacing as punctuation was doomed to failure, for it now seems that copyists who struggled with this system quite successfully in Chapter 1 of the *Secret History* and in parts of Chapter 2, paid less and less attention to this difficult spacing later on in the text. For it must have been indeed problematic to format or copy spacing of this sort while trying to fit different numbers of words, each varying greatly in length, into each of hundreds of relatively short columns. Traces of this punctuation can be found in later chapters, but there such differences in spacing are rarely of real help to the reader.

As for Chinese transcription of the Mongolian on leaves such as those in Figure 1, de Rachewiltz rightly points out (lxv) that this 'gives us only the phonetic representation of how the Ming transcribers read the manuscript of the *Secret History* in Uighur script in the second half of the 14th century. Therefore,

the text in transcription does not reflect the *spoken* language of the time of composition, viz. the language spoken by Činggis Qan, or, at any rate, in the Mongol court milieu of the early 13th century.' Among the phonetic changes that were taking place during this period are the following;[26] at some point the vowels *ï* and *i* fell together as *i*, *q(i)* became *k(i)*, initial *h* dropped; any sequence of two identical vowels (with intervening apostrophe) became a single long vowel *ā ē ō ȫ ū ǖ*, and under certain circumstances an *a* was assimilated to *o* or *u*. Note too that the phonetic value of many Middle Mongolian phonemes is still uncertain. In short, we simply don't know what the *Secret History* actually sounded like when presented orally at the Great Assembly of 1229.[27]

2. *The* Secret History *as History and Literature*

Writers have differed over the years as to the importance of our text as a historical document, some underestimating its unreliability, others considering it virtually useless as a historical record. And in fact 'trying to separate all the purely historical facts from the semi-fictional or wholly fictional accounts in the *Secret History* is an extremely difficult and often impossible undertaking.'[28] For the text is really 'a clever mélange of historico-narrative prose and epic poetry constantly and unexpectedly blending fact and fiction'; hence an 'epic story (or account) of Činggis Qan', or in Pelliot's phrase, an 'epic chronicle.'

The real importance of the *Secret History* lies in its 'faithful description of Mongol tribal life in the 12th and 13th centuries, especially with regard to the role of the individual in that society. In this respect, the *Secret History* is a true mine of information. The central theme of our epic chronicle is the *modus operandi* of one dominating figure who, together with the other leading characters – his family and retainers – skillfully manipulates the society of his time to achieve his one goal, viz. tribal supremacy for himself and his clan against innumerable odds.'[29] And one message conveyed in unequivocal terms is that 'success as a leader cannot be achieved without good fortune and strength bestowed by Heaven and Earth, and the loyalty of one's retainers and subjects. Such a leader, then, rules by the will of Heaven, i.e. by divine right. It goes without saying that the process

cannot operate successfully without the leader observing on his part the principle of reciprocity, i.e. reward, care and protection, towards his followers and dependants. This conception has an almost exact counterpart in medieval Europe and is the cornerstone of the feudal system.'

No less important than such concern with the 'aristocracy of the steppe' are other aspects of our text's portrayal of the social history of the Mongols prior to their entry onto the world stage. Reading through its sections and chapters one 'gains constant insights, more than just glimpses, into the lives of ordinary people and the interplay between chiefs and subordinates.' Aside from the information supplied on the military organization of the Mongols under Činggis Qan and Ögödei, the *Secret History* provides an unparalleled and detailed picture of nomadic life, social stratification, and the material culture of the medieval Mongols. It is a veritable encyclopedia on life in early Mongolia, during the short and critical period when the Mongols passed from the stage of nomadic tribalism to that of a tribal federation and steppe empire.

In addition to recording for his successors – and for posterity – Činggis Qan's 'wisdom and organizational skill and foresight, the *Secret History* also sings the praise of the other (and perhaps the true) heroes in the saga – the valiant companions from early days such as "the four hounds" and "the four steeds",[30] as well as the commanders of a thousand without whose total commitment to their leader, Činggis would have remained one of many tribal chiefs in northern Mongolia.' These heroes 'are real people (even if at times colourfully portrayed as supermen) and their feats on the battlefield, in spite of the occasional reverse, are only too true. It is in this regard that the *Secret History* is for us a special document: it adds both flesh and soul to much that we learn from the Persian and Chinese historians by giving us the facts as seen, or perceived, from the Mongol camp, in other words "from the inside".'

The *Secret History* is perhaps most notable in that it 'has no precursor nor real successor in the Mongolian historiographical tradition.' It is further the sole true literary monument of the pre-Buddhist period in Mongolia, before the increasingly heavy impact of Buddhism and the Tibetan culture. A third and more immediately obvious characteristic is the presence of some

165 rhymed passages that are interspersed throughout the text: over one-third of the entire work is in alliterative verse, i.e., in poetic form. Such epic pieces, most stemming from the preliterate period, 'were originally sung by the story-teller, following the ancient tradition of the Mongol and Turkic bards.'

It must be remembered that for both the Mongols and the Turks of this period writing was a new and unfamiliar medium, 'used for very definite purposes confined almost entirely to state and administrative matters.'[31] Compilation of a text as long as the *Secret History* would have been a major undertaking, and its completion implies some strong underlying motive: it must have been intended not only to record 'the deeds and pronouncements of Činggis Qan, but also those of his faithful companions in a language and style that reflect the attitudes and values of contemporary Mongols. It is at the same time a glorification of the conqueror's clan for the sake of posterity, especially of his immediate successors.' One is reminded of Alan Qoa's prophetic words near the start of the *Secret History*, in §21:

> 'When one understands that, the sign is clear:
> They are the sons of Heaven. …
> When they become the rulers of all
> Then the common people will understand.'

3. *Later Editions and Translations of the Text*

The first attempt at transcription into a western alphabet of the Chinese phonetic transcription of the *Secret History* was made in Russia by Palladiĭ in 1872-78 but never published in full. (That same scholar, who did not know Mongolian, had published a translation of the Chinese free translation in 1866.) An annotated translation into Japanese by Naka Michiyo appeared in 1907, and it is to him that de Rachewiltz has dedicated his third volume of 2013. But full transcriptions and translations (full or partial), did not become widely available in the west until after World War II. A French transcription was completed by Paul Pelliot in 1920, but not published (with partial translation) until 1949, after his death. German, Russian, and Japanese publications by Haenisch, Kozin, Shiratori and others,[32] available to only a few during the War, became more widely known some years later. The most important of these were three works by Erich Haenisch: his German translation of the entire *Secret*

History (1937, 1948), a full transcription of the text (with variant readings in editions Y^1, Y^2, and Y^3; 1937, 1962), and a dictionary of the *Secret History* text (1939, 1962). Mongol scholars were similarly active during this period, and a Turkish translation by Ahmet Temir was published in 1948.

For a full list of translations in chronological order up through 2001, see RSH lxxii-lxxiv; a similar list of transcriptions appears on lxxi-lxxii. Here one will also see names of the many scholars who have more recently made contributions to *Secret History* studies. Numerous additions to the lists were made, relating to reprints and works in a wide variety of languages, in RSH 3.8-9 and 19-27. The Introduction in Volume 1 of de Rachewiltz's *magnum opus* concludes with two pages on modern and contemporary studies on the *Secret History*, then 374 endnotes to the earlier text.

As for translations into English, only two of the older ones need mention here. The first, included in a book by Arthur Waley published in 1963, was merely a partial but quite readable translation of the Chinese summarized version. The second is a truly scholarly work, 'of paramount importance';[33] written by Francis Woodman Cleaves of Harvard University in conjunction with Fr. Antoine Mostaert – both authors of important linguistic works on Mongolian of various periods – this is entitled *The Secret History of the Mongols; For the First Time Done into English out of the Original Tongue and Provided with an Exegetical Commentary*. It contains the first full English translation of the *Secret History* text, with 65-page introduction and hundreds of footnotes to the translation. Although published only in 1982, this work had been effectively completed twenty-six years earlier.[34] And despite being panned by several reviewers for the author's use of King James English in the translation ('to conserve the archaic flavor of the original' in Mongolian, says Cleaves on p. xi), this remains a truly excellent translation. It is especially useful to anyone trying to learn the Middle Mongolian language, for Cleaves' translation is more literal than that reproduced in the present volume, attempting 'a meticulously literal rendering of the Mongolian text' (RSH lxxx). Unfortunately the planned commentary volume never appeared; nonetheless, the work is so important that four pages of additions and corrections are included as an appendix in RSH 2.1060-63.

Needless to say, however, the more readable and indeed elegant translation included below will be of far greater interest to the general reader.

4. *The Present Translation*.

The translation presented below is virtually identical with that in the original publication of 2004, with only the very few changes mentioned on pages 30-32 of the third volume published in 2013. Like the original, it seeks 'a compromise between faithfulness to the Mongolian original and readability', and 'is primarily designed to provide the reader with an accurate but at the same time fairly fluent translation into modern English.' [35] The conventions utilized in the translation are also unchanged: italic type is used for words not in the Mongolian text but supplied by the translator, while a special font, Monotype Corsiva – *more delicate and elegant than the italics normally employed* – shows Mongolian words (other than personal or geographic names) that are retained in their original form, and words from other languages such as Chinese or Turkish. For discussion of such matters, see RSH lxxxi; see also p. vi of the present work for abbreviations and conventional signs utilized in the translation.

The footnotes accompanying the translation have been considerably modified in the present version. Of such notes it was said (RSH lxxx-lxxxi) that these were intended 'to assist [the reader] in solving immediate problems of interpretation without constantly referring to the Commentary, and to advise the reader whenever checking the Commentary is indispensable for a full understanding of the passage. Hence also the numerous cross-references in the footnotes to other passages and to differently spelled proper and geographical names. Like most works of this kind, the same name can recur in slightly different forms. Thus the footnote serves as an instant aid to the intelligence of the text.'

Since the entire Commentary of pp. 221-1044 in the first volumes of RSH has been totally omitted here, the numerous instances of 'See Commentary' in the original notes have all been altered: if the purpose of a particular reference could be summarized in a few words, that summary replaces the two-word remark; otherwise a specific page reference to RSH is the replacement.

In general, it should be noted that the here-omitted Commentary, and the 374 endnotes to the original Introduction (on pp. lxxxiii-cxiii) contain encyclopedic information about nearly every detail of the *Secret History* text, and Mongol language and culture in the early days. Readers may also want to consult a few other publications that could improve their understanding of the text and its subject matter. A few outstanding works may be mentioned here, with bibliographic information provided after the two indexes below: one article by Owen Lattimore in the *Scientific American* (1963), one by Joseph Fletcher in HJAS (1986), and either the new edition of John Man's *Genghis Khan; Life, Death and Resurrection*, or that same writer's *The Mongol Empire*.

Endnotes

[1] The quotations here and above are from RSH xxv-xxvi.

[2] RSH xxvi; the following paragraph quotes from xxvii-xxviii.

[3] See RSH xxix-xxxiii, 2.1038-44, 3.138 (this last for *bičiǰü da'usba*, lit. 'finished writing', as 'composed' rather than simply 'copied').

[4] See R-08, esp. p. 152. Note that 'the Year of the Rat' is again mentioned in §269 of the *Secret History*, this time as the year of Ögödei's enthronement; so there, as well as in the colophon, it is clearly an error – 'no doubt due to careless editing' – for the Year of the Ox (RSH lxxxviii, n. 99; cf. R-08.151-52).

[5] Cf. RSH 2.923, 984-85. The intervocalic apostrophe in such names and other Mongolian forms may be considered simply a marker of hiatus between vowels, the second of which was long. Cf. notes 26 and 27 below.

[6] R-08.174, et passim.

[7] R-08.175.

[8] For this new title, see RSH 1.457-60.

[9] For details on this man, see RSH xxxvi-xl, 3.2-3, 3.16, and esp. SH §§135, 203; for other matters concerning the authorship of the *Secret History*, see xxxiv-xl.

[10] Cf. RSH 3.5: one reader wrote the author in 2011: 'you and I are in total agreement that if he did not play a direct role in writing the *S*[*ecret*] *H*[*istory*], Ögödei managed the whole project, although the text was tampered with later.' With this statement the present editor

is in complete agreement. For what evidence there is, see R-08 (esp. pp. 160-62 and 174ff), RSH 3.3-5 (where it is pointed out that in §269 the narrator refers to 'my father the Qan'; and that a remark of the narrator's in §229 is later put into Ögödei's mouth, in §278), and further mention in RSH 3.16, 123, 136-37.

[11] RSH xli, with discussion on xl-liii.

[12] This and the two following quotations are taken from RSH xlii-xliii.

[13] RSH xlii-xliii.

[14] RSH lxxxviii, n. 95, with reference to R-83.274 and 278, n. 10. Cf. also RSH 1.222-23.

[15] RSH 3.6.

[16] R-83.274.

[17] RSH xliii.

[18] For details on this document, see RSH liv-lix, 3.13-14. The manuscript is (lvi) 'a mediocre late-17th or early 18th century copy of [some] lost original, containing numerous misprints and faults.' The text was found to contain much of the *Secret History*, some of it 'in either a "mutilated" or "enlarged" form' (RSH lvii, and especially notes 93 and 177 on lxxxvii, xcvi), but a great deal is identical with the text known from Chinese sources. Note that the *Altan Tobči* does not include the supplementary chapters, nor what are now §§176-208.

[19] RSH xliv-xlv. That the scholars involved had access to a Uighur script copy is 'shown by numerous idiosyncrasies of the Chinese transcription' (lxxxix, n. 109, with further references).

[20] RSH xlv for this and the two following quotations. And generally xliv-xlviii for the changes made at this period.

[21] During at least the final three decades of Mongol rule of China it was expressly against the law to help Chinese learn Mongolian (Hung-51.458, citing *Yüan shih* 39.8b for 1337).

[22] This quotation and all others in the remainder of this section are from RSH xlv-lii.

[23] KCI separates parts of a proper name by underlined space, and precedes nominal suffixes by a hyphen, verbal ones by an equals sign.

[24] This is mentioned in RSH only in note 119 on page xci (referred to on xlvii). The ideas expressed just below are mine (Ed.)

[25] Actually the Mongolian word-order emphasizes the name, so perhaps '[it was] Batačiqan [who] was born [to them].'

[26] RSH lxv, with additional remarks in RSH 3.7-8. The uncertainty here is simply that we don't have early texts that might help us determine

exactly when each of these sound changes took place. The dropping of certain Proto-Mongolian intervocalic consonants before an original long vowel (their position thereafter represented by *g* or *γ* in the Uighur script used for Mongolian, and by an apostrophe in romanization of our Chinese-based text; but by *y* after *i*) may well have started before the birth of Činggis Qan. Only sometime later – how many decades we cannot know – did identical vowels in sequence start to merge into one secondary long vowel. And the assimilation of second-syllable *a* to a first-syllable rounded vowel seems to have been a relatively late change. Variant spellings in the *Secret History* text seriously complicate our understanding of all such changes.

[27] Nonetheless, when it comes to pronouncing the Mongol names (and a few other terms) occurring in the translation below, each reader will need to anglicize these in whatever way seems most convenient. The symbols *č, j, š,* (upper and lower case) in Mongolian forms may be pronounced like the initial sounds in English *cheap, Jeep, sheep*. The letter *q*/*Q* may be pronounced as the *c* of *coat*, but was actually ambiguous, representing something like either back [k] or back [g] in the actual language, possibly as in *coat* and *goat*. (E.g., SH *qara* 'black' and *qar* 'hand' are distinguished in the Uighur script as mo. *qara* and *γar*.) The sequence *ng* is always to be pronounced as in *singing* or *hanger* (but not *anger* or *singe*). The vowels of Mongolian are more problematic. Umlauted *ö* and *ü* will present little problem for multi-lingual readers, but no simple and general rules can be specified. An apostrophe simply shows syllable division.

[28] RSH lxi-lxii for this and the quotations just below.

[29] RSH lxii-lxvii for the quotations here and in the next three paragraphs.

[30] I.e., J̌ebe, Qubilai, J̌elme, Sübe'etei; and Bo'orču, Muqali, Boroqul, Čila'un.

[31] RSH ci, n. 241; then lxix and ci, n. 242 for those following.

[32] See RSH bibliographical listings (2.1124-84) under the abbreviations H, Ha (cf. HH), Ko, Shi; likewise $Na^{1,2}$, Pa, Pe, Te (for Naka, Palladiĭ, Pelliot, Temir).

[33] RSH lxxvi.

[34] See RSH cv-cvi, note 312, which includes an explanation for this long delay. (Prof. Cleaves was extraordinarily kind to the present editor in lending him copies of type-set proof pages for the first few chapters of his nascent *Secret History* translation in the fall of 1953; without those, completion of my dissertation on the *Secret History* in 1955 would have been impossible.)

[35] RSH lxxix-lxxx.

THE SECRET HISTORY OF THE MONGOLS

CHAPTER ONE

1 The origins of Činggis Qa'an.

At the beginning there was a blue-grey wolf, born with his destiny *ordained* by Heaven Above. His wife was a fallow doe. They came crossing the Tenggis.[1] After they had settled at the source of the Onan River on *Mount* Burqan Qaldun, Batačiqan was born to them.

2 The son of Batačiqan was Tamača; the son of Tamača, Qoričar Mergen; the son of Qoričar Mergen, A'uǰam Boro'ul; the son of A'uǰam Boro'ul, Sali Qača'u; the son of Sali Qača'u, Yeke Nidün; the son of Yeke Nidün, Sem Soči; the son of Sem Soči, Qarču.

3 The son of Qarču, Borǰigidai Mergen, had as wife Mongqolǰin Qo'a. The son of Borǰigidai Mergen, Toroqolǰin Bayan, had a wife *named* Boroqčin Qo'a, a young lad[2] *named* Boroldai Suyalbi, and two fine geldings, Dayir and Boro.[3] Toroqolǰin had two sons, Du'a Soqor and Dobun Mergen.

4 Du'a Soqor had a single eye in the middle of his forehead: with it he could see for a distance of three stages.[4]

5 One day Du'a Soqor went up Burqan Qaldun with his younger brother Dobun Mergen. Du'a Soqor looked out from the top of Burqan Qaldun, and, as he did so,[5] he saw *in the distance* a band of people on the move who, following the course[6] of the Tünggelik Stream, were coming

6 that way. He said, 'Among those people on the move who are coming this way, there is a fine girl in the front seat of

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[1] Lit., 'the Sea' or (fig.) 'a large body of water' such as a great lake, possibly the Baikal.

[2] I.e., a young manservant.

[3] I.e., 'Dusky' and 'Grey.'

[4] A 'stage' (*ne'üri*) is the distance between two nomadic camps.

[5] Lit., 'when he looked.'

[6] I.e., downstream.

a black covered cart.[1] If she has not been given to *another* man, we shall ask her for you, my younger brother Dobun Mergen!' So saying, he sent his younger brother Dobun Mergen to have a look.

7 When Dobun Mergen reached those people, *he saw that* she was indeed a beautiful and charming girl, and of excellent reputation. Her name was Alan Qo'a and she had not yet been given to *any other* man.

8 As for that band of people, *the matter stood thus*. The daughter of Barqudai Mergen, lord of the Köl Barquǰin Lowland, was a girl named Barquǰin Qo'a, and she had been given *in marriage* to Qorilartai Mergen, a chief of the Qori Tumat. At Ariq Usun,[2] in the land of the Qori Tumat, that girl named Alan Qo'a was born to Barquǰin Qo'a, *wife* of Qorilartai Mergen.

9 As in their land the Qori Tumat had imposed bans on one another's sable, squirrel and wild game[3] *hunting* grounds, and mutual relations were bad *as a result*, Qorilartai Mergen *separated from the Qori Tumat and* took the clan name Qorilar. Saying that the land of Burqan Qaldun was good, and that it was suitable for game hunting, he was *now* moving into *the territory of* the Uriangqai Burqan Bosqaqsan and Šinči Bayan, lords of Burqan Qaldun.[4]

This is how Dobun Mergen asked there and then for Alan Qo'a, daughter of Qorilartai Mergen of the Qori Tumat born at Ariq Usun, and how he took her as his wife.

10 After Alan Qo'a had come to Dobun Mergen, she bore him two sons who were named Bügünütei and Belgünütei.

11 Du'a Soqor, his elder brother, had four sons. Before long, the elder brother Du'a Soqor died. After Du'a Soqor's death his four sons no longer regarded their uncle

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[1] I.e., a cart covered with black felt.

[2] I.e., 'Clear Water (= River *or* Spring).'

[3] I.e., mainly deer, antelopes and wild goats.

[4] Translation uncertain. 'Burqan Bosqaqsan' may actually be a designation (lit., 'Who has erected the Burqan [? image]') of Šinči Bayan, and 'lords' (*eǰet*) an honorific plural. See RSH 1.250-54.

Dobun Mergen as *a member* of the family but, looking down on him, they left him and moved away. They took the clan name Dörben and became the Dörben tribe.

12 After that, one day Dobun Mergen went out hunting on the Toqočaq Heights.[1] In the forest he met a man of the Uriangqai tribe who had killed a three-year-old deer and was roasting its ribs and entrails. Dobun Mergen
13 said, 'Friend, share the quarry!'[2] 'I will give it to you,' said *the man*, and keeping for himself the main portion *of the animal* which has the lungs,[3] and the skin, he gave all the meat of the three-year-old deer to Dobun Mergen.

14 Dobun Mergen went on, carrying the three-year-old deer on the back *of his horse*. On the way he met a poor man on foot who was leading his son *by the hand*.
15 Dobun Mergen asked him, 'To which clan do you belong?' The man said, 'I am a man of the Ma'aliq Baya'ut, and I am in desperate straits. Give me some of the meat of that animal and I will give you this child of
16 mine.' At these words Dobun Mergen cut off one thigh of the three-year-old deer and gave it to him, and he took the child to be a servant in his house.

17 Before long, Dobun Mergen died. After his death, Alan Qo'a, although she had no husband, bore three sons who were named Buqu Qatagi, Buqatu Salǰi and Bodončar Mungqaq.[4]

18 Belgünütei and Bügünütei, the two sons born earlier to Dobun Mergen, said to each other, behind the back of their mother Alan Qo'a, 'Although this mother of ours is without brothers-*in-law* and male relatives, and without a husband, she has borne these three sons. In the house there is only the man of the Ma'aliq Baya'ut. Surely these three sons are his.' Their mother Alan Qo'a knew what they had been saying to each other behind her back.[5]

19 One day in spring, while she was cooking some dried

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[1] Or 'Hills.'
[2] Lit., 'Friend, the roast!'
[3] I.e., the head, trachea, lungs and heart.
[4] I.e., 'Bodončar the Fool (*or* Simpleton).'
[5] Lit., 'behind the back of their mother.'

lamb, she had her five sons Belgünütei, Bügünütei, Buqu Qatagi, Buqatu Salǰi and Bodončar Mungqaq sit in a row. She gave an arrow-shaft to each of them and said, 'Break it!' One by one they immediately broke the single *arrow-shafts* and threw them away. Then she tied five arrow-shafts into a bundle and gave it to them saying, 'Break it!' The five *sons* each took the five bound arrow-shafts in turn, but they were unable to break them.

20 Then their mother Alan Qo'a said, 'You, my sons Belgünütei and Bügünütei, are suspicious of me and said to each other, "These three sons that she has borne, of whom, of what *clan*, are they the sons?" And it is right for *21* you to be suspicious. Every night, a resplendent yellow man entered by the light of the smoke-hole or the door top of the tent, he rubbed my belly and his radiance penetrated my womb. When he departed, he crept out on a moon-beam or a ray of sun in the guise of a yellow dog.

How can you speak so rashly?
When one understands that, the sign is *clear*:
They are the sons of Heaven.
How can you speak, comparing them
To *ordinary* black-headed men?
When they become the rulers of all,
Then the common people will understand!'

22 Further, Alan Qo'a addressed these words of admonition to her five sons: 'You, my five sons, were born of one womb. If, like the five arrow-shafts just now, each of you keeps to himself, then, like those single arrow-shafts, anybody will easily break you. If, like the bound arrow-shafts, you remain together and of one mind, how can anyone deal with you so easily?' Some time went by and their mother Alan Qo'a died.

23 After the death of their mother Alan Qo'a, the five brothers divided the livestock[1] among themselves. Belgünütei, Bügünütei, Buqu Qatagi and Buqatu Salǰi all took *their share*; to Bodončar no share was given, for they said that he was a fool and a half-wit, and they did not regard him as one of the family.

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[1] I.e., the family property.

24 Bodončar, seeing that he was no longer counted as one of the family, said, 'Why should I stay here?' He got on a white horse with a black sore back and a mangy tail.[1] 'If I die, I die; if I live, I live!'[2] he said and left riding fast downstream along the Onan River. He went on and when he reached Balǰun Aral[3] he built a grass hut[4] and made his home there.

25 While he was living there, he once saw a grey female hawk eating a black grouse that it had caught. He made a snare with the hair of his white horse with the black sore back and mangy tail, caught *the hawk* and reared it.

26 When he had nothing to eat, he stalked the wild game which wolves had penned in on the cliffs. He shot and killed *the game*, and fed on it together with *the hawk*; they *also* gathered up and ate the food *left over* by the wolves. And so, feeding his own gullet and his hawk, he got through that year.[5]

27 When spring came and the ducks *began* to arrive, he starved his hawk and let it loose. The ducks and wild geese *which the hawk had caught* he placed all about, so that

Every tree stump reeked with their stench,
Every dead tree with their foul smell.

28 From the northern side of *Mount* Düyiren, a band of people on the move came following the course of the Tünggelik Stream. After he had loosed his hawk in the daytime, Bodončar used to go to those people and drink kumis with them: at night he returned to his grass hut to sleep.

29 Those people asked Bodončar for his hawk, but he would not give it to them. Thus they got along together without the people asking Bodončar whose *son he was*

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[1] Lit., 'with a black stripe along the backbone, mid-back saddle-sores, and a hairless tail.'

[2] Or: 'If he dies, I will die; if he lives, I will live!' See RSH 1.269, 3.51-53.

[3] *Aral* means 'island' as well as 'peninsula.'

[4] Lit., 'a grass hut-tent.'

[5] I.e., through that winter.

and to which *clan he belonged*, and without Bodončar for his part asking them what people they were.

30 His elder brother Buqu Qatagi, saying that the younger brother Bodončar Mungqaq had left following the course of this Onan River, came in search of him. He asked those people who had moved down along the Tünggelik Stream about such-and-such a man with such-
31 *and-such* a horse. The people said, 'There is a man and a horse similar to *those* you ask about. He also has a hawk. Every day he comes to us, drinks kumis, then leaves. Where he spends the night no one really knows; but when the wind blows from the north-west, the fluff and feathers of the ducks and geese caught by his hawk are scattered and fly over here like swirling snow. He must live near-by. Now is about the time of his coming. Wait a little!'

32 Within a short time a man came up along the Tünggelik Stream. When he arrived, it was indeed Bodončar. As soon as his elder brother Buqu Qatagi saw him, he recognized him; he led him away and set out, trotting off upstream along the Onan River.

33 Bodončar, who was trotting behind his elder brother Buqu Qatagi, said on the way, 'Elder brother, elder brother, it is right for a body to have a head, and for a coat to have a collar.'[1] His elder brother Buqu Qatagi did not attach any importance to these words of his. When he
34 repeated the same words, his elder brother *again* ignored them and did not answer. Further along, Bodončar once more uttered the same words, to which his elder brother said, 'What kind of words are those you have just
35 been repeating?' Then Bodončar said, 'These people of a short while ago who are staying on the Tünggelik Stream make no distinction between great and small, bad and good, high and mean:[2] they are all equal. They are people easy *to capture*. Let us raid them!' His elder

[1] A saying, the meaning of which is that a group of people must have a chief to ensure proper leadership.

[2] Lit., 'head and hoof.'

36 brother then said, ‘Right. If this is so, as soon as we reach home let us consult with our brothers and raid those people!’

37 When they reached home, older and younger brothers discussed the matter together, then set out on their horses. They had Bodončar himself ride ahead as a scout.

38 Bodončar, as he was riding ahead reconnoitring, captured a woman who was in the middle of her pregnancy. He asked her, ‘To which clan do you belong?’ The woman said, ‘I am an Adangqan Uriangqai of the J̌arči’ut *clan*.’

39 The five brothers together robbed those people, and *in this way* got enough livestock, people to serve them, and a place to live.

40 The woman who was mid-way through pregnancy came to Bodončar and gave birth to a son. As he was the son of strangers, they named him J̌aǰiradai. He was the ancestor of the J̌adaran.[1] The son of that J̌adaradai[2] was named Tügü’üdei. The son of Tügü’üdei was Büri Bulčiru. The son of Büri Bulčiru was Qara Qada’an. The son of Qara Qada’an was J̌amuqa. These took the clan name J̌adaran.

41 That woman also gave birth to a son by Bodončar. Since she was a captured woman, her son was named Ba’aridai. He was the ancestor of the Ba’arin.[3] The son of Ba’aridai was Čiduqul Bökö, who had many wives and whose sons were born in great profusion.[4] These took the clan name Menen Ba’arin.

42 From Belgünütei stemmed the Belgünüt clan; from Bügünütei, the Bügünüt; from Buqu Qatagi, the Qatagin; from Buqatu Salǰi, the Salǰi’ut; from Bodončar, the Borǰigin.

43 From the wife that Bodončar himself had taken was born a son named Barim Ši’iratu Qabiči. Bodončar *also*

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[1] These personal and clan names are explained, in popular etymology, from the word *ǰat* (*ǰad*) meaning ‘foreign.’

[2] The ‘J̌adaradai’ or ‘man of the J̌adaran *clan*’ is, of course, J̌aǰiradai.

[3] *Bari-* means ‘to seize, capture, abduct’ – another example of popular etymology to explain a clan name.

[4] *Mene metü* – hence the association with the clan name Menen.

took as concubine a housemaid of Qabiči Ba'atur's mother, who had come as dowry. She had a son by him named Je'üredei. At first Je'üredei could take part in the *Jügeli* sacrifice in which meat is hung on a pole and offer-
44 ed to Heaven. After Bodončar's death he was excluded from it[1] because – so they said – the Adangqa Uriangqai man[2] was constantly in the house and Je'üredei must be his *son*. They made him take the clan name Je'üreyit and he became the ancestor of the Je'üret.

45 The son of Qabiči Ba'atur was Menen Tudun. The sons of Menen Tudun were Qači Külük, Qačin, Qači'u, Qačula, Qači'un, Qaraldai and Način Ba'atur.

46 The son of Qači Külük, Qaidu, was born of Mother Nomolun. The son of Qačin was named Noyagidai; because, by nature, he liked to act as a chief, *his descendants* took the clan name Noyakin. The son of Qači'u was named Barulatai. He had a big body and was a voracious eater; *therefore, his descendants* took the clan name Barulas. As the sons of Qačula were *also* voracious eaters, they were named Yeke Barula and Üčügen Barula;[3] they *too* had to take the clan name Barulas and it is these who became the Erdemtü Barula, the Tödö'en Barula and the other Barulas. The sons of Qaraldai did not observe seniority when they cooked[4] porridge; *therefore, their descendants* took the clan name Buda'at. The son of Qači'un was named Adarkidai; because he spread slanders among his elder and younger brothers, *his descendants* took the clan name Adargin. The sons of Način Ba'atur were named Uru'udai and Mangqutai; they took the clan names Uru'ut and Mangqut. Those *sons* of Način Ba'atur who were borne by the wife he himself had taken, were named Šiju'udai and Doqoladai.

47 The sons of Qaidu were Bai Šingqor Doqšin, Čaraqai Lingqu and Čauǰin Örtegei. The son of Bai Šingqor Doqšin was Tumbinai Sečen. The son of Čaraqai Lingqu

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[1] Lit., 'they excluded that Je'üredei from the *Jügeli*.'

[2] Bodončar's son by his Adangqa Uriangqai wife, i.e. J̌aǰiradai.

[3] I.e., 'Big Barula' and 'Small Barula.'

[4] Lit., 'stirred.'

was Senggüm Bilge; *his descendants*, [beginning with] Senggüm Bilge's son Ambaqai [Qa'an], took the clan name Tayiči'ut. From a sister-in-law of Čaraqai Lingqu *who became his* wife was born *a son* named Besütei. *His descendants* took the clan name Besüt. The sons of Čaǰin Örtegei *and their descendants* took the clan names Oronar, Qongqotan, Arulat, Sönit, Qabturqas and Geniges.

48 The sons of Tumbinai Sečen were Qabul Qa'an and Sem Sečüle.[1] The son of Sem Sečüle was Bültečü Ba'atur.[1] Qabul Qa'an's sons were seven. The eldest was Ökin Barqaq; *then came* Bartan Ba'atur, Qutuqtu Mönggür, Qutula Qa'an, Qulan, Qada'an and Tödö'en Otčigin. These were the seven.

49 The son of Ökin Barqaq was Qutuqtu Yürki.[1] Qutuqtu Yürki's sons were Seče Beki[2] and Taiču. These took the clan name Yürki.

50 These four were the sons of Bartan Ba'atur: Mönggetü Kiyan, Nekün Taiši, Yisügei Ba'atur and Dāritai Otčigin. The son of Qutuqtu Mönggür was Büri Bökö. It was he who, *with his sword*, split open Belgütei's shoulder at the feast held in the forest by the Onan.[3]

51 The sons of Qutula Qa'an were J̌oči, Girma'u and Altan. The son of Qulan Ba'atur was Yeke Čeren. He was the master of the two freemen Badai and Kišiliq.[4] Both Qada'an and Tödö'en were without issue.

52 Qabul Qa'an ruled over all the Mongols. After Qabul Qa'an, although he had seven sons, Ambaqai Qa'an, the son of Senggüm Bilge, became the ruler of all the Mongols by *Qabul Qa'an*'s will.

53 Ambaqai Qa'an gave his daughter *as wife* to the Ayiri'ut Buiru'ut Tatars who were living on the Urši'un River, between Lake Buyur and Lake Kölen. As he was taking his daughter to them in person, Ambaqai Qa'an was captured by Tatar J̌üyin men. When they were on

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[1] The SH form Sem Sečüle is an error for Sam (or Sem?) Qačula(i). See RSH 1.287; and see the Names Index for the other names here.

[2] Written Sača Beki elsewhere in the text.

[3] For this episode, see below, §131.

[4] See below, §169.

their way to deliver him to the Altan Qa'an of the Kitat, Ambaqai Qa'an *contrived* to send a message *using* as messenger Balaqači, a man of the Besüt. He said to him, 'Speak to Qutula, the middle one of the seven sons of Qabul Qa'an, and of[1] *my* ten sons speak to Qada'an Taiši.' And he sent saying, 'When you become[2] *qa'an* of all and lord of the people, *learn* from my *example* and beware of taking your daughter in person to *her betrothed*. I have been seized by the Tatars.

Until the nails of your five fingers
Are ground down,
Until your ten fingers are worn away,
Strive to revenge me!'

54 At that time Yisügei Ba'atur was hunting with falcons along the Onan River when he met the Merkit Yeke Čiledü who was on his way *home*, taking with him a girl of the Olqunu'ut tribe to be his wife. Leaning forward to have a *better* look, he saw that she was an unusually beautiful young woman. He swiftly rode back *to his tent, then* returned leading his elder brother Nekün Taiši and his younger brother Dāritai Otčigin.

55 Čiledü became frightened at their coming. He had a fast dun mare; he struck his dun mare over the rump and galloped away over a hill. The three men rode after him. Čiledü rounded the spur of the hill and got back to his cart. There and then Lady Hö'elün said to him, 'Did you notice those three men? Their look is odd: they look as if they want *to take* your life. If only you are spared,

In the front seat *of* every *cart*
There are girls;
In every black cart
There are women.

If only you are spared, you will *always* find a girl or a woman *like me*. If her name is different, name her also Hö'elün. Save your life! Never forget to breathe my scent!' She took off her shirt and he, on horseback, seized it with his outstretched *hand*. By this time the three *men*

[1] Lit., 'among.'
[2] I.e., 'When either of you becomes…'

had rounded the spur of the hill and were drawing near. Čiledü struck his fast dun mare on the rump, rode swiftly away and fled upstream along the Onan River.

56 The three *men* rode after him, chased him across seven hills and came back. Yisügei Ba'atur took the halter and guided *the cart of* Lady Hö'elün; his elder brother, Nekün Taiši, led the way, and his younger brother, Dāritai Otčigin, rode alongside the shaft *of the cart*. As they were proceeding, Lady Hö'elün said, 'My good lord[1] Čiledü is one

Whose tuft has never blown
Against the wind,
Whose belly has never hungered
In the steppe.

But how is it now? How fares he, with his two plaits tossing sometimes over his back, sometimes over his breast, now forward, now backward?' So she spoke, and she went on wailing loudly

Until her voice stirred the waters of the Onan River,
Until it resounded throughout wood and valley.

Dāritai Otčigin, riding beside her, said,

'The one who held you in his arms
Has *already* crossed many ridges;
The one you bewail
Has *already* crossed many streams.
If you call him, and he looks back,
He will not see you;
If you look for his tracks,
His trail you will not find.

Be quiet!' – he warned her. Yisügei then took Lady Hö'elün into his tent. Such is the way in which Yisügei carried off Lady Hö'elün.

57 According to the message of Ambaqai Qa'an, which had nominated both Qada'an and Qutula, all the Mongols and Tayiči'ut gathered in the Qorqonaq Valley by the Onan and made Qutula *qa'an.*[2] The Mongols rejoiced, and in their rejoicing they danced and feasted. After raising

[1] Lit., 'elder brother', here a respectful term for 'husband.'
[2] Read *qan.* See RSH 1.315.

Qutula as *qan*, they danced around the Leafy Tree of Qorqonaq until there was

A ditch up to their waist,
And dust up to their knees.

58 When Qutula became *qa'an*, *he* and Qada'an Taiši moved against the Tatar people. They fought thirteen times with the Tatar *chiefs* Kötön Baraqa and J̌ali Buqa, but were unable

To take revenge,
To requite the wrong

for the slaying of Ambaqai Qa'an.

59 Then Yisügei Ba'atur captured the Tatars Temüǰin Üge, Qori Buqa, and other Tatars. At that time Lady Hö'elün was pregnant, and as she was *staying* at Deli'ün Boldaq[1] by the Onan, it was right there that Činggis Qa'an was born. At the time of his birth he was born clutching in his right hand a clot of blood the size of a knucklebone. Because he was born when the Tatar Temüǰin Üge had been brought *captive*, for this *very* reason they gave him the name Temüǰin.

60 Yisügei Ba'atur had these four sons born of Lady Hö'elün: Temüǰin, Qasar, Qači'un and Temüge. One daughter was *also* born, named Temülün. When Temüǰin was nine years old, J̌oči Qasar was seven, Qači'un Elči was five, Temüge Otčigin was three, and Temülün was *still* in the cradle. [From Yisügei Ba'atur's second wife, Mother Sučigil,[2] Bekter and Belgütei were born.]

61 When Temüǰin was nine years old, Yisügei Ba'atur set out to go to the Olqunu'ut people, relatives of Mother Hö'elün, taking Temüǰin with him and saying, 'I shall ask his maternal uncles for a girl *in marriage for him*.' On the way, between *Mount* Čekčer and *Mount* Čiqurqu, he met Dei Sečen of the Onggirat.

62 Dei Sečen said, '*Quda*[3] Yisügei, in whose direction are you going, coming this way?' Yisügei Ba'atur said, 'I have come here *on my way* to the Olqunu'ut people, the

[1] I.e., 'Spleen Hill.'
[2] Or Suǰigil.
[3] A term meaning 'relative by marriage.'

maternal uncles of this my son, to ask for a girl *in marriage for him*.' Dei Sečen said, 'This son of yours is a boy
Who has fire in his eyes,
Who has light in his face.

63 '*Quda* Yisügei, I had a dream last night, I did. A white gerfalcon clasping both sun and moon *in its claws* flew down to me and perched on my hand. I told the people about this dream of mine, saying, "*Before*, when I looked, I could *only* see the sun and the moon *from afar*; now this gerfalcon has brought them to me and has perched on my hand. He has alighted, *all* white. Just what sort of good *thing* does this show?" I had my dream, *quda* Yisügei, just as you were coming here bringing your son. I had a dream of good *omen*. What kind of dream is it? The august spirit of you, Kiyat people, has come *in my dream* [1] and has announced *your visit*.

64 'With us, the Onggirat people, from old days,
To have the good looks of our granddaughters
And the beauty of our daughters *is enough*:
We do not strive for dominion.
For those of you who have become *qa'an*,
We have our daughters with beautiful cheeks
Ride on a large cart to which we harness
A black male camel.
We trot them off *to the qa'an*,
And seat them by him on the *qatun*'s seat.
We do not strive for dominion, nor for people.
We lift our good-looking daughters,
We have them ride on a carriage with front seat;
We harness a dark male camel,
We lead them off *to the qa'an*,
And seat them on the throne, at his side.
From old days, the Onggirat people
Have the *qatun*s as shields,
Have their daughters as intercessors.
We live thanks to the good looks
Of our granddaughters

[1] I.e., as an omen of good fortune for the Onggirat people.

And the beauty of our daughters.
65 With our boys, *when they seek a bride*,
One[1] looks at *the wealth of* our camp;
With our girls, *when they are sought as brides*,
One[2] considers *only* their beauty.

Quda Yisügei, let us go to my tent. My daughter is *still* small, take a look at her, *quda*!' So said Dei Sečen, and having led him to his tent he made him dismount.

66 When Yisügei saw his daughter, he saw a girl
Who had light in her face,
Who had fire in her eyes.

He was pleased with her. She was ten years old, one year older than Temüǰin, and her name was Börte. Yisügei spent the night there, and the following morning, when he requested his daughter *for Temüǰin*, Dei Sečen said, 'If I gave her away after much asking *on your part*, you would respect me; if I gave her away without much asking, you would despise me. But the fate of a girl is not to grow old in the family in which she was born. I will give you my daughter, and you, for your part, leave your son here as my son-in-law.' So they both agreed and Yisügei Ba'atur said, 'I will leave my son as your son-in-law, but my son is afraid of dogs. *Quda*, don't let him be frightened by dogs!' Then he gave him his spare horse as a pledge and went off, leaving Temüǰin as his son-in-law.

67 On the way *back*, Yisügei Ba'atur met some Tatars who were having a feast in the Šira Ke'er[3] by *Mount* Čekčer. As he was thirsty, he got off his horse *and joined them* at the feast. But those Tatars recognized him: 'Yisügei the Kiyan has come,' they said, and remembered their grievance for his former raid upon them. With the secret intent to harm, they gave him poison[4] mixing it *with his food*. On the way *back*, *Yisügei Ba'atur* felt ill. He

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[1] I.e., the family of the bride.

[2] I.e., the family of the bridegroom.

[3] I.e., 'Yellow Steppe (*or* Plain).'

[4] Or, possibly, 'they grievously injured him' – by mixing poison with his food.

went on, and when after three days[1] he reached his tent,
68 being in a bad way, he[2] said, 'I feel sick within me. Who is at hand?' When they told him that Mönglik, the son of Old Čaraqa of the Qongqotat, was close by, he called him, made him come and said to him, 'Mönglik my boy, I have young children. I left my son Temüǰin to be a son-in-law and, as I was coming back, I was secretly harmed by Tatar people on the way. I feel sick within me. You take care of your younger brothers,[3] the little ones that I leave behind, and of your widowed elder sister-in-law.[3] Go quickly and bring back my son Temüǰin, Mönglik my boy!' He spoke and passed away.

[1] Lit., 'three days and nights.'

[2] Lit., 'Yisügei Ba'atur.'

[3] The 'younger brothers' and 'elder sister-in-law' here are figurative terms, not to be taken literally. See RSH 1.340, and cf. §272 below.

THE SECRET HISTORY OF THE MONGOLS

CHAPTER TWO

69 Heeding the words of Yisügei Ba'atur, Mönglik went and said to Dei Sečen, 'Elder brother Yisügei thinks constantly of Temüǰin, his heart is aching. I came to get Temüǰin.' Dei Sečen said, 'If my *quda* is longing for his son, let him go. But after he has seen him let him quickly come back.' *And so* Father Mönglik brought Temüǰin back with him.

70 That spring, when Örbei and Soqatai, the wives of Ambaqai Qa'an, performed the *Qaǰaru Inerü sacrifice* to the ancestors, Lady Hö'elün *also* went, but as she arrived late she was left out *of the sacrificial meal*. Lady Hö'elün said to Örbei and Soqatai, 'You say to yourselves that Yisügei Ba'atur is dead, and as my sons are not grown yet, you deprive me of the share *of the offerings* to the ancestors, and of the sacrificial meat and drink that have been left over. Isn't this so? You have come to the point of eating under my very eyes *without asking me to partake of the food*, and of breaking camp without *so much as* awakening me!'[1]

71 At these words the wives Örbei and Soqatai said,

'You are one for whom the rule holds
Not to be called and given *food*;
You are one for whom the custom holds
To eat if she chances upon *food*;
You are one for whom the rule holds
Not to be invited and given *food*;
You are one for whom the custom holds
To eat if *food* comes by her.

Is it because you say to yourself that Ambaqai Qa'an is dead, that we are being spoken to in this way, even by *one*
72 *like* you, Hö'elün? The best scheme for you, *Tayiči'ut*

[1] I.e., 'You would leave me out of everything.'

people, is: Leave these, mothers and children, in the camp and move on without taking them along!'

So they spoke, and the following day Tarqutai Kiriltuq of the Tayiči'ut, Tödö'en Girte and the other Tayiči'ut *began* to move downstream along the Onan River. As they set out, leaving behind Lady Hö'elün, the mothers and the children, Old Čaraqa of the Qongqotat went after them and tried to stop them, but Tödö'en Girte said,

'The deep water has dried up,
The shining stone is shattered.'[1]

With this he moved off. Saying, 'Why do you hinder us?', *Tödö'en Girte* from behind speared Old Čaraqa along the spine.

73 Old Čaraqa returned to his tent wounded, and was lying in great distress when Temüǰin went to see him. Then Old Čaraqa of the Qongqotat said, 'The people gathered by your good[2] father, the people of all of us, they have taken with them and moved away. When I tried to stop them, this is how I was treated.' At that, Temüǰin wept and went out.

After *the Tayiči'ut* had left Lady Hö'elün behind and moved away, she held the standard and, riding off all on her own, brought back half the people. But even those people who were brought back did not stay, and *they too* moved off following the Tayiči'ut.

74 The Tayiči'ut kinsmen[3] had moved away, leaving the widowed Lady Hö'elün with her small sons, the mothers and the children, in the camp, but

Lady Hö'elün was born
A clever woman
And she nourished her small sons thus:
Pulling firmly her tall hat
Over her head,
Tying tightly her belt
To shorten her skirt,

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[1] I.e., 'The situation is beyond repair – it's all over.'

[2] I.e., 'late.'

[3] Lit., 'brothers': Tarqutai and his brothers were distant cousins of Temüjin's father. See RSH 1.351.

Along the Onan River,
Running up and down,
She gathered crab apples and bird cherries,
Day and night she fed
Their *hungry* gullets.
Born brave, the noble mother[1]
Nourished her sons who were favoured
With *Heaven's* good fortune.
With a pointed stick from a spruce
She dug for *roots of* the great burnet,
And *for those of* the silverweed,
And so she provided them with food.
The sons who were fed on wild garlic
And on wild onion by the noble mother,
In time became rulers;
The sons who were fed on wild lily *bulbs*
By the high-minded, noble mother
Became lawful and wise.
75 The hungry, nagging sons
Who were fed on wild leek
And on wild onion by the beautiful lady,
Became handsome[2] and good,
And grew up into fine men
Truly valiant and bold.
Saying to each other,
'Let us feed our mother!'
They sat on the bank of Mother Onan,
They prepared their hooks and fished
Mean and paltry[3] fish;
Bending needle into hook,
They fished for salmon and grayling.
They made seines and dragnets,
And caught fingerlings:
Then, with grateful heart,
They fed their mother.

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[1] Lit., 'the lady mother.'

[2] Or 'full of vigour.' The meaning of the Mongolian term is not clear.

[3] Lit., 'Maimed and injured.'

76 One day while Temüǰin, Qasar, Bekter and Belgütei were sitting together *on the river bank* angling, a shiny dace came onto *the line*. Bekter and Belgütei snatched it away from Temüǰin and Qasar. Temüǰin and Qasar came home and said to the noble mother, 'A shiny dace bit our hook, but it was snatched away from us by our brothers Bekter and Belgütei.' Thereupon, the noble mother said, 'Why be so malicious? [Stop it!] Why do you, older brothers and younger brothers, behave in this way to each other? Just when

We have no friend but our shadow,
We have no whip but our *horse's* tail,

and when we ask ourselves how to take vengeance for the outrage *committed* by our Tayiči'ut kinsmen, how can you be at odds with each other, like the five sons of Mother Alan[1] of old? Stop it!'

77 Thereupon, Temüǰin and Qasar, displeased *with their mother's words*, said, 'Once, lately, a lark we shot with a knob-headed arrow,[2] they snatched it away from us, just like that. And now, again, they have snatched *something* the same way. How can we live together with them?' So saying they flung open the *felt* door and went out.

At that time Bekter was sitting on a hillock, guarding their nine horses, the light-bay geldings. Temüǰin, hiding from behind, and Qasar, hiding in front, were approaching and about to draw out their arrows when Bekter saw them and said, 'Just when we cannot put up with the outrage of our Tayiči'ut kinsmen and ask ourselves who shall be able to take vengeance on them, why do you regard me as a lash in the eye, a thorn in the mouth? When

We have no friend but our shadow,
We have no whip but our *horse's* tail,

how can you harbour such thoughts *towards me*? *Anyway*, do not destroy my hearth, pray do not make away with Belgütei!' So he said, and sat cross-legged, waiting *for their arrows*. Temüǰin and Qasar, one from the front

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[1] I.e., Alan Qo'a; see above, §§18-22.

[2] *Qodoli*, i.e. an arrow with a round, blunt head. See RSH 1.366 for details.

and one from the rear, shot at him at close range and went away.

78 When they came back and entered the tent, the noble mother understood *everything* from the looks of her two sons and said, 'You who have destroyed *life*!

From the warmth of my *womb*,
When he broke forth fiercely,
This one was born
Clutching a black clot of blood.
Like a Qasar[1] dog snapping at its own afterbirth;
Like a panther assailing a cliff;
Like a lion uncontrollable in its rage;
Like a dragon-snake swallowing *its prey* alive;
Like a gerfalcon that attacks its own shadow;
Like a pike swallowing in silence;
Like a camel *in rut* biting its foal's heel;
Like a wolf *stalking its prey* under cover of a blizzard;
Like a mandarin duck eating its chicks
When it cannot manage them;
Like a jackal ganging up *with its pack*
When one threatens its den;
Like a tiger never hesitant
When seizing *its prey*;
Like a brach attacking wildly,
You have destroyed!

Just when

We have no friend but our shadow,
We have no whip but our *horse's* tail,

and when, unable to put up with the outrage of our Tayiči'ut kinsmen, we ask ourselves who shall take vengeance on them, you behave [in this way] to each other, saying that you cannot live together!' Thus she spoke, and

Citing old sayings,
Quoting ancient words,

mightily reviled her sons.

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[1] I.e., Khazar.

79 Soon after this, Tarqutai Kiriltuq of the Tayiči'ut came at the head of his bodyguard and said,

'The *little* rascals have shed their down,
The snotty ones have grown up!'

Frightened, the mothers and the older and younger brothers barricaded themselves in the thick forest. Belgütei tore out trees and, *hauling them up together*, erected a palisade. While Qasar exchanged arrow shots, Qači'un, Temüge and Temülün were thrust between clefts in the cliff.

They were battling *in this fashion* when the Tayiči'ut shouted, 'Send out your elder brother Temüǰin; we have no need for the rest of you!' Upon this shouting, they put Temüǰin on a horse and made him escape. The Tayiči'ut saw him fleeing into the forest and went in pursuit, but *Temüǰin managed to* steal into a thicket on the Tergüne Heights. The Tayiči'ut could not get in, so they kept watch round about the thicket.

80 Temüǰin spent three *days and* nights in the thicket, then he said, 'I will get out.' As he moved on leading his horse *after him*, his saddle worked itself loose, *fell* from the horse and was left behind. When he went back *and looked*, he saw that the saddle had loosened and remained behind even though the breast-strap was still attached and the saddle-girth was still fastened. He said, 'The saddle-girth could of course *have loosened up*, but how could the breast-strap also have worked itself loose? Is this a warning from Heaven?' He turned back and spent three more *days and* nights there.

When he started out again, a white rock the size of a tent fell at the opening of the thicket, blocking the opening. He said, 'Is this a warning from Heaven?' He turned back and spent three more *days and* nights there.

After having been already nine days and nights without food, he said, 'Why must I die so ignominiously? I will get out!' With his arrow-sharpening knife he cut the bushes – *so thick that* it was impossible to get out – around that white rock, the size of a tent, which had fallen and blocked the opening; he let his horse slip through and came out *of the thicket*. But the Tayiči'ut were keeping

watch: *as soon as he emerged* they seized him and took him away.

81 After having taken Temüǰin away, Tarqutai Kiriltuq gave the order to his people that he should spend one night in each *ayil*[1] in rotation. As this was happening, on the sixteenth of the first month of summer, the day of the Red Circle,[2] the Tayiči'ut held a feast on the bank of the Onan. At sunset they dispersed. Temüǰin had been brought to this feast by[3] a weak young man. After the people at the feast had dispersed, *Temüǰín* pulled *the leash of his* cangue[4] away from that weakling, hit him once on the head and ran away. *Then*, telling himself that if he lay down in the forest by the Onan he would be seen, he reclined on his back in the water's stream and, letting his cangue float with the current, he lay with *only* his face clear.

82 When the man who had let him escape called out in a loud voice, 'I let the prisoner escape!', the scattered Tayiči'ut gathered together *again*. In the moonlight, *which was as bright* as day*light*, they searched the forest by the Onan.

Sorqan Šira of the Suldus happened to pass by and he saw *Temüǰín* lying in the stream. He said to him, 'It is just because you are so clever, and because

There is fire in your eyes,
There is light in your face,

that your Tayiči'ut kinsmen are so jealous. Lie just so; I shall not tell them.' And with these words he went off.

When *the Tayiči'ut* said, 'Let's go back and search once more!', Sorqan Šira said, 'Let's go back each on his own way and search, looking at the places which we have not yet looked at.' They agreed and made a search going back by the very same way.

As Sorqan Šira again passed by him, he said, 'Your

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[1] *Ayil*: a group of tents belonging to one family.
[2] I.e., 'of the full moon.'
[3] I.e., 'in the charge of.'
[4] *Buqa'u*: a heavy wooden board worn round the neck by prisoners.

kinsmen are approaching, sharpening their teeth.[1] Lie just so and be careful!' And with these words he went off.

83 When *the Tayiči'ut* said, 'Let's go back and search once more', Sorqan Šira again spoke and said, 'Tayiči'ut princes, you have lost a whole man in a shining and bright day; how shall we find him now in the dark night? Let's go back each by his own way and search once more, looking at the places which we have not yet looked at, then let us disperse. Tomorrow we shall *re*assemble and look for him *again*. Where could that man go, with a cangue?' They agreed and went back searching.

As Sorqan Šira again passed by *Temüǰin*, he said to him, 'We decided that we will go home after this search and look for you tomorrow. Now wait until we have completely dispersed, then go and look for your mother and younger brothers. If someone sees you, don't tell him you were seen and reveal that it was I who saw you!' And with these words he went off.

84 *Temüǰin* waited until they had completely dispersed, then he thought to himself, 'The other day, when I was made to spend the night *in each ayil* in rotation, I spent one night in the tent of Sorqan Šira. His two sons, Čimbai and Čila'un, felt in their hearts very sorry for me, and seeing me at night they took my cangue, relieved me of it and enabled me to spend the night *resting*. Again now, when Sorqan Šira saw me, he passed by without telling *anyone*. Now those same *people* will surely save me.' So saying he went downstream along the Onan River looking for the tent of Sorqan Šira.

85 The sign *by which one recognized* the tent was that, after pouring out *mare's* milk, they used to churn their kumis *all* through the night until daybreak. As he went, listening for this sign, *Temüǰin* heard the sound of the churner and arrived there. When he entered the tent, Sorqan Šira said, 'Didn't I tell you to go and look for your mother and younger brothers? Why did you come here?' But his two sons Čimbai and Čila'un said, 'When a sparrow-hawk causes a sparrow to take shelter into a

[1] Lit., 'sharpening their mouths and teeth.'

bush, the bush saves *its life*. How can you speak to him in this way, now that he has come to us?' And, displeased at their father's words, they smashed open *Temüǰín's* cangue, burnt it in the fire and put him into a cart loaded with wool which was *standing* behind *the tent*. They entrusted him to the care of their younger sister called Qada'an, who was told not to say *a word* to a living person.

86 On the third day *the Tayiči'ut* said to each other that someone had probably hidden him. They said, 'Let us hold a search among ourselves', and *began* searching one another. They searched Sorqan Šira's tent, his carts, even under the beds. They climbed onto the cart loaded with wool which was *standing* behind *the tent* and pulled out the wool near the *front* opening. They were reaching the back *of the cart* when Sorqan Šira said, 'Anyway, in such heat, how could one stand it amidst the wool?' The searchers then stepped down and went away.

87 After the searchers had left, Sorqan Šira said, 'You nearly had me blown to *the winds* like *hearth*-ashes.[1] Now go, look for your mother and younger brothers!' He set *Temüǰín* on a tawny barren mare with a white mouth, cooked him a lamb fattened on the milk of two ewes and provided him with a small and a large leather bucket *containing mare's milk*. He did not give him either saddle or steel for striking fire, but gave him a bow and two arrows. Having thus provided for him, he sent him *on his way*.[2]

88 So Temüǰin set out and reached the place where they had *earlier* built the palisade and barricaded themselves. Following some tracks in the grass upstream along the Onan River – the Kimurqa Stream flowing into it from the west – he followed the tracks up along this *stream* and came upon *his own people* who were staying at the time at the Qorčuqui Hill of the Beder Promontory by the Kimurqa Stream.

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[1] I.e., 'You nearly caused my ruin and that of my family.'

[2] For Tarqutai's own version of Temüǰin's kidnapping, cf. below, §149.

89 Once they were reunited there, they left and set up camp at Kökö Na'ur[1] of *Mount* Qara J̌irügen[2] by the Senggür Stream, in the Gürelgü *Mountains* south of Burqan Qaldun. Here they stayed, killing marmots and field-mice for food.

90 One day *some* robbers came and stole the eight horses, the light-bay geldings, that were standing by the tent and made off with them before their very eyes. *Temüǰin and his brothers* sighted *the robbers*, but being on foot fell behind.

Belgütei was then away marmot-hunting on[3] a short-tailed, short-haired chestnut horse. He arrived on foot in the evening after sunset, leading behind him the short-tailed, short-haired chestnut horse, which was so laden down with marmots that it staggered. When he was told that robbers had stolen the light-bay geldings, Belgütei said, 'I will go after them!' Qasar said, 'You cannot cope with them, I will go after them!' Temüǰin said, 'Neither of you can cope with them, I will go after them!' Temüǰin got on the short-haired chestnut horse and went off in pursuit of the light-bay geldings, following the tracks *left* in the grass.

He spent three *days and* nights *tracking*, and in the early morning *of the fourth day* he met on the way a brisk lad milking mares in a large herd *of horses*. When *Temüǰin* inquired about the light-bay geldings, the lad said, 'This morning, before sunrise, eight horses – light-bay geldings – were driven past here. I will show you their trail.' He made *Temüǰin* leave the short-haired chestnut horse there, set him on a white horse with a black back,[4] and he himself rode a fast dun mare. And without even going to his tent, he put down his leather bucket and pail, concealing them in the grass.

'Friend', he said, 'you came to me being in great trouble, but men's troubles are the same *for all*. I will be

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[1] I.e., 'Blue Lake.'
[2] I.e., 'Black Heart.'
[3] Lit., 'riding.'
[4] Lit., 'with a black stripe along the backbone.'

your companion. My father is called Naqu Bayan.[1] I am his only son and my name is Bo'orču.'

They spent three *days and* nights following the trail of the light-bay geldings. Then, in the evening *of the fourth day*, just as the sun was setting on the hills,[2] they came upon people in a circular camp. They saw the eight horses, the light-bay geldings, standing at the edge of that large camp, grazing.

Temüǰin said, 'Friend, you stay here. As for me – the light-bay geldings are those there – I will go and drive them off!' Bo'orču said, 'I came with you as your companion. How can I stay here?' They raced in together and drove the light-bay geldings off.

91 The men came after them in separate groups and *began* to pursue them. Away from the rest, one man on a white horse and holding a pole-lasso drew closer and caught up with them. Bo'orču said, 'Friend, give me the bow and arrows. I'll trade shots with him!' Temüǰin said, 'I am afraid you'll come to harm because of me. I'll trade shots with him!' He swung around and they began to shoot arrows at each other. The man on the white horse stood up, aiming at him with his pole-lasso. His companions, who had *fallen* behind, caught up with him, but the sun sank, dusk came down and those men behind, overtaken by darkness, halted and were left behind *altogether*.

92 They rode all that night and then rode for three *more* days and nights before they reached *their destination*. Temüǰin said, 'Friend, would I ever have got these horses of mine *back* without you? Let's share them. How many do you say you'll take?' Bo'orču said, 'I became your companion because you, a good friend, were in trouble and approached me, and I wished to be of help to a good friend. Am I *now* to take *the horses* as booty? My father is called Naqu Bayan. I am the only son of Naqu Bayan. The property of my father is ample for me. I won't take

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[1] I.e., 'Naqu the Rich.'

[2] Lit., 'was touching the hilltops.' Cf. below, §171.

the horses. What sort of help would my help be? I won't take them.'

93 They arrived at the tent of Naqu Bayan. Naqu Bayan was all in tears for the loss of his son Bo'orču. When they suddenly arrived and he saw his son, he began both to wail and to scold. His son Bo'orču said, 'What is the matter? A good friend came to me in trouble, I became his companion and went with him. Now I have come back.' With this he rode off to fetch his leather bucket and pail which he had concealed in the grass. They killed a lamb fattened on the milk of two ewes and gave it to Temüǰin as provision for the road; they also prepared a leather bucket *containing mare's milk* which they loaded on the horse. *In this way*, they provided for his journey. Then Naqu Bayan said, 'You two young men *keep* seeing each other, never abandon each other!'

Temüǰin left, and after travelling three days and three nights arrived at his tent on the Senggür Stream. Mother Hö'elün, Qasar and his younger brothers were worrying about him, but when they saw him they rejoiced.

94 Thereupon, Temüǰin left with Belgütei downstream along the Kelüren River to look for Lady Börte, *the daughter* of Dei Sečen, from whom he had been separated since he had visited her at the age of nine.

Dei Sečen, the Onggirat, lived between *Mount* Čekčer and *Mount* Čiqurqu. When Dei Sečen saw Temüǰin he was very glad. He said, 'I knew that your Tayiči'ut kinsmen were jealous of you, and I worried and despaired; and now at last I see you!' So saying he had him and Lady Börte united *as man and wife*, and then accompanied her *to her new home*.

Dei Sečen accompanied her and, as they approached *their destination* and *were still* on the way, he turned back at the Uraq Čöl Bend[1] of the Kelüren. His wife, the mother of Lady Börte, was called Čotan. Čotan escorted her daughter and took her to *Temüǰin's home*, which at

[1] Lit., 'Corner', i.e. the dry ground or plain in the winding of a river. See RSH 1.391.

that time was on the Senggür Stream in the Gürelgü *Mountains*.

95 After *Temüǰin* had sent Čotan home, he sent Belgütei to invite Bo'orču to join him as his companion. Bo'orču after receiving Belgütei did not say a word to his father, but

> He jumped on his chestnut horse with the arched back,
> He tucked his grey woollen cloak behind him

and came with Belgütei. This is how they became *firm* companions after first having joined in friendship.

96 From the Senggür Stream they moved on and set up camp on the Bürgi Escarpment at the source of the Kelüren River.

Čotan had brought a black sable coat as a wedding present for *Temüǰin's* mother. Temüjin, Qasar and Belgütei took away that coat. In earlier days, Ong Qan of the Kereyit tribe and their father Yisügei Qan had declared themselves sworn friends.[1] *Temüǰin* said, 'As he and my father have declared themselves sworn friends, *Ong Qan* is indeed like a father to me.'

Knowing that Ong Qan was staying in the Black Forest by the Tu'ula *River*, he went there. When he came to Ong Qan, Temüjin said, 'Since in earlier days you and my father declared yourselves sworn friends you are, indeed, like a father to me.[2] I took a wife, and I have brought the wedding gift to you.' Thereupon, he gave him the black sable coat. Ong Qan was very pleased. He said,

> 'In return for the black sable coat,
> I shall bring together for you
> Your divided people;
> In return for the sable coat,
> I shall unite for you
> Your scattered people. *Just as*
> *The place* of the kidneys must be in the back,
> That of good faith must be in the breast!'

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[1] *Anda.* See RSH 1.395-96 for discussion of this important term.

[2] See below, §150.

97 From there they returned home. While they were living on the Bürgi Escarpment, from Burqan Qaldun came Old J̌arči'udai, a man of the Uriangqai tribe, carrying his *smith's* bellows on his back and leading his son called J̌elme. J̌arči'udai said, 'When you *people* were at Deli'ün Boldaq on the Onan *River* and you Temüǰin were born, I gave you sable swaddling-clothes *as a gift*. I also gave you this son of mine J̌elme, but since he was *still* small I took him back. Now let J̌elme

Put on your saddle,
Open your door.'

So he spoke and handed him over *to Temüǰin.*

98 They had set up camp on the Bürgi Escarpment at the source of the Kelüren River, when early one morning – the light was yellowish as day *began* to dawn – Old Qo'aqčin, who was serving in the tent of Mother Hö'elün, got up and said, 'Mother, mother, rise up quickly! The earth is shaking and one can hear the sound of trampling hoofs: will they be the dreadful Tayiči'ut approaching? Mother, rise up quickly!'

99 Mother Hö'elün said, 'Quickly wake the sons!' Mother Hö'elün also rose in haste. Temüǰin and the other sons rose in haste too. They grabbed their horses. Temüǰin rode one horse, Mother Hö'elün rode one horse, Qasar rode one horse, Qači'un rode one horse, Temüge Otčigin rode one horse, Belgütei rode one horse, Bo'orču rode one horse, J̌elme rode one horse. Mother Hö'elün put Temülün in front of her on the horse. One horse was harnessed as a spare horse. There was no horse left for Lady Börte.

100 While it was still early Temüǰin and his brothers set out in the direction of *Mount* Burqan. Old Qo'aqčin, in order to hide Lady Börte,

Put her into a sturdy (?) black covered cart,
Harnessed to it an ox with dappled loins,

and moved upstream along the Tenggelik[1] Stream. As she was proceeding in the dim light – the day was breaking – some soldiers came riding at a trot towards

[1] = Tünggelik.

her. They surrounded her and went up to her, and asked her who she was. Old Qo'aqčin said, 'I belong to Temüǰin. I came to shear sheep at the big tent and *now* I am returning to my tent.' On this, they said, 'Is Temüǰin at home? How far is his tent *from here*?' Old Qo'aqčin said, 'The tent – it is nearby; but whether Temüǰin is there or not I did not notice. I arose and left from the back.'

101 The soldiers then trotted off. Old Qo'aqčin struck the ox with the speckled loins so that they would move along faster, but the axletree of the cart broke in two. As the axletree was broken, they[1] decided to flee into the forest on foot, but at that very moment the same soldiers came trotting up. Forced to sit on one of the horses behind the rider was the mother of Belgütei, both feet dangling *in the air*. 'What are you carrying in this cart?', they said. Old Qo'aqčin said, 'I am carrying wool.' The elders of the soldiers said to their younger brothers and sons, 'Dismount and have a look!' The younger brothers and sons dismounted and, having taken off the door of the closed cart, sure enough *they found* a lady sitting inside. They dragged her out of the cart and made her come down; then, making both her and Qo'aqčin ride behind, they took them away. Following the tracks left in the grass they went after Temüǰin in the direction of *Mount* Burqan.

102 In pursuit of Temüǰin they circled Burqan Qaldun three times[2] but could not catch him. They made detours this way and that – the swallowing quagmires and the tangled woods made so impenetrable a forest that a glutted snake could not creep in – and although they were on his heels they were unable to catch him.

The Three Merkit were Toqto'a of the Uduyit Merkit, Dayir Usun of the U'as Merkit and Qa'atai Darmala of the Qa'at Merkit. Now these Three Merkit had come to take their revenge because Mother Hö'elün had formerly been abducted from Čiledü.[3] The Merkit said to each

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[1] I.e., Old Qo'aqčin and Lady Börte.

[2] The expression 'three times' here (and in §§111, 145) must be taken as a hyperbole in view of the size of the mountain and the symbolic value attached to the number three.

[3] See above, §§54-56.

other, ‘We have now seized their women to take our revenge for Hö’elün! We have had our revenge!’ So saying they descended from Burqan Qaldun and returned to their homes.

103 Temüǰin said to himself, ‘Have these Three Merkit really returned home, or are they lying in ambush?’ He sent Belgütei, Bo’orču and J̌elme after the Three Merkit to spy on them for three days and nights, and having *thus made sure that* the Merkit had gone a long way off, Temüǰin came down from *Mount* Burqan and, beating his breast, said, ‘Because Mother Qo’aqčin’s

Hearing is *as keen as* a weasel’s,
Her sight *as sharp as* an ermine’s,
I escaped with my own body *whole*.
I climbed the Burqan
On a horse hobbled with the halter strap,
Following deer tracks;
A shelter of elm twigs
I made my home.
Thanks to Burqan Qaldun
I escaped with my life, a louse’s *life*.
Fearing for my life, my only *life*,
I climbed the Qaldun
On one horse, following elk tracks;
A shelter of broken willow twigs
I made my home.
Thanks to Qaldun Burqan[1]
My life, a grasshopper’s *life*,
Was indeed shielded!

But I was greatly frightened. Every morning I will sacrifice to Burqan Qaldun, every day I will pray to it: the offspring of my offspring shall be mindful *of this and do likewise*!’ He spoke and facing the sun, hung his belt around his neck, put his hat over his hand, beat his breast with his fist, and nine times kneeling down towards the sun, he offered a libation and a prayer.

[1] = Burqan Qaldun.

CHAPTER THREE

104 Having thus spoken, Temüjin, with Qasar and Belgütei, went to To'oril Ong Qan of the Kereyit who was then staying in the Black Forest by the Tu'ula River. *Temüǰin* said to him, 'The Three Merkit came, taking us by surprise; they seized my wife and carried her off. We have come *now* to ask you, O Qan my father, to rescue my wife and return her to me.'

To these words To'oril Ong Qan replied, 'Did I not speak with you last year? When you brought me the sable coat, you said, "Since in my father's time you *two* declared yourselves sworn friends, you are, indeed, like a father to me." When you put *the coat* on me, there and then I said,

"In return for the sable coat,
I shall unite for you
Your scattered people;
In return for the black sable coat,
I shall bring together for you
Your divided people. Let
The place of good faith be in the heart, *just as*
That of the kidneys must be in the back!"[1]

Did I not say *this*? I shall now fulfil that promise and

In return for the sable coat,
Even to the complete destruction of the Merkit,
I shall rescue for you your Lady Börte.
In return for the black sable coat,
We shall crush all the Merkit,
We shall cause your wife Börte to return,
Bringing her back to you!

Send a message to younger brother J̌amuqa who must now be in the Qorqonaq Valley. I shall set forth from

[1] See above, §96.

here with two units of ten thousand[1] and form the right wing *of the army*. Younger brother J̌amuqa should set forth with two units of ten thousand to form the left wing. Let J̌amuqa decide on the time and place of our meeting!'

105 When Temüǰin, Qasar and Belgütei came back from To'oril Qan's *camp* and arrived at their tent, Temüǰin sent both Qasar and Belgütei to J̌amuqa saying, 'Give my sworn friend J̌amuqa this message: "When the Three Merkit came,

My bed was made empty.
You and I,
Are we not from one family?
How shall we take our revenge?
My breast is torn apart.
You and I,
Are we not of kindred blood?[2]
How shall we avenge this injury?"'

He sent this message and these were the words he had them convey to his sworn friend J̌amuqa. He also told them to report to J̌amuqa the words spoken by To'oril Qan of the Kereyit: 'Remembering the help and good things done to me in former days by his father Yisügei Qan, I shall stand by *Temüǰin.* I shall set forth with two units of ten thousand and I shall form the right wing. Send a message to younger brother J̌amuqa that he should set forth with two units of ten thousand. As to the time and place of our meeting and joining *forces*, let younger brother J̌amuqa decide!' After they had finished *delivering* this message, J̌amuqa said, 'To know that my sworn friend Temüǰin's

Bed has become empty,
Brought pain to my heart.

To know that his

Breast was torn apart,
Brought pain to my liver.

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[1] *Tümet*: the largest army unit in the decimal system of military organization of the Inner Asian tribes (10, 100, 1000, 10,000), theoretically comprising ten thousand men, but in practice often less (RSH 1.409). We here have the plural (of *tümen*), a literary exaggeration.

[2] Lit., 'liver', i.e. close relatives.

Taking our revenge,
Wiping out the Uduyit and U'as Merkit,
We shall rescue our Lady Börte!
Taking our vengeance,
Crushing all the Qa'at Merkit,
We shall rescue your[1] wife Börte,
Causing her to return!

Now,
That Toqto'a, who takes fright
When one strikes the saddle-flaps, for
He takes it for the sound of the drum,
He must be in the Bu'ura Steppe.[2]
Dayir Usun, who on *hearing*
The rattle of a loose quiver
Deserts his own companions,
He must now be at Talqun Aral,[3]
Between the Orqon and the Selengge.
Qa'atai Darmala, who when the saltwort
Is carried by the wind,
Quickly flees into a dark forest,
He must now be in the Qaraǰi Steppe.

Now, by the shortest way
We shall cross the river Kilqo –
May the sedge be in good growth!
We shall bind our rafts with it,
We shall enter *their land*.
Descending on the smoke-hole
Of that coward Toqto'a's tent,
Its proud frame[4] we shall smite,
So it collapses;
We shall kill his wives and children
To the last one.
Of his door the sacred frame,
We shall smite so it shatters;
We shall utterly destroy his people

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[1] Lit., 'our.'

[2] I.e., 'He-Camel Steppe (*or* Plain).'

[3] Lit., 'Talqun Island' – but here a peninsula. Cf. above, §24, n. 3.

[4] Images of the household gods were placed on both sides of the frame of a yurt's entry door (RSH 1.415).

Till nothing will be left.'

106 Further, J̌amuqa said, 'Speak to my sworn friend Temüǰin and elder brother To'oril Qan, and say to them *on my behalf*, "As for me,

I have consecrated[1] my standard
Which is visible from afar;
I have beaten my bellowing drum
Covered with the hide of a black bull;
I have mounted my swift black horse;
I have put on my armour[2]
And grasped my steel spear;
I have placed on the bowstring my arrow with its nock
Of wild peach bark.
I am ready, let us start
And give battle to the Qa'at Merkit!"

Then say to them,

"My long[3] standard, visible from afar,
I have consecrated;[4]
I have beaten my deep-sounding drum
Covered with ox-hide;
I have mounted my swift horse,
The one with a black stripe along the back-bone;[5]
I have put on my leather-strapped breastplate,
And grasped my hilted sword;
I have placed on the bowstring my nocked arrow.
I am ready, let us fight to the death
Against the Uduyit Merkit!"

Then say to them, "After elder brother To'oril Qan has set out and, passing by my sworn friend Temüǰin on the southern side of Burqan Qaldun, comes *jointly with him*, we shall meet at Botoqan Bo'orǰi at the source of the Onan River. When I set out from here, upstream along

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[1] Lit., 'sprinkled.'
[2] Lit., 'my steel-hard dress.'
[3] Because of the long streamers made of yak tails.
[4] Lit., 'sprinkled.'
[5] Cf. above, §§24, 25 and 90.

the Onan River where[1] my sworn friend's people are – with one unit of ten thousand *taken* from his people[2] and I with one[3] from here making two units of ten thousand – going up along the Onan River we shall join forces at the appointed meeting place in Botoqan Bo'orǰi."' And he sent them off with this message.

107 Qasar and Belgütei came and reported these words of J̌amuqa to Temüǰin, who had them conveyed to To'oril Qan.

Upon receiving J̌amuqa's message, To'oril Qan took the field, two units of ten thousand *altogether*. When To'oril Qan set out, as he was approaching in the direction of the Bürgi Escarpment of the Kelüren on the southern side of Burqan Qaldun, Temüǰin, who was *then* on the Bürgi Escarpment *and therefore* on *To'oril's* path, made way for him and, moving upstream along the Tünggelik, set up camp on the Tana Stream[4] on the southern side of Burqan Qaldun. Temüǰin then advanced from there with his troops. When To'oril Qan with one unit of ten thousand and To'oril Qan's younger brother J̌aqa Gambu with one unit of ten thousand – two units of ten thousand *in all* – halted at Ayil Qaraqana on the Kimurqa Stream, *Temüǰin* joined them and set up camp there.

108 Temüǰin, To'oril Qan and J̌aqa Gambu came together and started off from there. When they arrived at Botoqan Bo'orǰi at the source of the Onan *River*, J̌amuqa had *already* reached the meeting place three days before.

J̌amuqa, seeing the troops of Temüǰin, To'oril and J̌aqa Gambu, took up position, ranging his two units of ten thousand troops *in battle order*. They – Temüǰin, To'oril Qan and J̌aqa Gambu – likewise ranged their troops *in battle order*. *As soon as* they came face to face and recognized each other, J̌amuqa said, 'Did we not agree that we won't be late

At the appointed meeting,

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[1] Lit., 'here.'
[2] Lit., 'from the sworn friend's people.'
[3] Lit., 'one unit of ten thousand.'
[4] I.e., 'Big Pearl Stream.'

Even if there be a blizzard;
At the gathering,
Even if there be rain?

Are we not Mongols, for whom a "yes" is *the same* as being bound by an oath? We did agree that

We shall reject from our ranks
Who*ever* is remiss in his "yes."'

To the words of J̌amuqa, To'oril Qan said, 'As we are three days late at the meeting place, it is up to younger brother J̌amuqa to punish and lay blame!' In this way they exchanged words of reproach about the meeting.

109 Starting from Botoqan Bo'orǰin they arrived at the river Kilqo. They made rafts and crossed it. In the Bu'ura Steppe,

Descending on the smoke-hole
Of Toqto'a Beki's tent,
Of his tent the proud frame
They did smite so it collapsed;
They plundered his wives and children
To the last one.
Of his door the sacred frame
They did smite so it shattered;
They utterly plundered his people
Till nothing *more* was left.[1]

While Toqto'a Beki was asleep,[2] some fishermen, sable catchers and wild animal hunters who happened to be by the river Kilqo, left it and, travelling all through the night, brought the news of *the allies*' approach saying, 'The enemies are coming, pushing forward at full speed.' When they received this news, Toqto'a and Dayir Usun of the U'as Merkit joined together, went downstream along the Selengge and entered the Barquǰin *territory*. Few in number and dispossessed of all but their bodies, they escaped by taking flight.[3]

110 At night the Merkit people fled in disarray down the Selengge *River*, but even in the night our troops were

[1] See above, §105.
[2] Lit., 'lying down.'
[3] I.e., they barely escaped with their lives.

pressing hard after the hastily fleeing Merkit. As the pillaging and plundering went on, Temüǰin moved among the people that were hurriedly escaping, calling, 'Börte, Börte!' *And so* he came upon her, for Lady Börte was among those fleeing people. She heard the voice of Temüǰin and, recognizing it, she got off the cart and came running *towards him*. Although it was still night, Lady Börte and Qo'aqčin both recognized Temüǰin's reins and tether and grabbed them. It was moonlight; he looked at them, recognized Lady Börte, and they fell into each other's arms. After this, that very night Temüǰin sent a message to To'oril Qan and to sworn friend J̌amuqa saying, 'I have found what I was looking for. Let us not travel all night; let us camp here!' He had this message delivered to them. As for the Merkit people who had been fleeing in disarray at night, while *still* scattering and on the run, they *too* stopped and spent the night right there.[1]

This is how Lady Börte was rescued from the Merkit tribe, and how she was reunited *with Temüǰin.*

111 At the very beginning, Toqto'a Beki of the Uduyit Merkit, Dayir Usun of the U'as Merkit and Qa'atai Darmala *of the Qa'at Merkit*, those three Merkit with three hundred men, said, 'In former days Mother Hö'elün was abducted by Yisügei Ba'atur from Yeke Čiledü, the younger brother of Toqto'a Beki', and they set out to take revenge for that. It was at the time when Temüǰin circled Burqan Qaldun three times that they captured Lady Börte.[2] They entrusted her to Čilger Bökö, the younger brother of Čiledü. As Čilger Bökö had been looking after her ever since, when he fled, deserting his own companions, he said,

'To feed on scraps of skin
Is the black crow's lot – yet
It was goose and crane
It aspired to eat.
I, brutal and base Čilger, who laid my hand

[1] I.e., where they happened to be.
[2] See above, §§54-56 and 100-102.

On the noble lady,
I have brought disaster
On all the Merkit.
Lowly, base Čilger,
I have come to the point
That I shall lose my black head.
To save my *one and* only life,
I wish to creep into dark gorges.
Who will act as a shield for me?
To feed on rats and mice
Is the buzzard's, that vile bird's lot – yet
It was swan and crane
It aspired to eat.
I, thieving and base Čilger, who took away
The favoured and fortunate lady,
I have brought disaster upon
The whole of the Merkit.
Boastful, base Čilger,
I have come to the point
That I shall lose my shrivelled head.
To save my life, worth but a sheep's dropping,
I wish to creep into dreadful, dark gorges.
Who will be a shelter for my life
Which is worth but a sheep's dropping?'

Thus he spoke, and escaped, deserting his own companions.

112 They seized Qa'atai Darmala and brought him back,
They forced him to wear a cangue *made of* a wooden board,
They took him straight to Qaldun Burqan.[1]

Someone informed them that Belgütei's mother was 'in that *ayil*[2] *over there*.' Belgütei went there to fetch his mother, but when he entered her tent by the right-hand door, his mother, in a ragged sheepskin coat, went out by the left-hand door. Outside she said to someone else, 'I am told that my sons have become *qan*s, but here I have been joined with a base man. How can I now look my

[1] = Burqan Qaldun. Cf. above, §103.
[2] See above, §81, n. 1.

sons in the face?' So she spoke and ran off, slipping away into a dense wood. Belgütei Noyan immediately searched for her, but could not find her. He *then* shot knob-headed arrows[1] at any man of Merkit stock, saying, 'Bring me my mother!' The three hundred Merkit who had *once* circled *Mount* Burqan

Were exterminated, down to
The offspring of their offspring:
They were blown *to the winds* like *hearth*-ashes.[2]
Their remaining wives,
Those suitable to be embraced,[3]
Were embraced;
Those suitable to be let into *the tent*
Through the door *and serve as slaves*
Were let in through the door.

113 Temüǰin, speaking gratefully to To'oril Qan and J̌amuqa, said 'Being taken as a companion by my father the Qan and sworn friend J̌amuqa, and with my strength increased by Heaven and Earth,

Called by Mighty Heaven,
Carried through by Mother Earth,
We emptied the breasts of the Merkit people
Who take their revenge as a man *does*,
And we tore their livers to pieces.
We emptied their beds[4]
And we exterminated their relatives;
The women of theirs who remained
We surely took captive!

Thus we destroyed the Merkit people: let us *now* withdraw!'

114 At the time when the Uduyit Merkit were fleeing in haste, our soldiers found a little boy of five with fire in his eyes who had been left behind in the camp and whose name was Küčü. He had a sable cap, boots made from *the skin of* a doe's forelegs, and a dress of otter skins cleared of hair and sewn together. They took him and

[1] See above, §77.
[2] Cf. above, §87.
[3] I.e., to be taken as concubines.
[4] I.e., of their wives.

brought him to Mother Hö'elün, and gave him to her as a present.

115 When Temüǰin, To'oril Qan and J̌amuqa, after joining their forces

Had smashed the lock-carts,
Had captured the splendid women

of the Merkit, they withdrew from Talqun Aral, *between* the Orqan[1] and Selengge *rivers*. Temüǰin with J̌amuqa, withdrawing jointly, went in the direction of the Qorqonaq Valley. On his way back, To'oril Qan passed by the Hökörtü Valley on the northern side of Burqan Qaldun; *then* passing by Qača'uratu Subčit and Huliyatu Subčit,[2] where he hunted wild game, he withdrew in the direction of the Black Forest by the Tu'ula *River*.

116 Temüǰin and J̌amuqa got together and set up camp in the Qorqonaq Valley. Remembering how earlier on they became sworn friends, they said, 'Let us renew our mutual *pledge* of friendship, let us *now* love each other *again*!'

Earlier, when they had first become sworn friends, Temüǰin was eleven years old. J̌amuqa had given Temüǰin a roebuck knucklebone, Temüǰin *in return had given him* a copper knucklebone, *and so* they had become sworn friends. Having declared themselves sworn friends, they had played knucklebones together on the ice of the Onan *River*. There they had declared each other friends by oath *for the first time*.[3]

After that, in the spring, as they *practised* shooting with their firwood bows, J̌amuqa *split and* stuck together the two horns of a two-year-old calf, bored holes in them, and gave *this* whistling arrowhead of his to Temüǰin. In exchange Temüǰin gave him a knob-headed arrow with a tip of juniper *wood*, and they became sworn friends *once more*.

This is how they declared themselves friends by oath for the second time.

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[1] = Orqon (~ Orqan).

[2] I.e., 'The Pass with Spruces' and 'The Pass with Aspens.'

[3] This is the first mention of their former oath of friendship.

117 They said to each other, 'Listening to the pronouncement of the old men of former ages which says:

"Sworn friends – *the two of them*
Share but a single life;
They do not abandon one another:
They are *each* a life's safeguard *for the other*."

We learn that such is the rule by which sworn friends love each other. Now, renewing once more our *oath of* friendship, we shall love each other.'

Temüǰin girdled his sworn friend J̌amuqa with the golden belt taken as loot from Toqto'a of the Merkit. He *also* gave sworn friend J̌amuqa for a mount Toqto'a's yellowish white *mare* with a black tail and mane, *a mare* that had not foaled for several years. J̌amuqa girdled his sworn friend Temüǰin with the golden belt taken as loot from Dayir Usun of the U'as Merkit, and he gave Temüǰin for a mount the kid-white *horse* with a horn,[1] also of Dayir Usun. At the Leafy Tree on the southern side of the Quldaqar Cliff in the Qorqonaq Valley they declared themselves sworn friends and loved each other; they enjoyed themselves revelling and feasting, and at night they slept together, *the two of them* alone under their blanket.

118 Temüǰin and J̌amuqa loved each other one year and half of the second year. *Then* one day they decided to move on from their present encampment. They broke camp and set out on the sixteenth of the first month of summer, the day of the Red Circle.[2]

Temüǰin and J̌amuqa went together in front of the carts, and as they proceeded J̌amuqa said, 'Sworn friend, sworn friend Temüǰin,

Let us camp near the mountain:
There will be enough shelter
For our horse-herders!
Let us camp near the river:
There will be enough food[3]

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[1] I.e., an excrescence or callosity on its forehead in the shape of a horn.

[2] I.e., 'of the full moon.' Cf. above, §81.

[3] Lit., '*food for* the gullet.'

For our shepherds and lamb-herds!'

Temüǰin could not understand these words of J̌amuqa and remained silent. Falling behind, he waited for the carts in the middle of the moving camp – for it was a moving camp – *then* Temüǰin said to Mother Hö'elün, 'Sworn friend J̌amuqa said,

"Let us camp near the mountain:
There will be enough shelter
For our horse-herders!
Let us camp near the river:
There will be enough food
For our shepherds and lamb-herds!"

I couldn't understand these words of his, so I did not give him any answer and decided to come and ask you, mother.'

Before Mother Hö'elün could utter a sound, Lady Börte said, 'Sworn friend J̌amuqa, so they say, grows *easily* tired *of his friends*. Now the time has come when he has grown tired of us. The words which sworn friend J̌amuqa has spoken just now are, therefore, words alluding to us.[1] Let us not pitch camp, but while we are on the move, let us separate completely from him and move *further* on, travelling at night!' This, then, is what she said.

119 They *all* approved of the words of Lady Börte and without pitching camp they set off, travelling at night. As they proceeded, they passed the Tayiči'ut's *encampment* along the way. The Tayiči'ut, for their part, became frightened and that same night in great confusion actually moved to J̌amuqa's side. In the camp of the Besüt *in the midst* of the Tayiči'ut, our *people* took a little boy by name of Kököčü who had been left behind in the camp. *When* they came back they gave him to Mother Hö'elün. Mother Hö'elün took him under her care.

120 They travelled all that night. At daybreak they saw Qači'un Toqura'un, Qaraqai Toqura'un and Qaraldai Toqura'un, the three Toqura'un brothers of the J̌alayir *tribe*, drawing near *to join them* after having travelled

[1] I.e., 'words that conceal a scheme against us.'

throughout the night together. Then Qada'an Daldurqan of the Tarqut and his brothers – five Tarqut *in all* – also drew near. Then the son of Mönggetü Kiyan, Önggür and the others, with their Čangši'ut and Baya'ut *followers* drew near too. From the Barulas came the brothers Qubilai and Qudus. From the Mangqut came the two brothers J̌etei and Doqolqu Čerbi. The younger brother[1] of Bo'orču, Ögölen Čerbi,[2] left the Arulat and also came to join his elder brother[3] Bo'orču. The younger brothers[4] of J̌elme, Ča'urqan and Sübe'etei Ba'atur, left the Uriangqan and came to join J̌elme. From the Besüt also came the two brothers Degei and Küčügür. From the Suldus also came the brothers Čilgütei, Taki and Tayiči'udai. Seče Domoq of the J̌alayir also came with his two sons Arqai Qasar and Bala. From the Qongqotan also came Söyiketü Čerbi. Sükegei J̌e'ün, the son of J̌egei Qongdaqor of the Sükeken, also came. Čaqa'an U'a of the Ne'üs came too. There also came Kinggiyadai of the Olqunu'ut, Seči'ür from the Qorolas, and Moči Bedü'ün from the Dörben. Since Butu of the Ikires had made his way here as son-in-law,[5] he also came. From the Noyakin came also J̌ungso, and from the Oronar also came J̌irqo'an. From the Barulas came also Suqu Sečen with his son Qaračar. Then Qorči, Old Üsün and Kökö Čos of the Ba'arin together with their Menen Ba'arin *followers* also came as one camp.

121 When Qorči came he said, 'As we were born from the *same* woman captured and taken as wife by the august Bodončar,

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[1] Here = 'cousin.' Some have misunderstood the relationship here; see RSH 1.445.

[2] Also written Ögölei, Ögöle and Ögele. The ancient title *čerbi* may be translated as 'chamberlain', but the full functions of such an official, apart from supervision of the Qan's domestic staff, are still imperfectly understood (RSH 1.445, 2.690).

[3] Here = 'cousin.'

[4] Here = 'cousins.'

[5] Meaning Temüǰin's brother-in-law. Butu was engaged to Temüǰin's sister Temülün (then in her lower teens) and married her later (RSH 1.447).

We are from the same womb,
We are from the one womb water

as J̌amuqa. We would not have parted from him, but a *heavenly* sign appeared before my *very* eyes, revealing *the future to me*. There came a fallow cow. She circled J̌amuqa and struck his tent-cart with her horns; *then* she butted him *too*, breaking one of her two horns. Being *thus left* with uneven horns, "Bring me my horn!" she kept saying, bellowing repeatedly at J̌amuqa as she stood there, *hoofing up the ground and* raising more and more dust. *Then* a hornless and fallow ox lifted up the great shaft under the tent, harnessed it on to himself and pulled it after him. As he proceeded following Temüǰin on the wide road, he kept bellowing, "Together Heaven and Earth have agreed: Temüǰin shall be lord of the people!" and "I am drawing near carrying *the people* and bringing it to him." Thes*e heavenly* signs appeared before my eyes; they revealed *the future to me*. Temüǰin, if you become lord of the people, how will you please me for *this* augury?'

Temüǰin said, 'If it is indeed given to me to rule over the people *as you say*, I will make you a leader of ten thousand.'

Qorči said, 'What kind of happiness is it for me, the man who *fore*told so many great affairs, *merely* to become the leader of ten thousand? Make me a leader of ten thousand, *but in addition* allow me to take freely beautiful and fine girls from among the people, and let me have thirty as wives. And again, whatever I say, heed me closely!'

122 The Geniges, with Qunan at their head, also came as one camp. Then came Dāritai Otčigin – also one camp. From the J̌adaran came also Mulqalqu. And the Ünjin and the Saqayit came – also one camp. When *Temüǰin* had parted company in this way from J̌amuqa and had moved further on, setting up camp at Ayil Qaraqana by the Kimurqa Stream,[1] *there came*, also separating from J̌amuqa, the sons of Sorqatu J̌ürki of the J̌ürkin, Sača Beki

[1] See above, §107.

and Taiču – one camp; then the son of Nekün Taiši, Qučar Beki – one camp; and the son of Qutula Qan, Altan Otčigin – one camp. These, then, left J̌amuqa and moved on, and when Temüǰin set up camp at Ayil Qaraqana by the Kimurqa Stream, they joined camp with him. From there they went on, and camped at Kökö Na'ur of *Mount* Qara J̌irügen by the Senggür Stream in the Gürelgü *Mountains*.[1]

123 Altan, Qučar and Sača Beki, all of them having agreed among themselves, said to Temüǰin, 'We shall make you *qan*. When you, Temüǰin, become *qan*, we

As vanguard shall speed
After many foes: for you
Fine-looking maidens and ladies *of rank*,
Palatial tents, and from foreign people
Ladies and maidens with beautiful cheeks,
And geldings with fine croups
At the trot we shall bring.
When in a battue[2] we hunt the cunning
Wild beasts, for you
We shall go ahead and round them up.
For you we shall drive the beasts of the steppe
Until their bellies press together;
For you we shall drive the beasts of the steep banks
Until their thighs press together.
In the days of war,
If we disobey your commands,
Deprive us of *all* our goods and belongings, and
Our noble wives, and cast
Our black heads on the ground!
In the days of peace,
If we violate your counsel,
Cut us off from our retainers and possessions, and
Our wives, and cast us
Out into the wilderness!'
Thus they pledged their word and in

[1] See above, §89.

[2] = a circular battue, i.e. a hunt in which the game is driven towards a central point.

This way they swore the oath *of loyalty*,
and made Temüjin *qan*, naming him Činggis Qa'an.

124 Having become *qa'an*, Činggis ordered the younger brother[1] of Bo'orču, Ögölei Čerbi,[2] to carry a quiver, Qači'un Toqura'un to carry a quiver, and the two brothers J̌etei and Doqolqu Čerbi *each* to carry a quiver.

Önggür, Söyiketü Čerbi and Qada'an Daldurqan *then* spoke, saying,

'We shall not let you go without
Your morning drinks;
We shall not neglect *your* drinks
In the evening!'

And so they became stewards. *Then* Degei spoke:

'In making broth
Of a two-year-old wether,
I shall not fail in the morning,
I shall not be remiss at night.
I shall tend pied sheep,
And shall fill the bottom of the cart with them.
I shall tend brown sheep,
And shall fill the sheep-fold with them.
I was a base and greedy man: *now*
I shall tend sheep,
And tripe shall I eat!'

So Degei tended the sheep. His younger brother, Güčügür[3] spoke:

'I shall not let the linchpin slip
Off a lock-cart;
I shall not let an axle-cart collapse
On the road.

I shall manage the tent-carts!', he said. And Dödei Čerbi said, 'I shall be in charge of the domestics and servants in the tent!'

Qubilai, Čilgütei and Qarqai Toqura'un together with Qasar *were ordered to* carry swords. To them Činggis Qa'an said,

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[1] Here = 'cousin.' See above, §120.
[2] The Ögölen Čerbi of §120 above.
[3] The Küčügür of §120 above.

‘Cut the neck of the braggart,[1]
Cleave the breast of the arrogant!’[1]
And he said, ‘Let Belgütei and Qaraldai Toqura’un
Be in charge of the geldings,
Be *my* equerries!’
And he said, ‘Tayiči’udai, Qutu Moriči[2] and Mulqalqu
shall tend the herds of horses!’
And he said, ‘Let Arqai Qasar, Taqai, Sükegei and
Ča’urqan
Be my far-*flying* shafts,
Be my near-*flying* arrows!’[3]
Sübe’etei Ba’adur spoke:
‘I shall be a rat,
And with the others
I shall hoard up *goods for you*;
I shall be a black crow,
And with the others
I shall gather *for you*
All that is *found* outside;
I shall be a felt covering,
And with the others
I shall try to make a cover *for you*;[4]
I shall be a felt windbreak,
And with the others
I shall try to shelter *you*[5]
From the wind on *your* tent!’

125 Thereupon, when Činggis Qa’an became *qan*, he said to Bo’orču and J̌elme, ‘You two,
When I had no friend but my shadow,
Became my shadows; and truly
Brought peace to my mind.
In my mind you shall dwell!’
And he said,
‘When I had no whip
But my *horse’s* tail, you

[1] Plural in the text.
[2] I.e., ‘Qutu the Horse-herder.’
[3] A simile for trusted envoys.
[4] Or ‘I shall cover and protect *you*.’
[5] Or ‘I shall shelter and protect *you*.’

Became my *horse's* tail; and truly
Brought peace to my heart.
In my breast you shall dwell!'

So he spoke, saying to them, 'You two, who stood by me from the beginning, will you not be at the head of all these *here*?'

Further, Činggis Qa'an said, 'When Heaven and Earth increased my strength and took me into their protection, you, the senior ones, who for my sake came *over* from sworn friend J̌amuqa wishing to become companions, will you not be my lucky companions? I have appointed each of you to your respective office.'

126 He sent Daqai[1] and Sügegei[2] as envoys to To'oril Qan of the Kereyit with the message that they had made Činggis Qa'an *their qan.* To'oril Qan sent them *back* with *the following* message: 'To make my son Temüǰin *qan* is indeed right. How can the Mongols be without a *qan*? *In future*

Do not break this, your agreement,
Do not dissolve your bond,
Do not tear off your collar!'[3]

[1] The Taki of §120 and Taqai of §124 et passim.
[2] The Sükegei (J̌e'ün) of §§120 and 124 above.
[3] I.e., 'Do not reject your leader.' Cf. above, §33.

THE SECRET HISTORY OF THE MONGOLS

CHAPTER FOUR

127 Činggis Qa'an sent Arqai Qasar and Ča'urqan as envoys to J̌amuqa. J̌amuqa said, 'Give *this* message to Altan and Qučar: "Why did you, Altan and Qučar, cause a split between sworn friend Temüǰin and myself,[1] by

Poking in the flanks,
Pricking the ribs

of the sworn friend?[2] Why did you not make sworn friend Temüǰin *qan* when we were *still* together – without causing the sworn friend and me[1] to fall apart? Just what did you have in mind now, when you made him *qan*? You, Altan and Qučar, keep to the words you have spoken, put the sworn friend's mind at ease, be the good companions of my sworn friend!"' He sent them *back* with *this* message.

128 After that, when Taičar, a younger kinsman[3] of J̌amuqa, stayed at Ölegei Spring[4] on the southern side of *Mount* J̌alama, he went to steal the herd of horses of our J̌oči Darmala, who was staying in the Sa'ari Steppe.[5]

Taičar stole J̌oči Darmala's herd of horses and took them away. The same J̌oči Darmala, *thus* robbed of his herd, went *alone* in pursuit, his companions lacking the courage *to go with him*.

That night he arrived at the fringe of his herd. He approached crouching over the mane of his horse, shot and killed Taičar *with an arrow* that split apart his spine, then took his horses and returned.

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[1] Lit., 'us.'

[2] I.e., with stinging and malicious words. For Altan and Qučar's role, see above, §123.

[3] Lit., 'younger brother.' See §§68 and 74, and note Jamuqa's explicit statement in §201 that he had no younger brothers.

[4] Lit., 'Cradle Spring.'

[5] I.e., 'Rump(-like) Steppe (*or* Plain).'

129 Because his younger kinsman Taičar had been killed, J̌amuqa, at the head of the J̌adaran, and his allies making thirteen tribes and forming *altogether* three units of ten thousand, crossed the Ala'ut Turqa'ut[1] *Mountains* and moved against Činggis Qa'an. News of their approach was brought to Činggis Qa'an, who was then staying in the Gürelgü *Mountains*, by Mülke Totaq and Boroldai of the Ikires.

Informed of this, Činggis Qa'an with his thirteen camps formed also three units of ten thousand and set out against J̌amuqa. They fought at Dalan Balǰut:[2] Činggis Qa'an was repulsed there by J̌amuqa and sought refuge in the J̌erene Gorge by the Onon[3] *River*. J̌amuqa said, 'We have forced him to take refuge in the J̌erene by the Onon', and, as he was about to return home, *J̌amuqa* had the princes of the Činōs boiled *alive* in seventy cauldrons. Having cut off the head of Čaqa'an U'a of the Ne'üs, he dragged it away *bound* to the tail of his horse.

130 Then, letting J̌amuqa return home from there, J̌ürčedei of the Uru'ut at the head of the Uru'ut, and Quyuldar of the Mangqut at the head of the Mangqut deserted J̌amuqa and came over to Činggis Qa'an. Father Mönglik of the Qongqotat was then with J̌amuqa. Father Mönglik with his seven sons *also* deserted J̌amuqa and joined Činggis Qa'an.

Because these tribes were coming in from J̌amuqa's *side*, Činggis Qa'an rejoiced, saying to himself that the *whole* nation was coming over *to him*. Činggis Qa'an, Lady Hö'elün and Qasar, together with Sača Beki, Taiču and others of the J̌ürkin, decided to hold a feast in the forest by the Onan.

In the course of feasting, one pitcher *of kumis* was first poured for Činggis Qa'an, Lady Hö'elün, Qasar, Sača Beki and others. As one pitcher was also poured *to the women* starting with Ebegei, the secondary wife of

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[1] I.e., 'Mottled Sentinels.'
[2] I.e., 'Seventy Marshes.'
[3] = Onan (~ Onon).

Sača Beki's father,[1] both Qorijin Qatun and Qu'určin Qatun said, 'Why didn't they pour first for me, but began with Ebegei?', and they thrashed the steward Šiki'ür. As he was being thrashed, the steward Šiki'ür said, 'What sort of thing is it, your thrashing me like this, *just* because Yisügei Ba'atur and Nekün Taiši are dead?' So he spoke and cried out loudly.

131 That feast had been arranged on our *side* by Belgütei. He was standing *outside the camp* keeping Činggis Qa'an's geldings.[2] From the Jürkin's *side* Büri Bökö had arranged the feast.

A man of the Qadagin tribe stole a tether from our horse station. *Belgütei* caught the thief, but Büri Bökö took that man under his protection. *Now*, Belgütei, when wrestling, used to remove his right sleeve and go on *fighting* bare-*armed*. *On this occasion*, Büri Bökö's sword split open his shoulder, which had been left exposed and bare.[3] Although cut in this way, still Belgütei, thinking nothing of it, did not bother and let the blood flow. But Činggis Qa'an, sitting in the shade, saw *what happened* from *the place of* the feast. He stepped out and said, 'How can we be treated like this?' Belgütei said, 'The wound isn't *that bad* yet! On my account, I fear we may fall out with our kinsmen. There is nothing wrong with me, I am recovering. Elder brother, now that we have just grown friendly with our kinsmen, do not act, wait a little while!'

132 Although warned in this way by Belgütei, Činggis Qa'an did not comply: breaking off tree branches, pulling out the churners of the *kumis* leather bags and grabbing them, they *started* to beat each other. *Činggis Qa'an and our men* overcame the Jürkin and forcibly seized both Qorijin Qatun and Qu'určin Qatun. *Later*, however, on being told, 'We[4] want to make peace', they returned both Qorijin Qatun and Qu'určin Qatun *to the Jürkin*.

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[1] Lit., 'the little mother of Sača Beki' – 'little mother' being the designation of a secondary wife or concubine.

[2] As Činggis' equerry. See above, §124.

[3] This is the episode referred to in §50 above.

[4] I.e., the Jürkin.

It was when messengers were *still* being sent from one *side* to the other to make peace that *Činggis Qa'an* learned the news that the Altan Qan of the Kitat people, because Megüjin Se'ültü and others of the Tatar would not enter into an agreement with him, had then sent word to Ongging Čingsang that he should array his troops without delay *and set out against them*. *Thereupon*, Ongging Čingsang had driven Megüjin Se'ültü and the other Tatars, together with their livestock, upstream along the Ulja, and was *now* approaching.

133 Having learned this news, Činggis Qa'an said, 'From old days, the Tatar people have been our mortal enemies, the people who have destroyed our fathers and forefathers.[1] Now, *taking* this opportunity, let us jointly attack them!' And he sent an envoy to deliver this message to To'oril Qan: 'It is reported that the Altan Qan's *commander* Ongging Čingsang has driven the Tatar Megüjin Se'ültü and other Tatars upstream along the Ulja and is *now* approaching. Let us jointly attack the Tatars who have destroyed our fathers and forefathers. To'oril Qan, *my* father, should come quickly!'

When this message was delivered, To'oril Qan said, 'The word my son has sent is right. Let us jointly attack!' Thereupon, on the third day, To'oril Qan, having assembled his troops, set out with his army and quickly went to his assistance.

Činggis Qa'an and To'oril Qan sent a message to the Jürkin Sača Beki and Taiču, and to the other Jürkin: 'Now, *taking* this opportunity, let us jointly attack the Tatars who from of old have destroyed our fathers and forefathers. Together let us set forth *against them*!'

They sent the message and having waited for six days from the time it should have come to the Jürkin, Činggis Qa'an and To'oril Qan, unable *to wait any longer*, together set out with their troops. As they approached, *moving* downstream along the Ulja to launch the attack in conjunction with Ongging Čingsang, the Tatar Megüjin and the other Tatars built a stockade there, at Qusutu

[1] See above, §§53 and 67.

Šitü'en and Naratu Šitü'en[1] by the Ulǰa. Činggis Qa'an and To'oril Qan captured those who had barricaded themselves in this way, *among them* Megüǰin Se'ültü from the stockade. They killed Megüǰin Se'ültü on the spot; Činggis Qa'an then took *as booty* his silver cradle and his blanket decorated with big pearls.

134 Činggis Qa'an and To'oril Qan [went to meet Ongging Čingsang and] told him that they had killed Megüǰin Se'ültü. Ongging Čingsang was very glad when he learned that Megüǰin Se'ültü had been killed. He gave Činggis Qa'an the title *ǰa'ut quri*[2] and, at the same time, he gave the title of *ong*[3] to To'oril of the Kereyit.[4] The name Ong Qan *thus* originates from the time when it was *first* given *to To'oril* as a title by Ongging Čingsang.

Ongging Čingsang said, 'You have done a very great service to the Altan Qan by your joint attack on Megüǰin Se'ültü and by killing him. I shall inform the Altan Qan of this service of yours. Let the Altan Qan decide whether a title higher than the present one[5] should be further conferred on Činggis Qa'an – whether he should be given the title of *ǰautau*.'[6] Rejoicing in this way, Ongging Čingsang withdrew from there.

On that occasion, Činggis Qa'an and Ong Qan plundered the Tatars and shared *the booty*, each taking *his part*; *then* they returned to their *own* encampments.[7]

135 At the time when our troops were plundering the camp at Naratu Šitü'en where the Tatars had halted and barricaded themselves, they happened to find in the camp a little boy who had been abandoned. Taking back the little boy, who had as *nose*-ring a golden loop and who wore a gold-stitched silken waistcoat lined with sable, Činggis Qa'an gave him as a present to Mother Hö'elün.

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[1] I.e., 'Birch Rampart' and 'Pine Rampart.'
[2] I.e., 'Commander of Hundreds (?).'
[3] I.e., 'King' or 'Prince.'
[4] Gereyit in the text.
[5] Lit., 'this.'
[6] I.e., 'Pacification Commissioner.'
[7] Lit., 'they went back and set up camp.'

Mother Hö'elün said, 'He must be the son of a man of rank; surely he is the offspring of a man of noble origins!' The Mother named him Šikiken Quduqu[1] and brought him up as the younger brother of her five children and as her sixth child.

136 The base camp of Činggis Qa'an was at Lake Hariltu. From among those who had remained at the base camp, the J̌ürkin stripped fifty men of their clothing and killed ten men.

When those of us who were left at the base camp told Činggis Qa'an that they had been treated in that way by the J̌ürkin, Činggis Qa'an on hearing this news became very angry and said, 'How could we be treated in such a manner by the J̌ürkin? When we held a feast in the forest by the Onan they also thrashed the steward Šiki'ür, and it was they who also cut Belgütei's shoulder. We were told we should make peace, and gave them back both Qorijin Qatun and Qu'určin. After that, we said that we would set out and jointly attack the Tatars who, full of hatred and resentment, had from old destroyed our fathers and forefathers. Although we waited six days for the J̌ürkin, they failed us by not coming.[2] And now, by siding *in this way* with[3] the enemy, they themselves have also become our enemies!' Having said this, Činggis Qa'an moved against the J̌ürkin.

When the J̌ürkin were staying at Dolo'an Bolda'ut[4] of Ködö'e Aral[5] on the Kelüren *River, Činggis Qa'an* plundered their people. Sača Beki and Taiču, being few in number and dispossessed of all but their bodies, escaped.[6] He pursued them and, overtaking them at the Telētü Pass, he caught Sača Beki and Taiču.

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[1] = Šigiken Qutuqu. See below, §138, and RSH xxxvi-xl, 1.498-99.

[2] See above, §§132 and 133.

[3] Lit., 'leaning on.'

[4] I.e., 'Seven Solitary Hills.'

[5] I.e., 'Barren Island', but see RSH 1.501-02 for the name and location of this place (where, according to §282, the *Secret History* was recorded for the first time).

[6] Cf. above, §109.

After their capture, Činggis Qa'an said to Sača and Taiču, 'What did we agree upon in the old days?' Being so addressed, Sača and Taiču said, 'We did not keep to the words we spoke. *Now* make us comply with them!'[1] And, admitting their oath, they held out their necks to *the sword*.

Making them to admit their oath and causing them to comply with their words, he executed them and cast off *their bodies* there and then.

137 Having disposed of Sača and Taiču he returned *to the Jürkin camp*. As he was about to move the Jürkin people away, the three sons of Telegetü Bayan of the Jalayir, Gü'ün U'a, Čila'un Qayiči and Jebke, were with these Jürkin at the time. Gü'ün U'a, with his two sons Muqali and Buqa, came to pay homage *to Činggis Qa'an* and said,

'Let *these sons of mine* be the slaves
Of your threshold;[2]
If they stray from your threshold,
Cut off their heel tendons!
Let them be the personal slaves
Of your door;
If they abandon your door,
Cut out their livers and
Cast them away!'

So saying he handed them over to him.

Čila'un Qayiči with his two sons Tüngge[3] and Qaši also came to pay homage to Činggis Qa'an and spoke thus:

'"Let them guard
Your golden threshold", so saying,
I give you *these sons of mine*;
If they depart from your golden threshold,
Put an end to their lives and

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[1] Lit., 'with our words.'

[2] The slaves referred to here and just below were the Qan's personal slaves (*emčü bo'ol*), i.e., his personal property. For the literature on *bo'ol* ('slave' in general) and slavery in early Mongolian society see RSH 1.505-07, 3.88.

[3] Called Tüge in §§202 and 225 below.

Cast them away!
"Let them lift for you
The wide *felt* door", so saying,
I give them to you;
If they desert your wide door,
Kick them in the pit of the stomach and
Cast them away!'

Thus he spoke. *Činggis Qa'an* gave J̌ebke to Qasar. J̌ebke, bringing with him from the J̌ürkin camp a little boy called Boro'ul, paid homage to Mother Hö'elün and gave him to her.

138 Mother Hö'elün reared in her tent these four: the boy called Güčü[1] found in the Merkit camp, the boy called Kököčü found in the Besüt camp among the Tayiči'ut, the boy called Šigiken Qutuqu found in the Tatar camp, and the boy called Boro'ul found in the J̌ürkin camp. Mother Hö'elün said, 'Whom *but these foundlings* will I make

Eyes, for my sons to see in the day,
Ears, for my sons to hear at night?'

– and reared them in her tent.

139 As for the manner in which those J̌ürkin people came to be J̌ürkin, the eldest[2] among the seven sons of Qabul Qan was Ökin Barqaq, whose son was Sorqatu J̌ürki. <As they came to be J̌ürkin> *Qabul Qan*, saying that *Ökin Barqaq* was his eldest son,[3] chose *men for him* from among his own people and, having chosen them, gave him strong and mighty *men* who had

Gall in their livers,[4]
Thumbs good at shooting,
Lungs filled with courage,
Mouths full of fury,
And, all, men of skill.

Because they had fury and gall, and were proud and inflexible, that is the reason why they were called J̌ürkin.

Činggis Qa'an subjugated such a proud people and

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[1] Written Küčü in §114 above.
[2] Lit., 'the eldest brother.'
[3] Lit., 'saying that he was the eldest brother of Qabul Qan's sons.'
[4] I.e., who were brave and daring.

destroyed *all* those who were of the J̌ürkin clan. He[1] made the tribe and its people his personal subjects.

140 One day Činggis Qa'an said, 'Let us make Büri Bökö and Belgütei wrestle with each other!'

Formerly, when Büri Bökö was *still* with the J̌ürkin, seizing Belgütei with one hand and tripping him with one foot, Büri Bökö toppled him and held him down so that he could not move.[2] Büri Bökö was the strongest man among his people.

Činggis Qa'an now made Belgütei and Büri Bökö wrestle. Büri Bökö, the invincible, let himself be toppled. Belgütei, unable to hold him down, grabbed his shoulders and straddled him. Belgütei glanced backwards and, when he caught sight of Činggis Qa'an's eye, the Qa'an bit his lower lip. Belgütei understood. He sat on top *of Büri Bökö* and, crossing the two *ends of* his collar, he pulled them towards himself, tightening *his grip*. *As he did that*, he pressed his knee on his spine and broke it.

Büri Bökö, his spine broken, said, 'I would not have been defeated by Belgütei, but fearing the Qa'an, I took a fall on purpose. I hesitated, so I lost my life.' *Thus* he spoke and died.

After Belgütei had pulled and broken his spine, he dragged *Büri Bökö* away, cast him off and left.

Of the seven sons of Qabul Qan, Ökin Barqaq was the eldest; the next one was Bartan Ba'atur, whose son was Yisügei Ba'atur. The next one after him[3] was Qutuqtu Möngler,[4] whose son was Büri. Overstepping *the line of* the sons of Bartan Ba'atur which was nearest above him *in order of seniority*, he became a companion of the proud sons of Barqaq. Because of this, Büri Bökö, the strongest man among his people, perished, his spine broken by Belgütei.

141 After that, in the Year of the Hen (1201), the Qadagin and the Salǰi'ut united, and the following[5] tribes gathered

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[1] Lit., 'Činggis Qa'an.'
[2] There is no previous mention of this episode.
[3] I.e., after Bartan Ba'atur.
[4] The Qutuqtu Mönggür of §§48 and 50 above.
[5] Lit., 'these.'

at Alqui Spring:[1] the Qadagin led by Buqu Čorogi of the Qadagin, and *the Salǰi'ut* led by Čirgidai Ba'atur of the Šalǰi'ut; the Dörben, who had made peace with the Tatar, led by Qaǰi'un Beki of the Dörben, and *the Tatar* led by J̌alin Buqa of the Alči Tatar; the Ikires led by Tüge Maqa of the Ikires; *the Onggirat* led by Terge Emel, Alqui and others of the Onggirat; *the Qorolas* led by Čonaq Čaqa'an[2] and others of the Qorolas; *also* Buyiruq Qan of the Güčü'üt Naiman from the Naiman; Qutu, the son of Toqto'a Beki of the Merkit; Quduqa Beki of the Oyirat; and, from the Tayiči'ut, Tarqutai Kiriltuq, Qodun Örčeng, A'uču Ba'atur and other Tayiči'ut. Saying, 'Let us raise J̌amuqa the J̌aǰirat as *qan*', they jointly hacked the backs of a stallion and a mare and together swore an oath of friendship.

From there they moved downstream along the Ergüne River, and on the large promontory of the peninsula where the Kan River flows into the Ergüne, there they raised J̌amuqa as *gür qan*.[3] After raising him as *gür qan*, they decided to set out to attack Činggis Qa'an and Ong Qan.

Word of this – that they had decided to attack – was sent by Qoridai of the Qorolas to Činggis Qa'an, when he[4] was staying in the Gürelgü *Mountains*.

When he received this news, Činggis Qa'an passed it[5] on to Ong Qan. As soon as Ong Qan received the news, he[6] set his army in motion and speedily arrived at Činggis Qa'an's *camp*.

142 After getting Ong Qan to come, Činggis Qa'an and Ong Qan decided to move jointly against J̌amuqa. They set out downstream along the Kelüren River. Činggis Qa'an sent Altan, Qučar and Dāritai as vanguard; Ong

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[1] Lit., 'Sarsaparilla Spring.'

[2] ? Čo'oq Čaqa'an, ? Čo'os Čaqa'an. For the other names in this section see RSH 1.515-9.

[3] I.e., 'Universal Ruler.' 'Kan River' or 'Ken River' (reading doubtful); see also RSH 3.89-90.

[4] I.e., Činggis Qa'an.

[5] Lit., 'this news.'

[6] Lit., 'Ong Qan.'

Qan *for his part* sent as vanguards Senggüm, J̌aqa Gambu and Bilge Beki. Patrols were also dispatched ahead of these vanguards: at Enegen Güiletü[1] they set up an observation post; beyond that, at *Mount* Čekčer, they set up *another* observation post; and beyond that, at *Mount* Čiqurqu, they set up *a further* observation post.

Altan, Qučar, Senggüm and the others of our vanguard arrived at Utkiya. While they were deciding whether to camp *there*, a man from the observation *post* which had been set up at Čiqurqu came riding in haste and brought the news that the enemy was approaching.

When this news came, without setting up camp they went towards the enemy in order to gain information. They met and gained the information: when they asked *the enemy patrol* who they were, *it turned out to be* J̌amuqa's vanguard *consisting of* A'uču Ba'atur of the Mongols, Buyiruq Qan of the Naiman, Qutu, the son of Toqto'a Beki of the Merkit, and Quduqa Beki of the Oyirat. These four had been going *towards us* as J̌amuqa's vanguard.

Our vanguard shouted at them, and they shouted *back*, but it was *already* getting late. Saying, 'Tomorrow we'll fight!', *our men* withdrew and spent the night together with the main body *of the army*.

143 Next day *the troops* were sent forward and when they met, at Köyiten,[2] they battled. As they pressed on each other downhill and uphill, and reformed their ranks, those very same Buyiruq Qan and Quduqa, knowing how to produce a rainstorm by magic, started to conjure it[3] up, but the magic storm rolled back and it was right upon themselves that it fell. Unable to proceed, they tumbled into ravines. Saying to each other, 'We are not loved by Heaven!', they scattered.

144 Buyiruq Qan of the Naiman separated *from the rest* and went towards Uluq Taq[4] on the southern side of the

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[1] I.e., 'Having a Single Apricot Tree (?).'
[2] I.e., 'Cold.'
[3] Lit., 'the magic storm.'
[4] I.e., 'Great Mountain' (tu.).

Altai *Mountains*. Qutu, the son of Toqto'a of the Merkit, went towards the Selengge *River*. Quduqa Beki of the Oyirat went towards the Šisgis *River*, making for the forest. A'uču Ba'atur of the Tayiči'ut went towards the Onan *River*. J̌amuqa plundered the *very* people who had elected him *qan*; *then* he[1] moved homewards following the course of the Ergüne. As they were dispersing in this way, Ong Qan pursued J̌amuqa downstream along the Ergüne *while* Činggis Qa'an pursued A'uču Ba'atur of the Tayiči'ut in the direction of the Onan.

As soon as A'uču Ba'atur reached his own people, he had them moved along *with him* in haste. The Tayiči'ut A'uču Ba'atur and Qodun Örčeng arrayed their troops at Ülengüt Turas[2] on the other side of the Onan, and stood in battle order ready to fight.[3]

Činggis Qa'an came up and fought with the Tayiči'ut. They battled to and fro incessantly until evening came; *then*, in the same place where they had been fighting, they passed the night right next to each other. When people[4] arrived, fleeing in disarray, they set up a circular camp and also passed the night in the same spot, alongside their troops.

145 In that battle Činggis Qa'an was wounded in a vein of the neck. He could not stop the bleeding and was in a great plight. He waited till sundown, *then* he pitched camp just there *where the two armies had encamped* right next to each other.

J̌elme sucked and sucked the blood which clogged *Činggis Qa'an's wound* and his mouth was *all* smeared with blood. *Still*, J̌elme, not trusting other people, stayed there and looked after him. Until the middle of the night he swallowed down or spat out mouthfuls of the clogging blood.[5]

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[1] Lit., 'J̌amuqa.'

[2] For this reading see RSH 1.527; an error of the Ming editors is continued in some modern editions and translations of the text.

[3] Lit., 'saying, "We shall fight!".'

[4] I.e., the refugees.

[5] If a poisoned arrow had been used, continuous flow of blood from the wound would reduce the danger of dying of poison (see RSH 1.528).

When midnight had passed Činggis Qa'an revived and said, 'The blood has dried up completely; I am thirsty.' Then J̌elme took off his hat, boots and clothes – everything – and stark naked but for his pants, he ran into the midst of the enemy who had settled right next to them. He jumped on to a cart of the people who had set up a circular camp over there. He searched for kumis, but was unable *to find any* because *those people* had fled in disarray and had turned the mares loose without milking them.

As he could not find kumis, he took from one of their carts a large covered *bucket of* curds and carried it back. In the time between his going and coming back he was not seen by anyone. Heaven indeed protected him!

Having brought the covered *bucket of* curds, the same J̌elme, all by himself, searched for water, brought it back, and having mixed it with the curds got the Qa'an to drink it.

Three times, resting *in between*, the Qa'an drank, *then* he spoke: 'The eyes within me have cleared up.' He spoke and sat up: it was daybreak and growing light. He looked *and saw* that, all about *the place* where he was sitting, the *wound*-clogging blood that J̌elme had kept on sucking and had spat about had formed small puddles. When he saw it, Činggis Qa'an said, 'What is this? Couldn't you have spat *the blood* farther away?' J̌elme then said, 'When you were in a great plight, had I gone farther away I would have feared being separated from you. As I was in haste, I swallowed what I could swallow and spat out what I could spit out; I was in a plight *myself* and quite a lot went also into my stomach!'

Činggis Qa'an again spoke: 'When I was in this state, lying down, why did you run naked into *their camp*? Had you been caught, wouldn't you have revealed that I was like this?' J̌elme said, 'My thought, as I went naked, was that if somehow I got caught, I would have said, "I wanted to submit to you, but they[1] found out and, seizing me, decided to kill me. They removed my clothes –

[1] I.e., Činggis Qa'an's people.

everything – only my pants had not yet been removed when I suddenly *managed* to escape and have just come in haste to *join* you." They would have regarded me as sincere, they would have given me clothes and looked after me. Then, I would have jumped on a horse and while they were *astonished* watching me *flee*, in that brief moment I would have surely got back! So thinking, and because I wished to get *back* in time *to satisfy* the Qa'an's craving *for drink* caused by his parching thirst, thinking this and without *so much as* blinking an eye I went there.'

Činggis Qa'an said, 'What can I say now? In former days, when the Three Merkit came and thrice circled *Mount* Burqan, you saved my life for the first time.[1] Now, once more, you restored me to life when, with your mouth, you sucked the clotting blood *from my wound*. And, yet again, when I was in a great plight with a parching thirst, disregarding your life, you went amidst the enemy without *so much as* blinking an eye; you quenched my thirst and restored life to me. These three services of yours will stay in my heart!' Thus *the Qa'an* spoke.

146 When it had grown light, it turned out that the *enemy* troops who were bivouacking right next to us had dispersed during the night; *only* the people who had set up the circular camp had not moved from the place where they had encamped because they would not have been able to get away.

Činggis Qa'an moved from the place where he had spent the night in order to bring back[2] the people who had fled. As he was bringing back the fugitives, Činggis Qa'an himself heard a woman in a red coat who, standing on top of a ridge, was wailing loudly, crying 'Temüǰin!' He sent a man to enquire whose wife was the woman who was crying like that. The man went and, having asked her, that woman said, 'I am the daughter of Sorqan Šira and my name is Qada'an.[3] The soldiers here captured my

[1] This event is not recorded in §102 above.
[2] I.e., to recapture.
[3] She is mentioned in §85 above.

husband and were going to kill him. As my husband was being killed, I cried and wailed and called on Temüǰin to save my husband.' So she said, and the man returned and reported these words to Činggis Qa'an.

On hearing these words, Činggis Qa'an rode at a trot and reached her; he[1] dismounted near Qada'an and they embraced each other, but her husband had already been killed by our soldiers.

After Činggis Qa'an had brought back those people, he camped on the spot for the night with his great army. He invited Qada'an to come to him and had her sit by his side.

The following day, Sorqan Šira and J̌ebe, who had been retainers of Tödöge of the Tayiči'ut, also arrived – the two of them. Činggis Qa'an said to Sorqan Šira, 'It was indeed a good service of you, father and sons,

To throw to the ground
The heavy wood on my neck,
To remove the wooden cangue
That was on my collar.

Why, *then*, did you delay *coming to me*?'

Sorqan Šira said, 'At heart I felt full confidence in you, but how could I make haste? Had I hurried and come to you earlier, my Tayiči'ut masters would have blown to *the winds*, like *hearth*-ashes,[2] my wife and children, and the cattle and provisions I had left behind. Because of this I did not hurry, but now *that the Tayiči'ut have been defeated* we came in haste to join our Qa'an.' When he had finished speaking, *Činggis Qa'an* said, '*You did* right!'

147 Again Činggis Qa'an spoke, saying 'When we fought at Köyiten and, pressing on each other, were reforming our ranks, from the top of those ridges an arrow came. Who, from the top of the mountain, shot an arrow so as to sever the neckbone of my tawny war horse with the white mouth?'

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[1] Lit., 'Činggis Qa'an.'

[2] Cf. above, §§87 and 112.

To these words J̌ebe said, ‘It was I who shot the arrow from the top of the mountain. If now I am put to death by the Qa’an, I shall be left to rot on *a piece of* earth the size of the palm *of a hand*, but if I be favoured,

For the Qa’an I will charge forward
So as to rend the deep water,
So as to crumble the shining stone.
For him I will charge forward
So as to split the blue stone
In the place which I am told to reach,
So as to crush the black stone
At the time when I am told to attack.’

Činggis Qa’an said, ‘A man who used to be an enemy, when it comes to his *former* killings and hostile actions “conceals his person and hides his tongue” – he is afraid. As for this one, however, he does not hide his killings and hostile actions; on the contrary, he makes them known. He is a man to have as a companion. He is named J̌irqo’adai, but because he shot an arrow at the neckbone of my tawny war horse with the white mouth, I shall call him J̌ebe[1] and I will use him as my *ǰebe* arrow.’ He named him J̌ebe and said, ‘Keep by my side!’

This is the way in which J̌ebe came from the Tayiči’ut and became a companion *of Činggis Qa’an*.

[1] *J̌ebe* means ‘weapon’, but it also designated a particular type of arrow.

THE SECRET HISTORY OF THE MONGOLS

CHAPTER FIVE

148 When, on that occasion, Činggis Qa'an plundered the Tayiči'ut, he wiped out the men of Tayiči'ut lineage, such as the Tayiči'ut A'uču Ba'atur, Qoton Örčeng[1] and Qudu'udar – he blew them to *the winds* like *hearth*-ashes, even to the offspring of their offspring. Činggis Qa'an carried away the people of their tribe, and spent the winter at Quba Qaya.[2]

149 Old Širgü'etü of the Ničügüt Ba'arin *tribe*, together with his sons Alaq and Naya'a, seized Tarqutai Kiriltuq, chief of the Tayiči'ut, who was *hiding* in the woods, because he was a mortal enemy *of Činggis Qa'an*. As Tarqutai could not mount a horse,[3] they made him ride in a cart.

As Old Širgü'etü and his sons Alaq and Naya'a were proceeding *thus*, holding *down* Tarqutai Kiriltuq, the sons and younger brothers of Tarqutai Kiriltuq said, 'Let us take him away *from them*!' They approached and overtook them. When his[4] sons and younger brothers caught up, Old Širgü'etü got onto the cart and, sitting astride Tarqutai, who was lying on his back and unable to stand up, drew a knife and said, 'Your sons and younger brothers have come to take you away. Even if I do not kill you, telling *myself* that I am laying hands on my lord,[5] they will surely kill me saying that I did lay hands on my lord. And if I do kill you, I shall of course be killed all the same. *So*, at the very moment I die, I shall die taking *you as my* death-companion.'[6]

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[1] The Qodun Örčeng of §141 above.

[2] I.e., 'Reddish Rock' (tu.)

[3] Because of his corpulence. The epithet Tarqutai means 'Fat.'

[4] I.e., Tarqutai's.

[5] Lit., '*qan.*'

[6] Lit., 'pillow.' For the idiom 'to die taking [someone as] a pillow', see RSH 1.544.

Thus saying he straddled him and was about to cut his throat with his big knife, when Tarqutai Kiriltuq, calling loudly to his younger brothers and sons, said, 'Širgü'etü is killing me. Once he has killed me, what will you achieve by taking away my dead and lifeless body? Draw back at once before he kills me! Temüǰin will not kill me. When Temüǰin was still little, because

He had fire in his eyes,
He had a light in his face,

and because he had been abandoned in a camp without a master,[1] I went *there* to get him and brought him *back home with me*:

Saying that if I taught him
He would be likely to learn,
I kept teaching and instructing him just as if
He was a two or three-year-old new colt
I had been training.[2]
Had I wanted to make him die,
Would I not have been able to kill him?
They say that at present
He is becoming thoughtful *in his actions*,
That his mind is clear.[3]

Temüǰin will not cause me to die. You, my sons and younger brothers, quickly turn back at once lest Širgü'etü kills me.' So he cried out loudly.

Tarqutai's sons and younger brothers conferred among themselves: 'We came to save father's life. Once Širgü'etü has deprived him of his life, what can we do with his empty, lifeless body? Better to turn back at once before he kills him!' So saying, back they turned. Alaq and Naya'a, the sons of Old Širgü'etü who had withdrawn on their arrival,[4] *now* returned. Š*irgü'etü*, having waited for them to come back, moved on *together with his sons*.

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[1] Because his father Yisügei Ba'atur was dead at the time.

[2] This is Tarqutai's justification of the episode told in §79ff.

[3] Lit., 'opening.'

[4] I.e., when Tarqutai's sons and brothers had come up and overtaken them.

As they proceeded on their way, on reaching the Qutuqul Bend[1] Naya'a then said, 'If we arrive holding this Tarqutai *captive*, Činggis Qa'an will say *of us* that we came having laid hands on our rightful lord. Činggis Qa'an will say of us, "How trustworthy a people are these who come having laid hands on their rightful lord? How can they still be companions to us? They are people who are not *worthy of* companionship. People who lay hands on their rightful lord must be cut down!" Shall we *not* be cut down? Better to free Tarqutai and send him away from here, and go *to Činggis Qa'an* saying, "We, possessing only our bodies, have come to offer our services to Činggis Qa'an." We shall say, "We had seized Tarqutai and were on our way *here*, but we could not do away with our rightful lord. Saying *to ourselves*, 'How can we make him die before our *very* eyes?', we freed him and sent him away, and we have come trustingly to offer our services."'

So he spoke and the father and sons, having approved these words of Naya'a, set Tarqutai Kiriltuq free and sent him away from Quduqul Bend.

When this same Old Širgü'etü arrived with his sons Alaq and Naya'a, Činggis Qa'an asked why they had come. Old Širgü'etü told Činggis Qa'an, 'We seized Tarqutai Kiriltuq and were on our way *here*, but then saying *to ourselves*, "How can we make our rightful lord die before our *very* eyes?", we could not do away with him. We set him free and sent him off, and came to Činggis Qa'an to offer our services.'

At that, Činggis Qa'an said, 'If you had come having laid hands on your lord Tarqutai, you and your offspring would have been cut down as people who had laid hands on their rightful lord. Your thought that you could not do away with your rightful lord is correct.' So saying, he showed favour to Naya'a.

150 After that, when Činggis Qa'an was at Dersüt,[2] J̌aqa

[1] Qutuqul = Quduqul below.

[2] = Deresüt? The text has Tersüt. See RSH 1.547-48.

Gambu of the Kereyit came to join him as a companion.[1] When he arrived, the Merkit were approaching to fight. Činggis Qa'an, J̌aqa Gambu and other *chiefs* engaged them and drove them back. Then, *J̌aqa Gambu* made the Tümen Tübegen and the Olon Dongqayit, *two* scattered tribes of the Kereyit, also come and submit to Činggis Qa'an.

As for Ong Qa'an[2] of the Kereyit, previously – in the time of Yisügei Qa'an[2] – because they were living together very harmoniously, he and Yisügei Qan had declared themselves sworn friends.

The manner in which they had declared themselves sworn friends *was as follows*:

Because Ong Qan had killed the younger brothers of his father Qurčaqus Buyiruq Qan, he had become a rebel towards his paternal uncle Gür Qan and was forced to sneak away through the Qara'un Gorge[3] *to escape from him*. With *only* a hundred men he got out *of the gorge* and joined[4] Yisügei Qan. Prompted by his coming to him, Yisügei Qan moved his own army into the field and, driving Gür Qan toward Qašin, he took Ong Qan's people and returned them to him. This is why they became sworn friends.

151 After that, when Ong Qan's younger brother Erke Qara was *about* to be killed by his elder brother Ong Qan, he escaped and submitted to Inanča Qan of the Naiman. Inanča Qan dispatched his troops, but Ong Qan in his wanderings had *already* passed three cities and had made his way to the *gür qan* of the Qara Kidat.[5] From there, having rebelled against *the gür qan*, he passed through the cities of the Uyiqut and the Tangqut.[6] He fed himself *on*

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[1] I.e., as a *nökör*.

[2] For Qa'an read Qan. Nowhere else in the *Secret History* are these men given the inappropriate title *Qa'an*, so this was certainly a later editorial or scribal error.

[3] Lit., 'Dark Gorge.'

[4] Lit., 'came to.'

[5] ~ Qara Kitat. Cf. below, §§248 and 266.

[6] ~ Ui'ut and Tang'ut, i.e. the Uighurs and the Tanguts. Cf. below, §152.

the way by milking five goats, muzzling *their kids*,[1] and by bleeding his camel.

While in *these* straits, he came to Lake Güse'ür. Činggis Qa'an, on account of Ong Qan and Yisügei Qan having formerly declared themselves sworn friends, sent to him as envoys Taqai Ba'atur and Sükegei J̌e'ün; *then*, from the source of the Kelüren *River*, Činggis Qa'an went in person to meet him. Because Ong Qan had arrived starved and exhausted, *Činggis Qa'an* raised taxes for him, brought him into the camp and took care of him.

That winter, in an orderly way they moved to *new pastures* and Činggis Qa'an wintered at Quba Qaya.

152 Then Ong Qan's younger brothers and the chiefs said among themselves,

'Our elder brother the Qan
Has a miserable nature; he goes on
Harbouring a rotten liver.[2]

He has destroyed his brothers and has even submitted to the Qara Kidat – and he makes his people suffer. Now, what shall we do with him? To speak of his early days, when he was seven years old the Merkit carried him off; they gave him a kidskin coat with black spots to wear, and in the Bu'ura Steppe by the Selengge *River* he pounded *grain in* a Merkit's mortar. But his father Qurčaqus Buyiruq Qan raided the Merkit and there and then rescued his son. And again, when he was thirteen years old, Aǰai Qan of the Tatar carried him off together with his mother. When *Aǰai Qan* made him look after his camels, he took with him a shepherd of Aǰai Qan and fled back home. After that, he fled again for fear of the Naiman and went to the *gür qan* of the Qara Kidat on the Čui River, in the country of the Sarta'ul. Then, in less than a year, he rebelled and left once more. He skirted the country of the Ui'ut and the Tang'ut.[3] Reduced to straits as he went on, he fed himself by milking five goats, muzzling *their kids*,

[1] In order to prevent them from suckling the she-goat too often. See RSH 1.556-57.

[2] I.e., he has a foul character.

[3] See above, §151 and n. 6.

and by bleeding his camel. He had only a blind yellowish-white horse with a black tail and mane. Being in *these* straits, he came to his son Temüǰin, who raised taxes and indeed took care of him. Now, forgetting that he kept himself alive like this thanks to his son Temüǰin, he goes on harbouring a rotten liver.[1] What shall we do *with him*?'[2]

So they said among themselves, and their words were reported by Altun Ašuq to Ong Qan. Altun Ašuq said, 'I too did take part in this scheme, but I could not do away with you, my Qan.' Then Ong Qan had his younger brothers and chiefs arrested: El Qutur, Qulbari, Alin Taiši and the others who had thus conspired. From *among* his younger brothers, *only* J̌aqa Gambu escaped and submitted to the Naiman.

Ong Qan had them brought in fetters into his tent and said to them, 'What did we pledge to each other when we passed by the country of the Ui'ut and the Tang'ut? How could I think like you?'[3] So saying, spitting in their faces, he had them freed from their fetters. After they had been spat on by the Qan *himself*, the people who were in the tent all rose and spat on them.

153 After having spent that winter (1201-1202) *at Quba Qaya*, in the autumn of the Year of the Dog (1202), Činggis Qa'an engaged these Tatars in battle at Dalan Nemürges:[4] the Ča'a'an Tatar,[5] Alči Tatar, Duta'ut [Tatar] and Aruqai Tatar. Before fighting, Činggis Qa'an jointly[6] issued *the following* decree: 'If we overcome the enemy, we shall not stop for booty. When the victory is

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[1] I.e., an evil mind (= evil intentions).

[2] A rhetorical question implying that they should kill him, as evident from what follows.

[3] I.e., 'I could never think of you as you did with regard to me!' – implying that, were that so, he would execute them.

[4] I.e., 'Seventy Felt Cloaks.'

[5] = Čaqān Tatar. See RSH 1.566.

[6] I.e., in concert with the other army commanders, such as Altan, Qučar and Dāritai. 'Decree' here translates *ǰasag*, also 'law' (in a specific or general sense); for Mongol law in general see RSH 1.567-68 and 3.95-97.

complete, that booty will surely be ours, and we will share it among ourselves. If we are forced by the enemy to retreat, let us turn back to the point where we began the attack. *Those* men who do not turn back to the point where we began the attack shall be cut down!' So he decreed with them.

They fought at Dalan Nemürges and drove off the Tatars. After they had overcome them, they forced them to rejoin their[1] tribe on the Ulqui Šilügeljit *River* and *thoroughly* plundered them. There and then they destroyed these important people: the Ča'ān Tatar,[2] Alči Tatar, Duta'ut Tatar and Aruqai Tatar.

As for the words of the decree that had been jointly issued, since Altan, Qučar and Dāritai – all three – had not complied with them and had stopped for booty, *Činggis Qa'an*, saying that they had not complied with *these* words, sent J̌ebe and Qubilai to take away *from them* the herds of horses and the goods they had acquired as booty – everything they had seized.

154 Having destroyed and thoroughly plundered the Tatars, Činggis Qa'an held a great council with his kinsmen in a single tent to decide what to do with the *Tatar* tribesmen. Together they decided as follows:

'From olden days the Tatar people
Have destroyed our fathers and forefathers;
To avenge our fathers and forefathers,
And requite the wrong, for them
We shall measure *the Tatars* against the linchpin of a cart,
And kill them to the last one,
We shall utterly slay them.[3]
The rest we shall enslave:
Some here, some there, dividing them among ourselves!'

The council being concluded, as they emerged from the tent, the Tatar Yeke Čeren asked Belgütei what

[1] I.e., the Tatar.
[2] = Čaqān Tatar. See note just above.
[3] Only those taller than the linchpin would be killed.

decision they had made. Belgütei said, 'We have decided to measure you all against the linchpin of a cart and slay you.'

At these words of Belgütei, Yeke Čeren issued a proclamation to his Tatars, and they raised a barricade. As our soldiers tried to surround and attack the Tatars that had barricaded themselves in, they suffered great losses. After much trouble, when they forced the barricaded Tatars into submission and were about to slay them to the last man by measuring them against the linchpin of a cart, the Tatars said among themselves, 'Let everyone put a knife in his sleeve and let us die *each* taking *an enemy with us as* a death-companion!'[1] And again we suffered great losses. In this way the Tatars were *finally* measured against the linchpin of a cart and exterminated.

Then Činggis Qa'an issued *this* order: 'Because Belgütei divulged the decision we took together with our kinsmen at the great council, our soldiers suffered great losses. From now on Belgütei shall not join us in great councils; until the council ends, he shall handle those who are outside and, having dealt with them, he shall judge litigations and those guilty of theft and falsehood.[2] When the council is over and after we have drunk the ceremonial wine, *only* then shall Belgütei and Da'aritai[3] join us!' So he ordered.

155 Then, on that occasion, Činggis Qa'an took *as wife* Yisügen Qatun, daughter of the Tatar Yeke Čeren. Being loved by him, Yisügen Qatun said, 'If it pleases the Qa'an, he will take care of me, regarding me as a human being and a person *worth keeping*.[4] *But* my elder sister, who is called Yisüi, is superior to me: she is indeed fit for a ruler. Recently, a bridegroom for her was taken *into our family* as son-in-law. I wonder now where she has gone in *all* this confusion.'

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[1] See above, §149.

[2] See RSH 1.572 for Belgütei's duties, and more broadly for the interesting relationship between him and Činggis.

[3] I.e., Dāritai.

[4] I.e., not as something to use and discard.

On these words Činggis Qa'an said, 'If your elder sister is better than you, let us make a search for her! *But* if your elder sister comes *to hand*, will you yield *your place* to her?' Yisügen Qatun said, 'If it pleases the Qa'an, as soon as I see my elder sister I shall yield to her.'

On this promise, Činggis Qa'an issued the order and had a search made. Our soldiers came across her as she was going into a wood together with the bridegroom to whom she had been given. Her husband fled. They then brought back Yisüi Qatun.

When Yisügen Qatun saw her elder sister, keeping the promise she had made earlier, she rose and let her sit in the place she had occupied. She herself took a lower seat.

Since she turned out to be as Yisügen Qatun had said, Činggis Qa'an was pleased with her; he married Yisüi Qatun and placed her in the rank *of his principal wives*.

156 After having completely ravaged the Tatars, one day Činggis Qa'an sat outside drinking in company. He was sitting between both Yisüi Qatun and Yisügen Qatun, and was drinking with them, when Yisüi Qatun heaved a deep sigh. Then Činggis Qa'an, having thought it over, summoned Bo'orču, Muqali and other chiefs, and said, 'You[1] make all these people who have been assembled *here* – and no others – stand in groups of related families, and separate from the rest any man in a group which is not his own.' So he ordered.

As *the people* were standing thus in groups of related families, a handsome and alert young man stood apart from *all* the groups.[2] When they said, 'To which clan do you belong?', that man said, 'I am the bridegroom to whom was given the daughter of the Tatar Yeke Čeren called Yisüi. When we were plundered by the enemy, I took fright and fled. I came *hither* because things seemed to have settled down now and I kept telling myself, "How can I be recognized among *so* many people?"'

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[1] I.e., 'You Bo'orču, Muqali and the other chiefs.'

[2] Because he was a Tatar, and all the adult male Tatar prisoners had been killed (§154).

When these words were reported to Činggis Qa'an, he ordered: 'All the same, he has been living as an outcast, with hostile intentions; what might he have come to spy upon now? Those like him we have measured against the linchpin of a cart *and exterminated*. Why hesitate? Cast him out of my sight!' He was cut down immediately.

157 When, in that same Year of the Dog (1202), Činggis Qa'an rode against the Tatars, Ong Qan rode against the Merkit. Pursuing Toqto'a Beki in the direction of the Barquǰin Lowland, *Ong Qan* killed Tögüs Beki, the eldest son of Toqto'a, seized Toqto'a's two daughters Qutuqtai and Ča'alun and his wives,[1] and plundered his two sons Qutu and Čila'un together with their people, but *of all the booty* he gave not one thing to Činggis Qa'an.

158 After that, Činggis Qa'an and Ong Qan rode against Buyiruq Qan of the Güčügüt *clan* of the Naiman. They reached Soqoq Usun[2] by the Uluq Taq[3] where *Buyiruq Qan* was staying *at the time*.

Unable to engage in combat, Buyiruq Qan went off, crossing the Altai *Mountains*. They pursued Buyiruq Qan from Soqoq Usun and, forcing him to cross the Altai, they chased him along the Ürünggü *River* downstream at Qum Šinggir.[4]

While this was going on, a chief called Yedi Tubluq, who was patrolling *for Buyiruq Qan*, was pursued by our patrol. As he was about to flee up the mountain *side*, his saddle-strap broke and he was captured on the spot. Pursuing Buyiruq Qan down along the Ürünggü *River*, they overtook him at Lake Kišil Baš,[5] and there they finished him off.

159 As Činggis Qa'an and Ong Qan were returning from that place, the *great* warrior Kökse'ü Sabraq of the Naiman arrayed his troops at the Bayidaraq Confluence and prepared to fight them. Činggis Qa'an and Ong Qan

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[1] The text has Ča'arun for Ča'alun. One should, perhaps, read: 'seized Toqto'a's two wives Qutuqtai and Ča'alun.' See RSH 1.580-81.

[2] I.e., 'Soqoq Water (= River).'

[3] A mountain already mentioned in §144 above. Cf. below, §177.

[4] Lit., 'of Qum Šinggir (tu. "Sand Promontory").'

[5] I.e., 'Red Head' (tu.).

likewise decided to fight and arrayed their troops; *however*, when they arrived it was *already* getting late. They said, 'We shall fight in the morning!', and passed the night in *battle* order. Then Ong Qan had fires lit in the place where he was stationed and that same night moved upstream along the Qara Se'ül[1] *River*.

160 J̌amuqa then moved on together with Ong Qan and, as they went, J̌amuqa said to Ong Qan, 'My sworn friend Temüǰin for a long time has been sending envoys to the Naiman, and now he has not come *with us*.

Qan, Qan, I am the skylark
That stays *in one place*;
My sworn friend is
The migratory lark.

He must have gone *over* to the Naiman and has remained behind intending to submit to them.'

At these words of J̌amuqa, Gürin Ba'atur of the Ubčiq[2] said, 'How can you speak so deceitfully, back-biting and slandering your upright brother?'[3]

161 Činggis Qa'an had spent the night at that same place. Early next morning, at daybreak, he wanted to fight, but when he looked across to Ong Qan's position, he found that he was no longer *there*. Saying, 'They certainly treat us like burnt offerings *at the sacrifice for the dead*,'[4] Činggis Qa'an *also* moved out from there. He crossed *the river* at the Eder Altai Confluence and, being on the move, proceeded further, setting up camp in the Sa'ari Steppe.

Thereafter, Činggis Qa'an and Qasar, having realised the difficulties of the Naiman, no longer counted them as people *to be reckoned with*.

162 Kökse'ü Sabraq went in pursuit of Ong Qan. He captured the wife of *his son* Senggüm together with *all* his people. He captured *also* half the people and livestock

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[1] I.e., 'Black Tail.'

[2] The text has Ubčiqtai, but this is probably a mistake for Übčiritei. See RSH 1.586.

[3] Here 'brother' = 'cousin.'

[4] I.e., like something that is no longer useful and can be discarded.

of Ong Qan which were at Telegetü Pass,[1] and returned home.

At the time of that engagement, Qutu and Čila'un, the two sons of Toqto'a of the Merkit who were *also* there, separated from *Ong Qan* and, taking their own people with them, moved downstream along the Selengge *River* to join their father.

163 After being pillaged by Köksegü Sabraq,[2] Ong Qan sent an envoy to Činggis Qa'an. Through the envoy he sent this message: 'I have been robbed by the Naiman of my people and my wife. I send *this envoy* to request from you, my son, your "four steeds."[3] Let them rescue my people for me!'

Činggis Qa'an then sent Bo'orču, Muqali, Boroqul[4] and Čila'un Ba'atur, these 'four steeds' of his, and arrayed his troops. Before the 'four steeds' arrived, Senggüm had just joined battle *with Kökse'ü Sabraq* at Hula'an Qut;[5] his horse had been shot in the thigh by an arrow and he *himself* was about to be captured.

At that moment those 'four steeds' arrived and saved him, and they recovered his people and his wife for him – all of them. Ong Qan then said, 'Formerly his good father[6] had saved my people who had been lost like this; now, once more, his son, by sending his "four steeds", has rescued my lost people for me. As to my repaying *these* favours, let *only* the protection[7] of Heaven and Earth decide *how, and in what measure!*'

164 Ong Qan said further, 'My sworn friend Yisügei Ba'atur once rescued my lost people for me; *his* son Temüǰin has again rescued for me my people who had gone away. When these two, father and son, gathered the lost people and returned them to me, for whose sake did

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[1] The Telētü Pass of §136 above.
[2] = Kökse'ü Sabraq.
[3] I.e., the 'four stalwarts.' See RSH 1.591-92.
[4] = Boro'ul. See above, §137.
[5] I.e., 'Red Cliffs.'
[6] I.e., Činggis Qan's late father.
[7] I.e., the protecting powers.

they take the trouble of gathering and returning them? As for myself, now

I have grown old, and having grown old,
When I shall ascend to the heights –
I have grown ancient, and having grown ancient,
When I shall ascend to the cliffs –
Who will govern all my people?

My younger brothers lack *force of* character; there is only Senggüm, my one son, but it is as if he did not exist. If I make *my* son Temüjin the elder brother of Senggüm, I shall have two sons and my mind will be at rest.' Having said *this*, Ong Qan and Činggis Qa'an met together in the Black Forest by the Tu'ula *River* and declared themselves father and son. The reason why they declared themselves father and son was because in early days Ong Qan had declared himself a sworn friend of *Činggis Qa'an's* father Yisügei Qan, and *by virtue of this fact Činggis Qa'an* said that *Ong Qan was* like a father *to him*. Such was the reason why they declared themselves father and son.[1] They made *the following* promises to each other:

'When we attack the enemy hosts,
We shall attack together as one;
When we chase the cunning wild beasts,
We shall also chase them together as one!'

So they declared. Činggis Qa'an and Ong Qan also promised each other, saying, 'Out of jealousy for us two –

Should a snake with *venomous* teeth
Provoke discord *between us*,
Let us not succumb to his provocations.
By talking *only* mouth to mouth[2]
We shall believe *each other*!
Should a snake with *venomous* fangs
Spread slander about us,
Let us not accept his slander.
By explaining *only* face to face[3]
We shall believe *each other*!'

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[1] See above, §96.
[2] Lit., 'by teeth and mouth.'
[3] Lit., 'by mouth and tongue.'

And, pledging their word, they lived together in mutual affection.

165 ‘On top of affection let there be more affection!’, Činggis Qa’an thought; and requesting the younger sister of Senggüm, Ča’ur Beki, for *his son* J̌oči he said, ‘I shall give in exchange our *daughter* Qoǰin Beki to Senggüm’s son Tusaqa.’

When *this* request was made, Senggüm, then, imagining himself *to be very* important, said, ‘If a kinswoman of ours goes to them, she would have to stand by the door and only face towards the back of the tent; but if a kinswoman of theirs comes to us, she would sit in the back of the tent and face towards the door.’[1] So, imagining himself *to be very* important, he spoke disparagingly of us; he was not pleased *with our proposition* and would not give Ča’ur Beki.

Because of these words, Činggis Qa’an in his heart lost affection for Ong Qan and Nilqa Senggüm.

166 J̌amuqa realised that *Činggis Qa’an* had in this way lost his affection for them. In the spring of the Year of the Pig (1203), J̌amuqa, Altan and Quča r, Ebügeǰin and Noyakin of the Qardakin[2] tribe, To’oril of the Söge’en tribe and Qači’un Beki, all these, having come to an understanding, set out and went to Nilqa Senggüm at Berke Elet,[3] on the northern side of the J̌eǰe’er Heights.

Slandering *Činggis Qa’an*, J̌amuqa spoke: ‘My sworn friend Temüjin has messengers *sent* with secret communications to Tayang Qan of the Naiman. His mouth is saying “father” and “son”, but his behaviour is *quite* otherwise. Are you going to trust him? If you do not *take him* by surprise *and* strike at him, what will become of you? If you move against my sworn friend Temüǰin, I will join you *and attack* his flank!’

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[1] The place of honour was, and still is, at the back of the tent facing the door. The least honourable place is next to the door facing the back of the tent. Senggüm says that Ča’ur Beki would be treated like a servant in J̌oči’s tent, whereas Qoǰin Beki would expect to be treated like a lady in Tusaqa’s tent.

[2] Almost certainly a mistake for Qarta’an. See RSH 1.599.

[3] I.e., ‘Difficult Sands.’

Altan and Qučar said, ‘As for the sons of Mother Hö’elün, for you,

We shall kill the elder brother,
And do away with the younger brother!’

Ebügeǰin and Noyakin – the *two* Qarta’at – said, ‘For you,

We shall seize his hands,
And grasp his feet!’

To’oril said, ‘The best plan is to go *ahead* and capture Temüǰin’s people. If his people are taken away *from him* and he is *left* without them, what can he do?’

Qači’un Beki said, ‘Prince Nilqa Senggüm, whatever you decide I shall go with you,

To the farthest limit,
To the bottom of the deep!’

167 Having been told these words, Nilqa Senggüm reported to his father Ong Qan those *very* words through Sayiqan Töde’en.

When he was told this,[1] Ong Qan said, ‘How can you think such *things* about my son Temüǰin? Until now we had him as our support, and if now we harbour such evil intentions towards my son, we shall not be loved by Heaven. J̌amuqa has a glib tongue. Is he right in what he says? Is he correct?’[2] He was displeased and sent back *Sayiqan Töde’en*.

Senggüm sent another message saying, ‘When *any* man with a mouth and a tongue says *these things*,[3] how can one not believe him?’ He sent messages twice, three times, but could not *convince Ong Qan*. *Finally*, he went to him in person and said, ‘Even *now*, at a time when you are *still* so lively *and well*, *Temüǰin* has not the slightest regard for us. Truly, when you, his father the Qan, *will have reached the age when men*

Choke on the white *milk*,
And are stifled by the black *meat*,

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[1] Lit., ‘these *very* words.’

[2] A rhetorical question implying that he is untrustworthy.

[3] I.e., it is common knowledge. See RSH 1.604.

will he let us govern your people – *the people* that your father Qurčaqus Buyiruq Qan gathered laboriously in such great number? How will he let anyone govern it?'

At these words, Ong Qan said, 'How can I do away with my child, my son? Because until now he has been our support, is it right to harbour evil intentions against him? We shall not be loved by Heaven.'

At these words, his son Nilqa Senggüm became angry; he pushed off the tent-door and left. But Ong Qan, concerned about *losing* the affection of his son Senggüm, called him back and said to him, 'Who knows whether we shall be loved by Heaven after all? You say, "How shall we do away with the son?"[1] Just do what you can – it is for you to decide!'

168 Senggüm then spoke with the others and said, 'Those same *people* requested our Ča'ur Beki. Now, having fixed a day, let us invite them to come and dine at the betrothal feast and, there and then, seize them!' They *all* agreed and made a compact with *Ong Qan to that effect*.

They sent word *to Činggis Qa'an*: 'We shall provide Ča'ur Beki. Come and dine at the betrothal feast!' Činggis Qa'an, being *so* invited, drew near with ten men. On the way he spent the night in Father Mönglik's tent. Then Father Mönglik said, 'When we requested Ča'ur Beki, those same *people* despised us and would not provide her. How is it that now, on the contrary, they invite you to dine at the betrothal feast? Why do people who think themselves *so* important invite you, and contradicting themselves, *now* say, "We shall provide her"? Are they right? Are they correct?[2] Son, you must proceed with caution. Let us send a *message* giving as an excuse that it is spring, our herds are lean, and we must fatten our horses *first*.'

Činggis Qa'an did not proceed, but sent Buqatai and Kiratai telling them to dine at the betrothal feast *in his place*; *then* from the tent of Father Mönglik he returned home.

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[1] I.e., with Temüjin.

[2] I.e., they are not trustworthy. See above, §167, n. 2.

When Buqatai and Kiratai arrived, *Senggüm and the others* said, 'We have been found out. Early tomorrow we shall surround and capture them!'

169 Having thus pledged their word that they would surround and capture them, Altan's younger cousin, Yeke Čeren, said when he came home, 'We have decided to capture Temüǰin early tomorrow. What sort *of a reward* might be expected by someone who delivers a message with this news to Temüǰin?'[1]

When he spoke in this way, his wife Alaq It said, 'What is this idle talk of yours? *Some* people *here* might take it seriously!' As they were so conversing, their horse-herder Badai came to bring in the milk; he *over*-heard this conversation and withdrew.

After leaving *the tent* Badai reported to his companion, the horse-herder Kišiliq, the words Yeke Čeren had spoken. Kišiliq said, 'I too shall go and find out *the truth of it*', and went to *Yeke Čeren's* tent. *Yeke* Čeren's son, Narin Ke'en, was sitting outside, sharpening his arrows. He said, 'What*ever* were we talking about a short while ago? We should have had our tongues taken out! Whose mouth can we *now* stop *from repeating it*?'

Having spoken thus, Narin Ke'en also told Kišiliq, his horse-herder, 'Fetch and bring in[2] the white Merkit *horse* and the bay with the white muzzle, and tether them: tonight, towards daybreak, we'll ride out *to attack*.' So he said.

Kišiliq left and told Badai, 'I have checked what you said a short while ago. It is true. Now the two of us will go and take the news to Temüǰin.' Having both agreed, they brought in the white Merkit *horse* and the bay with the white muzzle, and tethered them. That very evening, in their travel-tent they killed one of their lambs and cooked it with their bedboards *as fuel*. *Then* they mounted on the white Merkit *horse* and the bay with the white muzzle that were tethered ready, and set off into the night.

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[1] I.e., the reward was certain to be handsome.

[2] From the pasture.

That night they reached Činggis Qan's *camp*. From the back of his tent Badai and Kišiliq reported the words spoken by Yeke Čeren, and what his son Narin Ke'en had said when he was sitting, sharpening his arrows: 'Fetch and tether the two geldings, the white Merkit *horse* and the bay with the white muzzle' – all the words that had been said they reported for *Činggis Qan to know*. Badai and Kišiliq also spoke, saying, 'If Činggis Qa'an favours us *with his trust*, he will not hesitate *to act*: they have pledged to surround and capture you.'

CHAPTER SIX

170 On this intelligence Činggis Qa'an believed the words of Badai and Kišiliq; that same night he informed the trusted men who were at his side and, abandoning his baggage to lighten *his train*, set out and fled in the night.

Proceeding by way of the northern side of Ma'u[1] Heights, he left behind J̌elme Qo'a of the Uriangqai, for he trusted him, as his rearguard on the northern side of Ma'u Heights. He set up patrols and moved on. As he continued his advance, at noon of the following day he reached Qalaqalǰit Sands, where he halted to rest and eat, waiting for the sun to set.

While they rested and ate, Čigidei and Yadir, the horse-herders of Alčidai, led their geldings to pasture, some here and some there, on the fresh grass. As they moved *about*, they saw the dust *raised* by the enemy coming in pursuit, passing by Hula'an Burqat[2] on the southern side of Ma'u Heights. 'The enemy has arrived,' they said and came *back* driving the geldings before them.

When they were told that the enemy had arrived, they *all* looked out and observing the dust *raised by the enemy* passing by Hula'an Burqat on the southern side of Ma'u Heights, they said, 'That is Ong Qan coming in hot pursuit'. Then Činggis Qa'an, having seen the dust, had his geldings brought in,[3] loaded them, and rode off *with his followers*. If on that occasion *these two herdsmen* had not noticed *the enemy's approach*, he would have been *caught* unprepared.

As they approached, J̌amuqa was advancing together with Ong Qan. While they advanced Ong Qan there and then asked J̌amuqa, 'Who are those with son Temüǰin

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[1] Written Mau for Ma'u ('Evil') throughout. See RSH 1.615-16.
[2] I.e., 'Red Willows.'
[3] From the pastures.

who are likely to fight?' To his question J̌amuqa said, 'There are his people called the Uru'ut and the Mangqut; those people of his do indeed *know how to* fight:

Every time they turn about,
Their battle array holds;
Every time they wheel round, too,
Their ranks hold.

Those people are accustomed to swords and spears from childhood. They have black and multicoloured standards – they are the people of whom we must be wary!'

On these words Ong Qan said, 'If this is so, Qadaq, *the leader of* our brave J̌irgin, shall meet them: we shall send our brave J̌irgin to the attack. We shall have Ačiq Širun of the Tümen Tübegen attack *next* in support of the J̌irgin. The brave Olon Dongqayit we shall send to attack in support of the *Tümen* Tübegen. Qori Šilemün Taiši in support of the *Olon* Dongqayit shall attack at the head of *my* – the Ong-qan's – thousand bodyguards. In support of the thousand bodyguards we, the main body *of the army*, shall move to the attack.' Ong Qan also said, 'Younger brother J̌amuqa, you set our troops in battle array!'

At these words J̌amuqa drew apart and told his companions, 'Ong Qan tells me to set these troops of his in battle array, but I have never been able to fight against *my* sworn friend. For Ong Qan to say that I should set these troops in battle array *means that* he is less capable than I am. Not much of a companion, is he! Let us send word to *my* sworn friend to be on his guard.'

So J̌amuqa secretly sent the following message to Činggis Qa'an: 'Ong Qan asked me, "Who are those with son Temüǰin who are likely to fight?" To his question I said, "I rate first the Uru'ut and the Mangqut." Thus I spoke, and at these words of mine those same J̌irgin were ordered to the forefront as vanguard. Ačiq Širun of the Tümen Tübegen was appointed to support the J̌irgin. [The Olon Dongqayit were appointed to support the *Tümen* Tübegen.] Qori Šilemün Taiši, leader of the thousand bodyguards of Ong Qan, was appointed to

support the *Olon* Dongqayit. For his[1] support, they decided that the main body of Ong Qan's own army should stand *in readiness*. Ong Qan also told me: "Younger brother J̌amuqa, you set these troops *of mine* in battle array!", saying that he relied on me. From this I realized that he is not much of a companion. How can I set his troops in battle array *for him*? I have never been able to fight against *my* sworn friend, and Ong Qan is less capable than me. Sworn friend, do not be afraid; be on your guard!' That was the message he sent.

171 When Činggis Qa'an received this news he said, 'Uncle J̌ürčedei of the Uru'ut, let us make you the vanguard; what do you say?' Before J̌ürčedei could utter a word, Quyildar Šečen of the Mangqut said, 'I shall fight in front of *my* sworn friend! As for how one shall afterwards take care of my orphaned children, *my* sworn friend will decide.' J̌ürčedei *then* said, 'Let us, Uru'ut and Mangqut, fight as vanguard in front of Činggis Qa'an!'

So saying, J̌ürčedei and Quyildar arranged themselves in battle order in front of Činggis Qa'an with their Uru'ut and Mangqut *troops*. As they stood *thus*, the enemy arrived with the J̌irgin as vanguard. When they came *forward*, the Uru'ut and the Mangqut rushed against them and overcame the J̌irgin. As they advanced, crushing them, Ačiq Širun of the Tümen Tübegen charged *ahead*.[2] In the attack, Ačiq Širun stabbed Quyildar and brought him off *his horse*. The Mangqut turned back and *stood guard* over Quyildar.

J̌ürčedei *then* went on the attack with his Uru'ut *troops* and overcame the Tümen Tübegen. As he advanced, crushing them and driving them back, the Olon Dongqayit charged against him, but J̌ürčedei crushed also the Dongqayit. After overcoming them, as he went forward, Qori Šilemün Taiši attacked him with the thousand bodyguards. When J̌ürčedei had also repulsed and defeated Qori Šilemün Taiši and was pressing ahead,

[1] I.e., Qori Šilemün Taiši's.

[2] In support of the J̌irgin who were being overcome by the Uru'ut and the Mangqut.

Senggüm, without permission from Ong Qan, began to charge against him, but was shot by an arrow in *one of* his bright red cheeks. Senggüm fell there and then *from his horse*. When Senggüm fell all the Kereyit turned back and stood *guard* over him.

Having defeated them, when the setting sun touched the hilltops our *troops* withdrew, taking back with them Quyildar who had fallen *from his horse* wounded.

Činggis Qa'an and our *men* moved away from Ong Qan – from the place where they had fought each other. They set out in the evening and spent the night some distance from there.

172 They spent the night standing *in battle order*. At daybreak, when they held a roll-call, Öködei,[1] Boroqul and Bo'orču were not there. Činggis Qa'an said, 'Bo'orču and Boroqul as true friends have remained behind with Öködei. How could they part from each other, whether living or dying?'

When night *came*, our *men*, having brought in their geldings,[2] spent the night *in readiness*. Saying, 'If *the enemy* pursues us we shall fight,' Činggis Qa'an arranged *the troops* in battle order.

When the day grew light, they beheld a man approaching from the rear. As he drew nearer it turned out to be Bo'orču. Having let Bo'orču come closer Činggis Qa'an beat his breast and said, 'Let Eternal Heaven decide *what should be*!'

Bo'orču said, 'When we went on the attack my horse was shot by an arrow and fell *under me*. I ran away on foot and as I was going *like this*, those same Kereyit, having turned back, stood *guard* over Senggüm; in the fighting's lull, *I noticed* a pack-horse standing *there* whose pack had slipped on its side. I cut off its pack, got on the pack-saddle and came away. Following the tracks left by our *men* when they withdrew *from the battlefield*, I went on, found them and here I am.'

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[1] = Ögödei.

[2] From the pastures.

173 Then, a moment later, another man approached. He advanced and drew closer, his feet dangling under him;[1] yet, when one looked, it seemed like a single person *riding*. When he came up and drew to a halt, it was Boroqul mounted double behind Öködei with blood trickling from the corners of his mouth.

Öködei had been hit by an arrow in the neck vein; as the blood was clotting, Boroqul had sucked the *wound*-clogging blood, letting it trickle from the corners of the mouth: *that's how* he came.

When Činggis Qa'an saw this, tears fell from his eyes and his heart was pained. He speedily ordered a fire to be prepared, had the wound cauterized, and drink sought for Öködei and given to him. 'If the enemy comes *after us*, we shall fight him!', he said.

Boroqul said, 'The dust *raised* by the enemy *has shifted* in the opposite direction towards Hula'an Burqat on the southern side of Ma'u Heights – rising in a long trail, the dust has moved away in the opposite direction.'

At these words of Boroqul, *Činggis Qa'an* said, 'Had he come *after us*, we would have fought him; *but* if we are *now* witnessing the enemy take flight, we shall regroup our troops and fight him *later*!' So saying, he departed. After he left, he moved upstream along the Ulqui Šilügeljit *River* and came into Dalan Nemürges.

174 Then, from the rear,[2] Qada'an Daldurqan came up, leaving *behind* his wife and children. When he arrived, Qada'an Daldurqan reported Ong Qan's words saying, 'When Ong Qan's son Senggüm was shot in *one of* his bright red cheeks by an *učumaq arrow* and fell *from his horse*, and *the Kereyit* turned back *and stood guard* over him, *Ong Qan* then said:

"When it would have been better
Not to stir him up,
We did stir him up;
When it would have been better

[1] I.e., as if someone else was riding.
[2] I.e., after Činggis Qan – to join him.

Not to provoke him,
We did provoke him – *thus*, alas,
We have been the cause of their driving
A nail into my son's cheek.

But having arrived in time *to save my* son's life, let us *now* together rush *against them*!" Thus he spoke and Ačiq Širun said to him, "Qan, Qan, desist! Pleading for a son who was yet to come, we made magic strips and uttered *the prayer Abui babui* – we prayed, pleading for him. So at last *your* son Senggüm was born, let us take care of him! Most of the Mongols are on our side, with J̌amuqa, and with Altan and Qučar. As for the Mongols who have rebelled *against us* and who left with Temüǰin, where can they go? They are those

Who have *but* a horse as a mount,
Who have *but* a tree as a shelter.

If they do not come *and join* us *of their own accord*, we shall go *out*, wrap them up like dry horse dung in a skirt, and bring them here!" To these words of Ačiq Širun, Ong Qan said, "Correct! If this is so, I fear my son may be exhausted. Take care of my son, and do not shake him *while you carry him*!" Having said this he withdrew from the battlefield and returned *home*'. So spoke *Qada'an Daldurqan*.

175 Then Činggis Qa'an departed from Dalan Nemürges following the course of the Qalqa *River* downstream, and counted his forces. When numbered, there were two thousand six hundred *men*. With one thousand three hundred *men* Činggis Qa'an moved along the western bank of the Qalqa *while* the Uru'ut and Mangqut moved with one thousand three hundred *men* along the eastern bank of the Qalqa.

They were moving on in this way, hunting for provisions as they went, when Quyildar, whose wounds had not yet healed,[1] without paying heed to a warning by Činggis Qa'an rushed after the game. He had a relapse

[1] See above, §171.

and died. Činggis Qa'an then buried him at Keltegei Qada, at the Or Bend[1] of the Qalqa.

176 *Činggis Qa'an,* knowing that just where the Qalqa *River* flows into Lake Buyur there stayed the Onggirat *chief* Terge Emel and others, sent Jürčedei to them with the Uru'ut *troops*. When he sent him off he said, 'If they say that the Onggirat, from olden days,

Live thanks to the good looks
Of their granddaughters
And the beauty
Of their daughters,[2]

they will certainly submit to us. If they say that they will oppose us, we shall fight them!'

Because he had been sent with this message, *the Onggirat* submitted to Jürčedei. As they had submitted *peacefully*, Činggis Qa'an did not touch anything of theirs.

177 Then, after having obtained the Onggirat's submission, Činggis Qa'an departed and, pitching camp east of Tüngge Stream, he gave Arqai Qasar and Sügegei Je'ün a verbal message to be delivered *to Ong Qan*, saying, 'Tell this to my father the Qan: "We have pitched camp east of Tüngge Stream; the grass is good and our geldings have gained strength."' He *further* said, 'My father the Qan, out of what grievance did you frighten me? If you must frighten me, why don't you frighten me in such a way *at least* as to let your poor sons and poor daughters-in-law sleep to their heart's content?[3]

Bringing down the couch on which they sat
According to their rank,
Scattering the smoke that rose upwards
From their tents,

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[1] Or 'at the slanting cliff of the Or Bend of the Qalqa.' See RSH 1.633-34.

[2] Cf. above, §64.

[3] In view of Ong Qan's adoption of Činggis Qa'an as his son (see above, §164), by 'poor sons' and 'poor daughters-in-law' are meant Činggis' own brothers and sisters-in-law. If Činggis is to be blamed for something, why should they be involved too?

Why have you frightened them so? My father the Qan,
Have you been stung
By someone standing at the side?
Have you been stirred up
By someone coming between us?[1]
My father the Qan, what did we agree upon, the two of us? At Hula'anu'ut Bolda'ut of J̌orqal Qun did we not say to each other that
Should a snake with *venomous* teeth
Provoke discord *between us*,
Let us not succumb to his provocations.
By explaining *only* mouth to mouth[2]
We shall believe *each other*![3]
Did we not agree to this? And now, my father the Qan, when you parted from me, did you explain mouth to mouth?[4]
Should a snake with *venomous* fangs
Spread slander about us,
Let us not give in to his slander.
By explaining *only* face to face[5]
We shall believe *each other*![6]
Did we not agree to this? And now, my father the Qan, when you separated from me, did you explain face to face? My father the Qan, even if I *and my followers* are few *in number*, I gave you no cause to seek for a more numerous *group*; even if I am bad, I gave you no cause to seek for *someone* better. If a two-shaft cart breaks the second shaft, the ox cannot pull it. Like that, was I not *also* your other shaft? If a two-wheel cart breaks the second wheel, it cannot move. Like that, was I not *also* your other wheel? If we speak of former days, after your father Qurčaqus Buyiruq Qan you became *qan* surely

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[1] Cf. above, §127, and below, §201.
[2] Lit., 'by teeth and mouth.'
[3] Cf. above, §164. For Hula'anu'ut Bolda'ut of J̌orqal Qun ('Red Hills of Deer [?] Cliff'), see RSH 1.638.
[4] Lit., 'by teeth and mouth.'
[5] Lit., 'by mouth and tongue.'
[6] Cf. above, §164.

because you were the eldest of forty sons. When you became *qan* you killed your two younger brothers Tai Temür Taiši and Buqa Temür; when your younger brother Erke Qara was about to be killed *too*, he escaped, saving his life, and submitted to Inanča Bilge Qan of the Naiman. Because you had become the murderer of your younger brothers, your paternal uncle Gür Qan moved against you. When he came *upon you*, you saved your life by fleeing with a hundred men; you escaped following the Selengge *River* downstream and sneaked away through the Qara'un Gorge.[1] Then, when you got out of there, you gave your daughter Huǰa'ur Ǔǰin *in marriage* to Toqto'a of the Merkit to please him.[2] Having got out from the Qara'un Gorge you came to my father Yisügei Qan and there and then said to him: "Rescue my people for me from my uncle Gür Qan." Approached by you in that manner, my father Yisügei Qan took with him Qunan and Baqaǰi from the Tayiči'ut. Saying, "I shall rescue your people for you," he arrayed his troops and set out. He pursued Gür Qan, who was at Qurban Telesüt, and twenty or thirty of his men towards Qašin; he rescued your people for you. From there you came to the Black Forest by the Tu'ula *River* and you, my father the Qan, became a sworn friend of Yisügei Qan. Then, Ong Qan my father, you gratefully said, "As for the favour of this good action of yours, I will repay your favour *even* to the children of your children – let *only* the protection of Heaven Above and Earth decide *how, and in what measure*!"[3] You spoke *thus* and were grateful.

'After that Erke Qara[4] requested troops from Inanča Bilge Qan of the Naiman and moved against you. When he came *upon you*, you saved your life by abandoning your own people and, fleeing with a few men, you went to the *gür qan* of the Qara Kidat on the Čui River, in the country of the Sarta'ul. In less than a year you rebelled

[1] Cf. above, §150.
[2] I.e., to establish friendly relations with the Merkit.
[3] Cf. §163 ad fin.
[4] Written Erge Qara. Cf. §151.

against the *gür qan* and departed once more. Reduced to straits as you went through the country of the Ui'ut and the Tang'ut,[1] you fed yourself by milking five goats, muzzling *their kids*; you fed yourself *also* by bleeding your camel, and came to me with only a blind yellowish-white horse with a black tail and mane. When I learned that you, *my* father the Qan, had arrived in such straits, remembering that you and my father Yisügei Qan had formerly declared yourselves sworn friends, I sent as envoys Taqai and Sükegei to meet you; furthermore, from the Bürgi Escarpment on the Kelüren *River*, I in person went to receive you, and we met at Lake Güse'ür. Since you had arrived in *such* straits, I levied taxes and gave them to you. Because of your former declaration of sworn friendship with my father, the two of us declared ourselves father and son at the Black Forest by the Tu'ula: is that not the reason *why we did it*?[2]

'That winter I brought you into *my* camp and took care of you. When winter was over and summer had passed, in the autumn I rode against Toqto'a Beki of the Merkit. I fought with him at Mürüče Se'ül by the Qadiqliq[3] Ridge. I pursued Toqto'a Beki in the direction of the Barquǰin Lowland. I plundered the Merkit: I seized their many herds of horses and palatial tents, their grain*stores* – all – and gave it to *you*, *my* father the Qan. Your hunger I did not allow to last until noon, your leanness I did not allow to last until the middle of the month.

'Then we pursued Buyiruq Qan the Güčügür and forced him to cross the Altai from Soqoq Usun by the Uluq Taq; and, going along the Ürünggü *River* downstream, we finished him off[4] at *Lake* Kičil[5] Baš.

'As we were returning from that place, Kökse'ü Sabraq of the Naiman had arrayed his troops at the

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[1] Cf. above, §§151 and 152.
[2] See above, §151.
[3] = Qadingliq. For these localities see RSH 1.640.
[4] Cf. above, §158.
[5] = Kišil.

Bayidaraq Confluence and was ready for battle. But, as evening fell, we said, "We shall fight early tomorrow!", and spent the night in *battle* order. *Then* you, my father the Qan, had fires lit in the place where you were stationed and in the night moved up along the Qara Se'ül *River*. When I looked out early next morning, you were no longer in your position; you had moved out. I said, "They certainly treat us like burnt offerings *at the sacrifice for the dead*," and I moved out too. Crossing *the river* at the Eder Altai Confluence, I came *back* and pitched camp in the Sa'ari Steppe.[1]

'Then Kökse'ü Sabraq pursued you and seized the wife and people of Senggüm – all of them. He captured *also* half the people and livestock belonging to[2] you, *my* father the Qan, which were at Telegetü Pass. Qudu[3] and Čila'un, the sons of Toqto'a of the Merkit, and their people were with you, but at the time of that engagement they deserted you and left, moving into the Barquǰin *Lowland* to join their father. Then you, my father the Qan, sent a message saying, "I have been robbed of my people by Kökse'ü Sabraq of the Naiman; my son, send me your 'four steeds.'"[4] Not thinking the way you do, I there and then sent you Bo'orču, Muqali, Boroqul and Čila'un Ba'atur, these "four steeds" of mine, and arrayed my troops. Before my "four steeds" *arrived*, Senggüm had just joined battle with Kökse'ü Sabraq at Hula'an Qut; his horse had been shot in the thigh by an arrow and he *himself* was about to be captured. At that moment, my "four steeds" arrived and saved Senggüm, and they recovered *also* his wife together with his people for him – all of them. Thereupon you, my father the Qan, gratefully said, "My son Temüǰin, by sending his 'four steeds', has rescued my lost people for me."[5]

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[1] Cf. above, §§159, 161.
[2] Lit., 'of.'
[3] I.e., Qutu. Cf. §§141, 142, 144, 157, 162.
[4] See above, §163.
[5] Cf. above, §§162-163.

'Now, my father the Qan, out of what grievance do you reprimand me? To *explain* the nature of *this* grievance, send me *your* messengers. When you send them, send Qulbari Quri and Idürgen.[1] If you do not send both *of them*, send me *at least* the latter.'

178 To these words, Ong Qan said, 'Oh! Sinful *that I am*!

By abandoning my son
I abandoned the norm;
By parting from him
I parted from *my* duty.'

Pained in his heart, Ong Qan said, 'Now, if I think evil when I see my son, let my blood be shed like this!' And, taking the oath, he pricked the ball of his little finger with his arrow-notching knife, let the blood trickle and poured it into a small birch-bark casket. He sent it *by the messenger* saying, 'Give *this* to my son.'

179 Činggis Qa'an also sent the following verbal message to sworn friend J̌amuqa: 'Because you cannot bear the sight *of me*, you caused a rift between my father the Qan and me. *In the past*, the first of us to rise could drink of the blue cup of *my* father the Qan. As I got up first and drank of it you were jealous. Now you may drain the blue cup of *my* father the Qan, but how much more will you *be able* to consume?'

Činggis Qa'an also sent the following verbal message to Altan and Quča: 'When you rejected me, you two, did you say that you would leave me, *breaking with me* openly, or did you say that you would leave me after you had consulted *only* among yourselves? Quča, when I said that, of *all of* us, you as the son of Nekün Taiši should become *qan*, you declined. When I said that you, Altan, should then become *qan* and govern us like your father Qutula Qan had been governing us, you too declined. And when I said, "You, Sača and Taiču, become the *qan*s," because they were the sons of Bartan Ba'atur[2] from the senior line, I was unable to *obtain their consent*.

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[1] Called Itürgen in §184 below.

[2] An error for Barqaq Ba'atur. See RSH 2.645-46.

Because my urging you to become *qan* had no effect, when I was told by you to be the *qan* I governed *the people*. Had you become *qan*, when as vanguard I would have been sent speeding after many foes, *then*, with Heaven's protection, while plundering the enemy people,

Maidens and ladies with beautiful cheeks,
And geldings with fine croups, for you
I would have brought.
When ordered to go ahead and round up
Wild beasts *in a battue*, for you
I would have driven the beasts of the cliffs
Until their forelegs pressed together.
For you I would have driven the beasts of the steep banks
Until their thighs pressed together.
For you I would have driven the beasts of the steppe
Until their bellies pressed together.[1]

'Now, be the good companions of my father the Qan, for I fear *people* might say that you grow *easily* tired *of your friends*. Don't let it be said that *your achievements* were only *due* to the support of *me*, the *ča'ut quri*.[2] And do not let anyone settle at the source of the Three Rivers![3] He sent this message.

180 Činggis Qa'an also sent the following verbal message to younger brother To'oril: 'The reason for calling you "younger brother" *is this*: *Once* Oqda Bo'ol[4] was brought as captive by Tumbinai and Čaraqai Lingqu. Oqda Bo'ol's son was Sübegei Bo'ol. Sübegei Bo'ol's son was Kököčü Kirsa'an. Kököčü Kirsa'an's son was Yegei Qongtaqar.[5] You, To'oril, are Yegei Qongtaqar's son. You constantly flatter *Ong Qan* saying, "I will give you

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[1] Cf. above, §123.

[2] = *ja'ut quri*. Cf. above, §134.

[3] I.e. the Onon, the Tūla and the Kerulen. The 'source' of the three rivers is the area of Mount Burqan Qaldun.

[4] I.e., 'Oqda the Slave.'

[5] = J̌egei Qongdaqor. See above, §120.

people" – whose *people*? Altan and Qučar are surely not going to let anyone rule my people! The reason for my calling you "younger brother" *is that you are*

The threshold slave
Of my great-great-grandfather,
The personal door slave
Of my great-grandfather.[1]

Such is my message for you.'

181 Činggis Qa'an also sent the following verbal message to *his* sworn friend Senggüm: '*Although* I was indeed *like* a son born clothed and you *like* a son born naked,[2] *our* father the Qan looked after both of us equally; but you, sworn friend Senggüm, drove me out because you were jealous that I might come between *you and our father*. Now do not pain our father the Qan's heart. Evening and morning, coming in and going out, always be of comfort to him. Do not distress or rend the heart of our father the Qan by saying, without giving up your earlier intentions and while our father the Qan is still alive, that you will become *qan*!' And he *also* sent this message: 'Sworn friend Senggüm, send me *your* messengers. When you send them, send me Bilge Beki and Tödö'en. [If you do not send both *of them*,] send *at least* the latter. When you send messengers to me, father the Qan, send two messengers; sworn friend Senggüm, you also send two messengers; sworn friend J̌amuqa, you also send two messengers; Altan, you also send two messengers; Qučar, you also send two messengers; Ačiq Širun, you also send two messengers; Qači'un, you also send two messengers!' And he had these messages conveyed by word of mouth through Arqai Qasar and Sügegei J̌e'ün.

When the messages were delivered in this way, Senggüm said, 'When did he *ever* say "*our* father the Qan"? Didn't he *rather* say "the old murderer"? When did he *ever* call me "sworn friend"? Didn't he *rather* say *that I am like* "Toqto'a the shaman wearing the tail of a

[1] Cf. §§137 and 211.

[2] I.e., 'I am the adopted son and you the natural son (of Ong Qan).'

Sartaq sheep"[1]? I do understand the scheme behind these words *of his*: they are the words that precede a fight. You Bilge Beki and Tödö'en raise the war standard and fatten the geldings; there is no *time for* hesitation!'

And so Arqai Qasar returned from Ong Qan, but because the wife and children of Sügegei J̌e'ün were there with To'oril,[2] Sügegei J̌e'ün did not have the courage to go with Arqai and stayed behind. When Arqai arrived he reported these words *of Senggüm* to Činggis Qa'an.

182 Činggis Qa'an then left and pitched camp at Lake Balǰuna. When he was about to encamp, he met right there the Qorulas of Čo'os Čaqān.[3] These Qorulas submitted to him without fighting.

From Alaquš Digit Quri of the Önggüt came Asan[4] the Sartaq. He had a white camel and was driving a thousand wethers along the Ergüne River downstream in order to buy *pelts of* sables and squirrels. As he drew in to water *his wethers* at *Lake* Balǰuna he met Činggis Qa'an.

183 Činggis Qa'an was also watering *his animals* at the same *Lake* Balǰuna when Qasar, leaving *behind* his wife and his three sons Yegü, Yisüngge and Tuqu with Ong Qan, departed with his companions – few in number and dispossessed of all but their bodies. Saying, '*I will join* my elder brother,' he searched for Činggis Qa'an. He climbed the ridges of Qara'un J̌idun,[5] but he could not find him *there*; being in *dire* straits he ate hides and sinews and went on, *eventually* joining Činggis Qa'an at *Lake* Balǰuna.

Činggis Qa'an received Qasar and rejoiced. They agreed to send messengers to Ong Qan. Through Qali'udar of the J̌e'üret and Čaqurqan[6] of the Uriangqai *Činggis Qa'an* sent a message. He told *Qali'udar and*

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[1] I.e., somebody to laugh at. See RSH 2.652-54 for this saying.
[2] This To'oril is Sügegei's brother mentioned in §180 above.
[3] Cf. §141 and note there.
[4] = Ḥasan.
[5] I.e., 'Dark (*or* Black) Ridge.'
[1] = Ča'urqan. See above, §120.

Čaqurqan, 'Tell *my* father the Qan that these are the words of Qasar,' saying:

'I watched for my elder brother
But lost sight of him;
I searched for his tracks
But could not find his trail;[1]
I called him but my voice
He did not hear.
I *now* lie gazing at the stars
I with a clod of earth as my pillow.

My wife and sons are with *you*, *my* father the Qan. If, hopefully, I get *from you someone I can* trust, I will come *back* to *my* father the Qan. Tell him that *Qasar* sent this message!' He also said *to them*, 'We shall follow close behind you and meet at Arqal Geügi[2] on the Kelüren *River*. You must come there!'

Having agreed on the time and place of meeting, Činggis Qa'an forthwith sent Qali'udar and Čaqurqan *on their mission*. He sent Jürčedei and Arqai ahead to reconnoitre, and at once set forth from Lake Balǰuna together with *the army*. They rode out and arrived at Arqal Geügi on the Kelüren *River*.

184 Qali'udar and Čaqurqan reached Ong Qan and gave him the verbal message sent from here,[3] saying, 'It is Qasar's message.' Ong Qan had set up his golden tent of thin woollen cloth and was feasting, not suspecting anything. Upon the words of Qali'udar and Čaqurqan, Ong Qan said, 'If it is so, let Qasar come!' He *then* said, 'I shall give Itürgen in trust.'[4] And he sent him with them.

And so they came, and as they were reaching the appointed place at Arqal Geügi, the envoy Itürgen seeing the signs of a multitude *in the distance*, turned back and fled. Qali'udar's horse being swift*er*, Qali'udar caught up with him, but did not venture to seize him; *instead*, going *now* in front of him, *now* behind him, he kept on

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[1] Cf. above, §56.
[2] I.e., 'Dry Dung Hook.' See RSH 2.662-64.
[3] I.e., from Lake Balǰuna, by Činggis Qa'an.
[4] I.e., as guarantor, as requested by Qasar.

obstructing *his way*. Čaqurqan's horse was slow*er*; at an arrow's shot from the rear,[1] he hit Itürgen's gold-saddled black gelding on the tip of its rump, so that it sat *on its haunches*. Qali'udar and Čaqurqan then took Itürgen captive and brought him to Činggis Qa'an. Not speaking to Itürgen, Činggis Qa'an said, 'Take him to Qasar; let Qasar decide *how to deal with him*!' They took him to Qasar who, without saying a word to him, cut Itürgen down and cast away *his body* there and then.

185 Qali'udar and Čaqurqan said to Činggis Qa'an, 'Ong Qan is off his guard; he has pitched his golden tent and is feasting. Let us quickly move *forward from here* and, travelling through the night, let us attack him by surprise and surround him!'

Čiinggis Qa'an approved these words and sent Jürčedei and Arqai ahead to reconnoitre. They travelled through the night and having reached *Ong Qan's camp*, which was at the Jer Gorge pass of Jeje'er Heights, they surrounded it.

They fought for three nights and three days, but *our men* stood *firm*, surrounding *the Kereyit*, who on the third day were exhausted and surrendered. Ong Qan and Senggüm escaped during the night – how *they did so* was not known. One who fought *longer than the others* was Qadaq Ba'atur of the Jirgin. When he came out to surrender, Qadaq Ba'atur said, 'We fought three nights and three days. I said to myself, "How can I let my rightful lord[2] be seized and killed before my eyes?" Unable to forsake him, I struggled and kept on fighting so that he could escape and save his life. Now, if I shall be made to die, I shall die, but if Činggis Qa'an favours me, I will serve him.'

Činggis Qa'an approved Qadaq Ba'atur's words, saying, 'Is he not a *true* fighting man who says that he is unable to forsake his rightful lord and lets him escape, saving his life? He is a man worthy to be one's com-

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[1] Lit., 'from the furthest point an arrow would reach from behind.'
[2] Lit., '*qan*.' Cf. above, §149.

panion.' And favouring him, he did not have him killed. 'Because Quyildar *lost* his life,[1] Qadaq Ba'atur and one hundred J̌irgin must serve Quyildar's wife and children. If boys are born to them, they must in turn serve Quyildar's *descendants* to the offspring of *his* offspring. If girls are born to them, their parents must not betroth them according to their own wishes, for *their daughters* must be servants and attend to Quyildar's wife and children.' He gave this order favouring *Qadaq Ba'atur*.

Because Quyildar Sečen had opened his mouth *and spoken first*, *even* before *J̌ürčedei*[2], Činggis Qa'an favoured him with the following order: 'On account of Quyildar's service, Quyildar's *descendants* to the offspring of *his* offspring shall receive the bounty *granted* to orphans.'

[1] See above, §175.
[2] See above, §171.

CHAPTER SEVEN

186 Thus Č*inggis Qa'an* crushed and despoiled the Kereyit people, distributing them on all sides. He gave Taqai Ba'atur of the Suldus one hundred J̌irgin *in reward* for his services. Further, Činggis Qa'an ordered *as follows*: Ong Qan's younger brother J̌aqa Gambu had two daughters. The elder one, Ibaqa Beki, Činggis Qa'an took for himself. The younger one, Sorqaqtani Beki, he gave to Tolui. For that reason, saying that J̌aqa Gambu and the personal subjects belonging to him should be kept together and be *regarded like* the second shaft *of a cart for himself*, he showed favour to *J̌aqa Gambu* and did not take *his people* away from him.

187 Činggis Qa'an also gave the following order: 'Because of Badai's and Kišiliq's service, they shall have Ong Qan's golden tent *just* as it stands, with his golden bowls and vessels, together with the people who looked after them, and the Ongqoǰit Kereyit as their bodyguards. You, *Badai and Kišiliq*, enjoy *the privilege of* being freemen to the offspring of *your* offspring, allowed to carry quivers and drink the ceremonial wine!

When swiftly pursuing many foes,
If you get booty,
What you get you shall take away.
When *in a battue*
You slaughter wild beasts,
What you slaughter you shall take away.'

He further ordered: 'Because of the vital service performed by Badai and Kišiliq, and under the protection of Eternal Heaven, I crushed the Kereyit people and, indeed, gained the high throne. In future, the offspring of *my* offspring who will occupy *this* throne of mine must successively remember those *two* who performed such service!' So he ordered.

When *the Mongols* subjugated the Kereyit people, they distributed them among each other so that nobody went short. They distributed the Tümen Tübe'en[1] and they all took of them until they had plenty. They despoiled the Olon Dongqayit in less than a day. As for the brave J̌irgin who *used* to strip the blood-stained clothing and possessions *from the enemy*, they divided and apportioned them, but could not give some to everybody. Having in this way annihilated the Kereyit people, *Činggis Qa'an* spent that winter at Abǰi'a Ködeger.[2]

188 Ong Qan and Senggüm escaped with their bare lives[3] and went away, unwilling to submit *to Činggis Qa'an*. Ong Qan, who was suffering from thirst, was going *to drink* at Nekün Usun[4] of Didik Saqal[5] when he came across the Naiman patrolman Qori Sübeči. Qori Sübeči seized Ong Qan and although *the latter* declared, 'I am Ong Qan', *Qori Sübeči* did not recognise him and, disbelieving him, slew him on the spot.

Senggüm did not go to Nekün Usun of Didik Saqal, but bypassed it and entered the Čöl.[6] While searching for water, he[7] dismounted and stalked *some* wild asses that were standing *there*, plagued by gadflies. Senggüm's companion, the equerry Kököčü had his wife with him. With Senggüm they were altogether three of them. He[8] gave his horse to his equerry Kököčü to hold. The equerry Kököčü led the horse away and started trotting back *home*. His wife said,

'When you wore gold-*embroidered* clothes,
And ate tasty dishes,

He[8] called you "my Kököčü." How can you go away *now*, forsaking and abandoning in this way your lord

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[1] = Tümen Tübegen. Cf. above, §§170, 171.
[2] I.e., 'Shrunk (?) Height (*or* Elevation).'
[3] Lit., 'with nothing other than their bodies.' Cf. the end of §109 above.
[4] I.e., 'Slave Water (= Spring?).'
[5] I.e., 'Mud Beard.' For this odd name see RSH 2.675-76.
[6] I.e., 'the Desert' (= the Gobi).
[7] Lit., 'Senggüm.'
[8] I.e., Senggüm.

Senggüm?' So saying, his wife stopped *there* and remained behind.

Kököčü said, 'Surely you have said to yourself, "I want to take Senggüm as my man!"' To these words his wife said, 'You call me "A woman with a dog's face;"[1] *all the same* give him at least his golden cup – let him at least draw water and drink!' Thereupon the equerry Kököčü threw the golden cup back at him, saying, 'Take it!', and trotted off.

And so he came *to us*, and upon his arrival the equerry Kököčü said to Činggis Qa'an, 'This is how I have come, leaving Senggüm in the Čöl', and he related from beginning to end everything that had been said between *himself and his wife*. Činggis Qa'an *then* ordered: 'To his wife I will show favour. As for the equerry Kököčü himself, who comes here having in this manner abandoned his rightful lord, who would now trust such a man and take him for a companion?' He cut him down and cast away *his body*.

189 Gürbesü, the mother of Tayang Qan of the Naiman, said, 'Ong Qan was the great old *qan* of former days. Bring his head here and if it is really his we shall sacrifice to it!' She sent a messenger to Qori Sübeči and had him cut off and bring back his[2] head. She recognized it and placed it on a large white felt rug. She had her daughters-in-law perform the rites *pertaining* to a daughter-in-law, ordered that the ceremonial wine be drunk and the *horse* fiddle be played, and, holding the cup, made an offering *to the head*.

The head, being then so honoured, laughed. 'It laughed', said Tayang Qan; he stamped on it *and crushed it* to pieces. Thereupon Kökse'ü Sabraq said, 'You have cut off the dead *qan*'s head and brought it here; the next *thing* you *do is to* crush it to pieces! This is not right. The sound of our dogs' barking has turned nasty.[3] Inanča

[1] I.e., a shameless bitch – referring to an unfaithful wife.

[2] I.e., Ong Qan's.

[3] I.e., of bad omen.

Bilge Qan *formerly* said:

"My wife is young, but
I, her husband, have become old.
This *son of mine* Tayang
I begot *only* through magic.
Ah, *this* son of mine, born a weakling,
Has grown weak and emaciated:[1]
Will he be able to care for and control
My numerous, base and unruly people?"

So he said. Now the dogs are barking and this barking sounds as if *a calamity* is approaching. The rule of our queen Gürbesü has become harsh, and you, my *qan* Torluq Tayang, are soft. You have no thought or skill except for falconry and hunting.'

Being told so, Tayang Qan then said, 'We hear that there are a few Mongols yonder in the east. These people with their quivers terrified the great old Ong Qan of former days, causing him to desert his own companions and perish. Do they now want to be rulers themselves? Even if there are two shining lights, the sun and the moon, in the sky above – both sun and moon are indeed there – yet how can there be two rulers on earth? Let us go and bring here those few Mongols!'

At that, his mother Gürbesü said, 'What could we do with them? The Mongol people have *always* smelt bad and worn grimy clothes. They live apart, and far away. Let them stay *there*. But we might perhaps have their fine daughters and daughters-in-law brought here and, making them wash their hands, perhaps just let them milk our cows and sheep.'

On this Tayang Qan said, 'If that is so, what do they have *for us to worry about*? Let us go to those Mongols and we will surely bring back their quivers!'

190 To these words Kökse'ü Sabraq said, 'How boastfully you speak! O Torluq Qan, is this proper? You had better stop *talking*!' Despite Kökse'ü Sabraq's warning, *Tayang Qan* sent an envoy called Torbi Taš to Alaquš Digit Quri

[1] Doubtful interpretation; see RSH 2.682.

of the Önggüt with this message: 'We are told that there are a few Mongols yonder east. You be the right wing. I shall join you from here and we will take the quivers of those few Mongols!'

Alaquš Digit Quri replied to these words saying, 'I cannot be the right wing.' Having sent this message, Alaquš Digit Quri had the following communication conveyed to Činggis Qa'an through his envoy called Yuqunan: 'Tayang Qan of the Naiman is coming to take your quivers. He approached me saying that I should be the right wing, but I refused. Now I am sending you this warning, for I fear that if he comes you may be robbed of your quivers.'

Just at that time Činggis Qa'an was hunting in the Teme'en Steppe;[1] he was encircling Tülkin Če'üt[2] when Yuqunan, the envoy sent by Alaquš Digit Quri, arrived to deliver this message.

On receiving this message, and whilst *still* at the hunt, they at once discussed what to do. Many of the men said, 'Our geldings are lean, there is nothing we can do now.' To that Otčigin Noyan *retorted* saying, 'How can one make the excuse that the geldings are lean? My geldings are fat! How can we stay put when we hear such words *as these*?' Then Belgütei Noyan spoke: 'If, when one is *still* alive, an enemy is allowed to take away one's quiver, what is the advantage of living? Isn't it right for any man born that when he dies he should lie with his quiver and bow alongside his bones? The Naiman people are boastful, bragging that they possess a great country and a large population. If *now*, grasping the chance their boasts *afford us*, we set out on a campaign and remove their quivers, would *this* be *so* difficult? If we go forward, won't their numerous herds come to a halt and stay behind? Burdened with their palatial tents, won't they abandon them? Won't their many people depart and seek shelter in high places? How can we stay put and allow such *people* to keep boasting in this way? Let us ride

[1] Lit., 'Camel Steppe (*or* Plain).'
[2] I.e., 'Tülkin (?) Hills.'

against them at once!' Thus he spoke.

191 Činggis Qa'an approved these words of Belgütei Noyan and, returning from the hunt, moved from Abǰiqa Köteger[1] and set up camp at Keltegei Qada, at the Or Bend of the Qalqa *River*.[2] He counted his troops and on the spot formed units of a thousand *men*, appointing the commanders of a thousand, the commanders of a hundred and the commanders of ten. Thereupon he appointed as chamberlains[3] Dödei Čerbi, Doqolqu Čerbi, Ögele Čerbi, Tolun Čerbi, Bučaran Čerbi and Söyiketü Čerbi. Then, having appointed these six chamberlains, he formed units of a thousand, a hundred, and ten *men*, and he chose and recruited eighty *men* to serve on roster as nightguards and seventy *men* to serve as dayguards. He recruited them from the sons and younger brothers of commanders of a thousand and of a hundred, as well as from the sons and younger brothers of mere ordinary people, choosing and recruiting those who were able and of good appearance.

Showing favour to Arqai Qasar, he then ordered: 'Let him choose himself his brave warriors and form a unit of a thousand to fight before me in time of battle; in the many *other* days *of peace* they shall serve as my dayguards.' He *also* said, 'Ögöle Čerbi shall be the commander of the seventy dayguards, *acting* in consultation with Qudus Qalčan.'[4]

192 Činggis Qa'an further ordered: 'The quiverbearers, the dayguards, the stewards, the doorkeepers and the grooms are to go on roster duty in day*time*. Before the sun sets they shall retire *to make way* for the nightguards;[5] they shall go out to their geldings and spend the night *there*. At night, the nightguards shall see that *those of* their *men whose duty it is* to lie all around *Our* tent do so, and they shall put on roster *those of* their *men whose*

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[1] The Abǰi'a Ködeger of §187 above.

[2] See last note in §175.

[3] *Čerbin*. See note 2 in §120 above.

[4] I.e., sharing command with him. Ögöle = Ögele. See above, §120, and RSH 2.693.

[5] I.e., so as to be relieved by the nightguards.

duty it is to stand at the door *to guard it*. The following morning, when We eat soup, the quiverbearers and the dayguards shall report to the nightguards; the quiverbearers, dayguards, stewards and doorkeepers shall *all* carry out their respective tasks and take their *appointed* places. When they have completed their days of service, *consisting of* a three-day and a three-night turn of duty, and have passed the three nights exactly in the same manner,[1] they shall be relieved, but the night *after their* relief, they shall *still* be on duty as nightguards, and shall spend the night lying down all around.' So he ordered.

In this way Činggis Qa'an, having formed the units of a thousand, appointed the chamberlains, recruited eighty *men* to serve on roster as nightguards and seventy *men* to serve as dayguards; he let Arqai Qasar choose the brave men,[2] and set out against the Naiman people from Keltegei Qada, at the Or Bend of the Qalqa *River*.

193 In the Year of the Rat, on the sixteenth day of the first month of summer (17 May 1204), *the day of* the Red Circle,[3] he consecrated the standard[4] and set forth. He rode upstream along the Kelüren *River* and sent J̌ebe and Qubilai ahead to reconnoitre. When they reached the Sa'ari Steppe, the Naiman patrol was *already* there, on the top of *Mount* Qangqarqan. Our patrolmen *and theirs* went in pursuit of one another. The Naiman patrol seized one of our patrolmen who had a white horse with a rather poor saddle.[5] When the Naiman patrol caught that horse, they consulted among themselves and said, 'The Mongols' geldings are lean!'

When our *soldiers* reached the Sa'ari Steppe they halted there and discussed what to do. Then Dödei Čerbi gave the following advice to Činggis Qa'an: 'It is we who are few *in number* and, in addition to being few, we have arrived *here* exhausted. So, let us indeed halt and set up

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[1] I.e., as ordered.

[2] Translating with *ilqājǔ* (< *ilqa'aǰǔ*) rather than *ilqaǰǔ* (RSH 2.694).

[3] I.e., 'of the full moon.' Cf. above, §§81, 118.

[4] Cf. above, §106.

[5] I.e., a rather loose saddle.

camp, spreading over the Sa'ari Steppe here until our geldings have eaten their fill. Let every single one[1] *of us* each light fires in five different places and frighten *the enemy* with *all these camp* fires. They say the Naiman people are numerous, but they *also* say that their *qan* is a weakling who has not yet come out of his tent. While we keep them in doubt with the fires, our geldings will eat their fill. When our geldings are satiated, we shall chase the Naiman patrolmen and, pressing hard on them, we shall make them rejoin the main body *of the army*. If we engage them in combat in that confusion, won't we get the better of them?'

Approving these words of advice *from Dödei Čerbi*, Činggis Qa'an gave the following order: '*Things* being so, let them light the fires!', and he proclaimed *it as* law to the soldiers.[2] Thus, they set up camp spreading over the Sa'ari Steppe and everyone[1] was made to light fires in five different places.

At night the Naiman patrolmen, seeing *so* many night-fires from the top of *Mount* Qangqarqan, said, 'Did we not say that the Mongols are only few in number? Their *camp* fires are more numerous than the stars!' They had sent to Tayang Qan the little white horse with the rather poor saddle; *now* they sent him this message: 'The Mongol troops have set up camp so as to cover the *whole* Sa'ari Steppe; they seem to increase daily, and their fires are more numerous than the stars.'

194 When this news from the patrolmen reached him, Tayang Qan was at Qačir Usun[3] in the Qangqai *Mountains*. Upon receiving the news he sent word to his son Güčülük Qan: 'The geldings of the Mongols are lean, but *our* patrolmen say that their *camp* fires are more numerous than the stars. The Mongols are, *therefore*, many.

If we engage them *and fight them* to the end,
Will it not be difficult to disengage ourselves?

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[1] Lit., 'every living person', i.e. every individual in the camp without exception.

[2] For translation here of *jasaq as* 'law', see RSH 2.697.

[3] I.e., 'Mule Water.'

If we engage them *and fight them* to the end,
They will not blink their black eyes.
Is it advisable for us
To fight these tough Mongols
Who do not flinch *even* if their cheeks are pierced
And their black blood gushes forth?

We are told that the geldings of the Mongols are lean. Let us move, withdrawing our people across the Altai. We shall *then* reorganize our troops and lure them[1] after us as we go. We shall march until we reach the southern slopes of the Altai, fighting a dog's fight.[2] Our geldings are fat: when we have made their bellies leaner and have exhausted the geldings of the Mongols we shall *turn back and* smash into their faces.' He sent this message.

To these words Güčülük Qan said, 'Again *that* woman Tayang! He speaks such words because he has lost courage. Where would this vast number of Mongols have come from? Most Mongols, together with J̌amuqa, are here with us. *That* woman Tayang,

Who *dares* not walk further than
A pregnant woman *goes* to urinate;
Who does not *even* venture so far as
A wheel-*tied* calf *reaches* for its feed,

has lost heart and has sent me that message, hasn't he?'

Güčülük Qan through the envoy had his words conveyed to his father to hurt and distress him; to these words, whereby Tayang Qan himself was spoken of as behaving like a woman, Tayang Qan said, 'May the strong and proud Güčülük not lose this pride of his on the day when we meet *on the battlefield* and slay one another! When we meet *on the battlefield* and fight to the end it will surely be difficult to disengage ourselves!'

Upon these words Qori Sübeči, a high official who held command under Tayang Qan, said, 'Your father Inanča Bilge Qan never showed a man's back or a gelding's rump to an enemy that was his match. Now you, how can you lose heart when it is *still so* early in the

[1] I.e., the Mongols.
[2] I.e., engaging in skirmishes.

morning? Had we known that you would have lost courage in this manner, shouldn't we have brought your mother Gürbesü, even though she is *only* a woman, and given her command of the army? What a pity, alas, that Kökse'ü Sabraq should have become *so* old! The discipline in our army has grown lax! *This* is, surely, the *favourable* time and the destiny of the Mongols *decreed by Heaven and Earth*. We are finished! Ah, weakling Tayang, it looks as if you are quite powerless.' Thus he spoke and, having struck on his quiver, he trotted off *and went his* separate way.

195 At this Tayang Qan grew angry and said, 'A life *means* to die, a body *means* to suffer: it is the same *destiny* for all! That being so, let us fight!' Moving from Qačir Usun he went downstream along the Tamir *River* and crossed the Orqon. Passing along the eastern fringe of the Naqu Cliff he reached Čakirma'ut,[1] where Činggis Qa'an's patrolmen saw him as he was approaching. They sent a message *to Činggis Qa'an* saying, 'The Naiman have arrived and are drawing near.'

When this news reached him, Činggis Qa'an said, 'The more numerous, the greater damage; the less numerous, the lesser damage.'[2] He rode against them and, having driven away their patrolmen, he arrayed his troops and together *with the army leaders* decided to advance in 'caragana' marching-order, to stand in 'lake' battle-formation and fight a 'chisel' combat.[3]

Having spoken thus, Činggis Qa'an in person formed the vanguard, putting Qasar in charge of the main body *of the army* and Otčigin Noyan in charge of the reserve horses. The Naiman withdrew from Čakirma'ut and took up position south of Naqu Cliff, along the mountain fringes. Then our patrolmen arrived driving away the Naiman patrolmen and pursuing them until they joined the main body *of their army* south of Naqu Cliff.

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[1] I.e., 'Three-Year-Old Deer (?).'

[2] A popular saying, used here with reference to Tayang Qan's more numerous forces.

[3] For these military tactics see RSH 2.704-05.

Tayang Qan saw them arriving thus in *hot* pursuit. At that time J̌amuqa had *also* set forth with his troops and had come with the Naiman. As he was there, Tayang Qan asked J̌amuqa, 'What sort *of people are* those, who are like wolves that come chasing a flock of sheep and pursuing them as far as the sheep-pen? What people are these, drawing near in such *hot* pursuit?'

J̌amuqa said, 'My sworn friend Temüǰin has been feeding "four hounds" on human flesh, leashing[1] them with iron chains. They are the ones approaching in pursuit of our patrol. Those "four hounds",

Their foreheads are of hardened copper,
They have chisels for snouts,
And awls for tongues;
With hearts of iron,
And swords for whips,
They advance feeding on dew
And riding on the wind.
On the day of killing
They eat human flesh, those ones;
On the day of battles
They make human flesh
Their provisions,[2] those ones.

Loosed from their iron chains – which had surely restrained them! – they are now full of joy and are approaching thus, slavering *at the mouth*', he said. 'Who are those "four hounds"? They are J̌ebe and Qubilai, J̌elme and Sübe'etei. Those are the four.'

Tayang Qan said, 'Let us then stay away from those vile *creatures*!' He retreated in haste and took up position astride the mountain.

When he saw them approaching from the rear and encircling them,[3] leaping in delight, Tayang Qan again asked J̌amuqa, 'What sort *of people are* these, who are like foals let loose early *in the morning* – foals that after sucking their mother's milk are *always* gambolling

[1] Lit., 'binding.'
[2] I.e., as provisions for the road.
[3] I.e., Tayang Qan and J̌amuqa.

around her?[1] Why are they approaching, encircling us in this manner?'

J̌amuqa said, 'These are called the Uru'ut and the Mangqut:

They rush after men *armed* with spears
And strip them of their blood-stained clothing;
Chasing after men *armed* with swords,
They fell and kill them,
And take away their valuables and clothing.

Do they not rejoice now as they draw near, bounding thus in delight?'

Thereupon Tayang Qan said, 'If that is so, let us stay away from those vile *creatures*!' He took up position, retreating further up the mountain.

Tayang Qan *again* asked J̌amuqa, 'Who is the one approaching from the rear, coming forward at the head *of the army* and drawing near like a greedy, slavering falcon?'

J̌amuqa said, 'The one approaching us is my sworn friend Temüǰin. Over his whole body,

There is not a *single* chink
Where a hard copper awl can drive in its spike;
Nor a *single* chink
Where a wrought-iron sewing needle
Can insert its sharp point.

My sworn friend Temüǰin is indeed drawing near, slavering thus like a greedy falcon. Have you seen him? *You* Naiman friends used *to say that* if you saw the Mongols, you would not leave them even the skin of a kid's hoof. Behold *them now*!'

On these words Tayang Qan said, '*This is* simply dreadful! Let us take position *further* up the mountain!' They climbed up the mountain and took position.

Again Tayang Qan asked J̌amuqa, 'And who is the one that is approaching from the rear *as if* in a compact mass?' J̌amuqa said, 'Mother Hö'elün has raised one of her sons on human flesh:

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[1] Lit., 'their mother.'

His body is three fathoms *high*,
And he dines on three-year old cattle;
Wearing a three-layered armour,
He is pulled along *in his cart* by three bulls.
When he swallows a man complete with quiver,
It does not get stuck in his throat.
When he gulps down a whole man,
It does not fill his stomach.
When he is angry and draws *his bow*,
And releases a forked-tip arrow,
He shoots and pierces ten or twenty men
Who are beyond a mountain;
When he draws *his bow* and releases
A long-range thin arrow,
He shoots and pierces through his enemies,
The ones he fights
Who are beyond the steppe.
When he shoots, drawing *his bow* to the full,
He covers nine hundred fathoms;
When he shoots, drawing it *only* a little,
He covers five hundred fathoms.
Different from all *other* men,
He was born a coiling dragon-snake.
His name is J̌oči Qasar.

That is he!' Tayang Qan then said, 'If this is so, let us strive for the mountain heights and go further up!' They climbed *further up* the mountain and took position.

Again Tayang Qan asked J̌amuqa, 'Who is approaching after him?' J̌amuqa said, 'He is the youngest son of Mother Hö'elün. He is called Otčigin, the Easy-going. He is an early sleeper and a late riser, yet

He does not lag behind, *when the army is* in full array;
He does not lag behind, *when the army is* in position.'

Tayang Qan said, 'If this is so, let us go up to the top of the mountain!'

196 After speaking such words to Tayang Qan, J̌amuqa separated from the Naiman and went off on his own. He sent *an envoy* to deliver a verbal message to Činggis Qa'an saying, 'Tell *this* to the sworn friend', and he said:

'At my words Tayang Qan has lost his head
And in panic he has scrambled to the heights.
Frightened to death by *the words from* my mouth
He has climbed up the mountain.
Sworn friend, take care!
Up they went, climbing the mountain,
And have lost the will to resist.

As for me, I have separated from the Naiman.' He sent *this* message.

Late in the day Činggis Qa'an surrounded the mountain of Naqu Cliff; he took up position *with his troops* and spent the night *there*.

That night the Naiman moved *from their position* and tried to escape. Tumbling down from the height of Naqu *Cliff*, they piled on top of each other; they fell breaking their bones and died crushing each other till they were *like* heaps of rotten logs.

The following morning *Činggis Qa'an* finished off Tayang Qan. Güčülük, who had been staying apart *from the rest* moved *from there* with a few men, abandoning his own companions. When *the Mongol troops* caught up with him, he set up a circular camp at the Tamir *River*, but unable to hold that camp he *again* set out and fled further away.

Činggis Qa'an utterly defeated and conquered the people of the Naiman tribe on the southern slopes of the Altai. The J̌adaran, Qatagin, Salǰi'ut, Dörben, Tayiči'ut, Onggirat and other *people* who had been with J̌amuqa also submitted on that occasion.

Činggis Qa'an had Tayang's mother Gürbesü brought to him and said to her, 'You used to say that the Mongols have a bad smell, didn't you? Why, *then*, did you come now?' And Činggis Qa'an took her *as wife*.

197 In that same Year of the Rat (1204), in the autumn, Činggis Qa'an fought with Toqto'a Beki of the Merkit at the Qaradal Source. He dislodged him *from there* and subdued his tribe and *all his* people in the Sa'ari Steppe.

Toqto'a, with his sons Qudu[1] and Čila'un and a few people, dispossessed of all but their bodies,[2] got away by flight.

When the Merkit people were thus being subdued, Dayir Usun of the Qo'as Merkit[3] took his daughter Qulan Qatun with him and came to offer her to Činggis Qa'an. On the way he was hindered by *some* soldiers and met Naya'a Noyan of the Ba'arin. Dayir Usun said to him, 'I am on my way to offer this daughter of mine to Činggis Qa'an.' Detaining him, Naya'a Noyan then said, 'Let us go together to offer your daughter.' As he detained him, he said, 'In *this* time of disorder, if you go alone, soldiers on the way will certainly not leave even you alive, and your daughter too will be in *much* trouble.' And he held Dayir Usun for three days and three nights.

After that Naya'a Noyan took Qulan Qatun and Dayir Usun, and brought them together to Činggis Qa'an. Činggis Qa'an then said, 'Naya'a, why did you detain her?' He got very angry and, ordering that *Naya'a* be rigorously and minutely questioned, made *this case a matter of* law.[4]

While they were questioning him, Qulan Qatun said, 'Naya'a said *to my father*, "I am a high officer of Činggis Qa'an. Let us *go* together to offer your daughter to the Qa'an. The soldiers on the way will be troublesome." So he warned us against *going alone*. Now, had we met with other troops but Naya'a's, no doubt we would have been intercepted and would have got into difficulties. Perhaps our *chance* meeting with this Naya'a was good *for us*. Now that Naya'a is being questioned, the Qa'an may condescend to inspect my body, which my father and mother bore by Heaven's will.' She had this message conveyed *to Činggis Qa'an*.

When Naya'a was questioned he said, 'I have no

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[1] Cf. above, §177.

[2] Cf. above, §109.

[3] A mistake for U'as Merkit.

[4] I.e., made a law to deal with such matters in the future.

other face than that *known to* the Qa'an:[1]

If I come across maidens and ladies
Of foreign people with beautiful cheeks,
And geldings with fine croups,
I *always* say, "They are the Qa'an's!"

If *ever* I think differently from this, let me die!'

Činggis Qa'an approved of Qulan Qatun's testimony; then, that very day, he examined her accordingly and it turned out to be just as Qulan Qatun had stated.

Činggis Qa'an showed favour to Qulan Qatun and loved her. As Naya'a's words had been confirmed, he approved of him. He showed favour to him *too*, saying, 'He is a truthful *man*, I shall entrust him with an important task!'

[1] I.e., 'I am sincere and loyal to the Qa'an.'

CHAPTER EIGHT

198 After *Činggis Qa'an* subjugated the Merkit people, of the two wives of Toqto'a Beki's eldest son Qudu – Tögei and Döregene – he gave Döregene to Ögödei Qa'an.

Half of the Merkit people revolted and barricaded themselves in the Taiqal stronghold. Činggis Qa'an then gave orders that Čimbai, the son of Sorqan Šira, be put in command and sent him to attack the entrenched Merkit with the troops of the left[1] wing.

Unwilling to submit, Toqto'a with his sons Qudu and Čila'un – *only* a few men *altogether* – had escaped with their bare lives. Činggis Qa'an pursued them and spent the winter south of the Altai.

In the spring of the Year of the Ox (1205), he set out and crossed the Alai.[2] Güčülük Qan of the Naiman, after his people had been captured *by Činggis Qa'an*, would not submit and *with his companions* – a few men *in number* – went and made an alliance with Toqto'a of the Merkit. They came together at the Buqdurma source of the Erdis[3] River and arrayed their troops.

When Činggis Qa'an arrived they fought. Toqto'a was struck there and then by a 'random' arrow and fell. His sons could not bury him, nor could they take his body away, *so* they severed his head and took that away *with them*. Then the Naiman and the Merkit were unable, even with their united forces, to keep up the fight and fled. When they moved away and crossed the Erdiš, most of them fell into *the river* and drowned. The few Naiman and Merkit that got through separated and went *in different directions* after completing the crossing of the

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[1] Read 'right' (= 'west'); the text has 'left'. See RSH 2.730.

[2] Arai in the text. See RSH 2.730.

[3] = Erdiš. Cf. below and §§207, 264.

Erdis.[1] Güčülük Qan of the Naiman went off and, passing through *the country of* the Ui'ur[2] and the Qarlu'ut, joined the *gür qan* of the Qara Kidat who was at the Čui River in the country of the Sarta'ul. The Merkit, led by Qudu, Qal[3] and Čila'un, the sons of Toqto'a of the Merkit, went off and crossed *the country of* the Qanglin and the Kimča'ut.

After that, Činggis Qa'an turned back, crossed the Alai[4] and settled in his base camp. Čimbai utterly defeated the Merkit entrenched in the Taiqal stronghold. Then, with regard to *these* Merkit, Činggis Qa'an ordered that those to be killed were to be killed and the remainder were to be despoiled by the soldiers.

The Merkit who had submitted earlier rose again in rebellion *and tried to break out* from the base camp, but our servants in the camp brought them under control. Činggis Qa'an then spoke, saying, 'I had said that they be kept together as one *tribe*, but these same *people* have *now* revolted', and he had the Merkit distributed here and there[5] down to the last one.

199 In that same Year of the Ox (1205) Činggis Qa'an ordered Sübe'etei, who had *been provided with* an iron cart, to pursue the sons of Toqto'a headed by Qudu, Qal and Čila'un. When he sent him *on his mission*, Činggis Qa'an had the following verbal message conveyed to Sübe'etei[6]: 'The sons of Toqto'a having at their head Qudu, Qal and Čila'un left in fright and haste, *then* turned back, exchanged shots with us and went off like lassoed wild asses or stags with arrows *in their bodies*. If they grow wings and fly up into the sky, you, Sübe'etei, will you not fly up like a gerfalcon and catch them? If they turn into marmots and burrow into the ground with their

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[1] = Erdiš. Cf. above and §§207, 264.

[2] Ui'urtai in the text. See RSH 2.733.

[3] Qat in the text, but Qal in §199, a reading comfirmed elsewhere (RSH 2.733).

[4] Arai in the text.

[5] I.e., among other groups.

[6] Written Sübētei.

claws, will you not become an iron rod and, digging and searching for them, catch up with them? If they turn into fishes and plunge into the Tenggis Sea,[1] you, Sübe'etei, will you not become a casting-net and a dragnet, and get them by scooping them out? And again, I send you to cross high mountain passes, to ford wide rivers; mindful of the long distance *you have to cover*, you must spare the army mounts before they become *too* lean and you must save your provisions before they come to an end. If a gelding is *already* completely exhausted it will be of no use to spare it *then*; if your provisions have *already* completely run out, how can you save them *then*? There will be many wild animals on your way: when you go, thinking ahead, do not allow your soldiers to gallop after *and hunt down* wild animals, nor let them make circular battues without limit. If you make a battue in order to give additional provisions to your troops, hunt with moderation. Except on limited battues, do not allow the soldiers to fix the crupper to the saddle and put on the bridle, but let *the horses* go with their mouths free.[2] If they so discipline themselves, the soldiers will not be able to gallop on the way. Thus, making *this a matter of* law, who*ever* then transgresses it[3] shall be seized and beaten. Send to Us those who transgress Our order if it looks that they are *personally* known to Us; as for the many who are not known to Us, just cut them down on the spot.

Beyond the rivers
You will perhaps lose courage,
But continue to advance
In the same way;
Beyond the mountains
You will perhaps lose heart,
But think of nothing else apart from *your mission*.

If Eternal Heaven grants you further strength and power, and you capture Toqto'a's sons, there is no need *for you*

[1] Here metaphorically = 'the Ocean' (RSH 2.737).
[2] Lit., 'removing the bit from the mouth', so that it hung free.
[3] Lit., 'the law' (*jasaq*).

to bring them back: cast them away there and then!'[1] So he ordered.

Činggis Qa'an said further to Sübe'etei: 'I send you on *this* expedition because, when I was small, I was frightened by the Uduyit of the Three Merkit circling three times around Burqan Qaldun.[2] Mortal enemies like these, now gone again, swearing oaths *against me*, you shall reach, *were you to go*

To the furthest limit,
To the bottom of the deep!'

And so, in the Year of the Ox, he had an iron cart made to pursue them to the very end and sent *Sübe'etei* on his war mission with these *final* instructions: 'If you constantly think that even though We are out of sight it is as if We were visible, and even though We are far it is as if We were near, you will also be protected by Heaven Above!'

200 When Č*inggis Qa'an* annihilated the Naiman and the Merkit, J̌amuqa was with the Naiman and his people were taken from him on that occasion. With *only* five companions he became an outcast. He went up the Tanglu *Mountains*, killed a wild sheep and roasted it. When it was time to eat it, J̌amuqa there and then said to his companions, 'Whose sons,[3] having today killed a wild sheep, are eating it like this?' While they were eating the meat of that wild sheep, his five companions laid hands on J̌amuqa and, seizing him, brought him to Činggis Qa'an.

When J̌amuqa was brought *here* by his companions, he told *someone* to say to his sworn friend the Qa'an:

'Black crows have gone so far
As to catch a mandarin duck,[4]
Black skins[5] and slaves have gone so far

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[1] I.e., 'execute them on the spot.'

[2] See above, §103.

[3] I.e., 'What (sort of) persons?'

[4] For this simile, which is illustrated in the following two lines, and paralleled just below, see RSH 2.743-44.

[5] I.e., lowly or common tribesmen.

As to raise their hands against their lord.
Qa'an, my sworn friend,
How can you be mistaken?
Grey buzzards have gone so far
As to catch a wild duck,
Slaves and servants have gone so far
As to seize their own master,
Surrounding him and conspiring against him.
Wise sworn friend of mine,
How can you be mistaken?'

To these words of J̌amuqa, Činggis Qa'an said, 'How could we let men live who have raised their hands against their rightful lord? To whom can such men be companions? Cut down to the offspring *of their offspring* these people who have raised their hands against their rightful lord!' So he ordered, and had the people who had laid hands on J̌amuqa cut down in his[1] very presence.

Činggis Qa'an *then* said, 'Tell J̌amuqa: "Now the two of us are united. Let us be companions! If we become *each of us like* one of the two shafts of a cart, would you think of separating yourself *from me* and being on your own? Now that we are together *once more*,

Let us each remind the other of what he has forgotten,
Let us each wake up the other who has fallen asleep.
Although you separated from me
And went a different way,
You remain my lucky, blessed sworn friend.
On the day one kills and is killed, surely
Your heart was aching *for me*.
Although you separated from me
And went a different way,
On the day one fights one another,
Your lungs and heart were aching *for me*.

When was that? When I fought the Kereyit people at the Qalaqaljit Sands you informed me of what you had said to

[1] I.e., J̌amuqa's.

Father Ong Qan.[1] That was a service *you did me*. Then, the fact that you sent me a message *with the news* that you had frightened the Naiman people

Slaying them with your words,
Killing them with your mouth,

and said to me that I could regard them as such[2] – that was *another* service *you did me*.'"

201 After Činggis *Qa'an* had spoken, J̌amuqa said, 'In early days when we were small, in the Qorqonaq Valley I agreed with *my* sworn friend the Qan to become sworn friends:

Together we ate food that is not to be digested,
To each other we spoke words that are not to be forgotten,
Together we were under our blanket
Sharing it between us, *but*
Stirred up *by someone*
Coming between us,
Pricked *by someone*
Standing at the side,[3]
We parted for good.
Saying to myself that
We had exchanged weighty words,
The skin of my black face
Peeled off *in shame*;
And so I have been living
Unable to come near you,
Unable to see the friendly face
Of my sworn friend the Qan.
Saying to myself that
We had exchanged unforgettable words,
The skin of my red face
Came off *in shame*;
And so I have been living
Unable to see the true face
Of my sworn friend with a long memory.

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[1] See above, §170.
[2] I.e., as frightened to death by the Mongols. See above, §196.
[3] Cf. above, §§127 and 177.

'Now my sworn friend the Qan shows favour to me and says, "Let us be companions!" But when it was the time for being companions, I was not one.[1] Now, sworn friend,

You have pacified all *our* people,
You have unified all other peoples,

and the *qan*'s throne has been assigned to you. Now that the world is at your disposal, of what use would I be as a companion to you? On the contrary, *O my* sworn friend,

I would intrude into your dreams in the dark night,
I would trouble your heart in the bright day,
I would be a louse in your collar,
I would be a thorn in the inner lapel of your coat.[2]

'I had many paternal grandmothers. When I became disloyal to my sworn friend I made a mistake. Now, in this life – *that* of the sworn friend and me – my fame has indeed passed from sunrise to sunset. You, sworn friend, had a wise mother. You were born a hero, and as you had younger brothers, valiant companions and seventy-three geldings,[3] *you*, *my* sworn friend, excelled me. As for me, I lost my parents when I was small and had no younger brothers. My wife is a prattler, my companions untrustworthy. Because of this I was excelled by *my* sworn friend, whose destiny was *ordained* by Heaven. If you[4] *want to* show favour to me, let me die swiftly and your[5] heart will be at rest. And if you[4] condescend to have me put to death, let them kill me without shedding blood. When I lie dead, my bones *buried* in a high place, for ever and ever I shall protect you and be a blessing to the offspring of your offspring.

'In origin I am of a different birth, *and so* I was conquered by the august spirit of my sworn friend who is of higher birth. Do not forget the words that I have *just*

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[1] Lit., 'a companion to him.'
[2] In short, 'I would be a constant nuisance to you.'
[3] There is no mention of these geldings elsewhere in the SH.
[4] Lit., 'the sworn friend.'
[5] Lit., 'the sworn friend's.'

spoken; think of them evening and morning and repeat them among yourselves. Now do away with me quickly!'

To these words of his Činggis Qa'an said, 'Although my sworn friend has parted *from me* and has been railing against Us, I have not heard that he has plotted harm against my life. He is a man who should learn *from experience*, but is not willing to. *However*, to kill him is not in accordance with the omens; to harm his life without *good* reason is not right. He is a man of high standing. Perhaps you should give him this reason: "Once, when Čoji Darmala[1] and Taičar stole from each other their herds of horses, you, sworn friend Jamuqa, wickedly stirred up rebellion *against me*. We fought at Dalan Baljut and you forced me to take refuge in the Jerene Gorge. You frightened me then, did you not? Now, when I say, 'Let us be companions!', you refuse; when I *offered to* spare your life, you declined." Tell him that. Say to him: "Now, according to your request, you shall die without your blood being shed."'

He ordered that *Jamuqa* be put to death without his blood being shed and that his body[2] should not be abandoned in the open, but be given a fitting burial. He had Jamuqa executed there and then, and had his body buried *as arranged*.

202 And so, when the people of the felt-walled tents had been brought to allegiance, in the Year of the Tiger (1206) they *all* gathered at the source of the Onan *River*. They hoisted the white standard with nine tails and there they gave Činggis Qa'an the title of *qan*. Then they also gave the title of *gui ong*[3] to Muqali. On that occasion too, Jebe was sent on a war mission to pursue *and seize* Güčülük Qan of the Naiman. Having *thus* completed *the task of* setting the Mongol people in order, Činggis Qa'an said, 'To those who sided with me when I was establishing *our* nation, I shall express my appreciation

[1] Called Joči Darmala in §128 above.

[2] Lit., 'bones.'

[3] I.e., 'Prince of State.' For this title, see RSH 2.761, 783.

and, having formed units of a thousand, I shall appoint them commanders of a thousand.' So he decreed, and he appointed *the following* with the rank of commanders of a thousand: (1) Father Mönglik, (2) Bo'orču, (3) Muqali Gui Ong, (4) Qorči, (5) Ilügei, (6) J̌ürčedei, (7) Qunan, (8) Qubilai, (9) J̌elme, (10) Tüge, (11) Degei, (12) Tolon, (13) Önggür, (14) Čülgetei, (15) Boroqul, (16) Šigi Qutuqu, (17) Güčü, (18) Kököčü, (19) Qorqosun, (20) Hüsün, (21) Quyildar, (22) Šiluqai, (23) J̌etei, (24) Taqai, (25) Čaqa'an Qo'a, (26) Alaq, (27) Sorqan Šira, (28) Buluqan, (29) Qaračar, (30) Kökö Čos, (31) Süyiketü, (32) Naya'a, (33) J̌ungšoi, (34) Güčügür, (35) Bala, (36) Oronartai, (37) Dayir, (38) Müge, (39) Buǰir, (40) Mönggü'ür, (41) Dolo'adai, (42) Bögen, (43) Qudus, (44) Maral, (45) J̌ebke, (46) Yuruqan, (47) Kökö, (48) J̌ebe, (49) Udutai, (50) Bala Čerbi, (51) Kete, (52) Sübe'etei, (53) Möngkö Qalǰa, (54) Qurčaqus, (55) Geügi (56) Badai, (57) Kišiliq, (58) Ketei (59) Ča'urqai, (60) Onggiran, (61) Toqon Temür, (62) Megetü, (63) Qada'an, (64) Moroqa, (65) Dori Buqa, (66) Iduqadai, (67) Širaqul, (68) Da'un, (69) Tamači, (70) Qa'uran, (71) Alči, (72) Tobsaqa, (73) Tungquidai, (74) Tobuqa, (75) Aǰinai,[1] (76) Tüyideger, (77) Seče'ür, (78) J̌eder, (79) Olar Güregen, (80) Kinggiyadai, (81) Buqa Güregen, (82) Quril, (83) Ašiq Güregen, (84) Qadai Güregen, (85) Čigü Güregen, (86, 87, 88) Alči Güregen *leading* the three Onggirat thousands, (89, 90) Butu Güregen *leading* the two Ikires thousands, (91, 92, 93, 94, 95) Alaquš Digit Quri Güregen of the Önggüt *leading* the five Önggüt thousands. Excluding the People of the Forest,[2] the commanders of a thousand of the Mongol people appointed by Činggis Qa'an were ninety-five.

203 'Those ninety-five commanders of a thousand whom I have nominated, together with the sons-in-law', further said Činggis Qa'an, 'have been entrusted with units of a thousand and' – Činggis Qa'an declared – 'I shall *now* reward those among them who are *most* deserving.' And

[1] Read Ačinai.

[2] I.e., the forest tribes of the north and north-west. See RSH 2.787.

he said that the commanders having at their head Bo'orču and Muqali should come. At that time Šigi Qutuqu was inside the tent. When *Činggis Qa'an* told him, 'Go and summon them!', Šigi Qutuqu said, 'Have Bo'orču and Muqali been of greater assistance than others? Have they given better service than others? If you want to give rewards, surely I was not less useful, surely I did not give lesser service?

From the time I was in the cradle
And grew up at your noble threshold,
Until this beard sprouted on my chin,
I did not think of anyone else *but you*.
From the time I had a piss-pot at my crotch
And, being at your royal threshold, I grew up
Until this beard sprouted at my mouth,
I did not make a single false step.
She[1] let me lie at her feet
And brought me up as her own son;
She let me lie at her side
And brought me up as the younger brother
of her children.[2]

Now, what kind of reward will you give me?'

To these words of Šigi Qutuqu, Činggis Qa'an said, 'Are you not my sixth younger brother? To you, my late-born younger brother, the reward: you shall be allotted the *same* share as the younger brothers; furthermore, on account of your services, you shall not be punished for *up to* nine crimes.' So he ordered.

And he said, 'When, protected by Eternal Heaven, I am engaged in bringing the entire people under *my* sway, be

Eyes *for me* to see with,
Ears *for me* to hear with.[3]

Divide up all the *subject* people and apportion them to *Our* mother, to Us, to *Our* younger brothers and sons ac-

[1] I.e., Mother Hö'elün.
[2] See above, §135.
[3] Cf. above, §138.

according to the name of the people,[1]
Splitting up those that live in felt-walled tents,
Separating those that live in dwellings with wooden doors.
Let no one disobey your word!'

Further, he entrusted Šigi Qutuqu with *the power of* judgement over all and said to him, 'Of the entire people,
Curbing theft,
Discouraging falsehood,
execute those who deserve death, punish those who deserve punishment. Furthermore, writing in a blue-*script* register *all* decisions about the distribution and about the judicial matters of the entire population, make it into a book.[2] Until the offspring of *my* offspring, let no one alter any of the blue writing that Šigi Qutuqu, after deciding in accordance with me, shall make into a book with white paper. Anyone who alters it shall be guilty *and liable to punishment*.'

Šigi Qutuqu said, 'How can a late-born younger brother like me take the same and equal share *as that of the others*? If the Qa'an *wants to* reward me, let him decide in favour of granting me *the people* from the towns that have walls of *pounded* earth.' So he requested, and to these words *of his Činggis Qa'an* said, 'You yourself have determined your own *part*; you decide!'

After he had made *Činggis Qa'an* favour him thus, Šigi Qutuqu went out and, calling the leaders with Bo'orču and Muqali at their head, let them into *the tent.*

204 Činggis Qa'an then addressed Father Mönglik and said: 'You fortunate and blessed *man*,
Who at birth were born together *with me*,
When growing, grew up together *with me*,[3]
how many times have you helped and protected me? Among those *was the occasion* when Father Ong Qan and sworn friend Senggüm deceitfully invited me to the

[1] I.e., according to their importance and lifestyle (nomadic or settled populations).

[2] I.e., into a permanent record.

[3] Cf. below, §211.

betrothal feast and on the way I spent the night in Father Mönglik's tent.[1] Had you, Father Mönglik, not dissuaded me *then*, I would have gone right

Into whirling waters,
Into a blazing fire.

Recalling only that service *of yours*, how could *anybody* forget it until the offspring of *their* offspring? Recalling that service, I will henceforth let you occupy the seat at the very beginning of this side *in my tent*. Yearly and monthly I shall consult with you,[2] and I shall give you gifts and favours. I shall be attending on you, until the offspring of *your* offspring!' So he declared.

205 Further Činggis Qa'an spoke to Bo'orču: 'When I was small I was robbed of eight horses, the light-bay geldings.[3] I spent three days and nights on the way pursuing them and, as I was going, we met each other. Then you said to me, "You came because you are in difficulties; I will join you as a companion!" and, without a word even to your father in the tent, you who were then milking a mare, concealed your leather bucket and pail in the grass. You made me leave my short-haired chestnut horse and set me on a white horse with a black back, and you yourself rode a fast dun mare. You left your herd of horses without a master and in haste became my companion in the steppe. Again we spent three days and nights in pursuit before we reached the circular camp with the stolen light-bay geldings. They were standing at the edge of the camp. We stole them, drove them away and brought them back, the two of us. Your father was Naqu Bayan. You, his only son, what did you know *about me* when you became my companion? You became my companion because of your brave heart. Afterwards I kept on thinking about you and when I sent you Belgütei to ask you to join me *again* as a companion,

You jumped on your chestnut horse with the
arched back,

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[1] See above, §168.
[2] I.e., to seek advice.
[3] See above, §§90-93.

You tucked your grey woollen cloak behind you,
and came to join me.[1] And when
The Three Merkit came against us and
Thrice circled Burqan Qaldun,
That mountain you circled with me.[2]
And when, after that, we passed the night at Dalan Nemürges *with our troops* pitched opposite *those of* the Tatar people, the rain poured down incessantly day and night. Saying that I ought to get my night's rest, you covered me with your felt cloak so that the rain would not fall upon me and throughout the night you stood beside me shifting one of your feet only once. *This* was indeed a sign of your bravery. Other than that, what brave deeds of yours am I to mention? You two, Bo'orču and Muqali,
You urged me to carry out what was right,
You persuaded me not to do what was wrong,
and *in this way* made me gain this throne. Now you shall sit higher than all *the others* and shall not be punished for *up to* nine crimes. Bo'orču will be in charge of the ten thousand *men* of the right wing which extends *westwards* up to the Altai *Mountains*.'[3] So he ordered.

206 Further, Činggis Qa'an said to Muqali, 'When we set up camp near the Leafy Tree in the Qorqonaq Valley around which Qutula Qan used to dance,[4] because the words that a heavenly sign foretold to Muqali were a clear portent, I there and then, thinking of *his father* Gü'ün Qo'a,[5] pledged my word to Muqali. Accordingly, he shall *henceforth* sit upon a seat [above all others] and shall be *gui ong*[6] of all the people, *and so it shall be* until the offspring of Muqali's offspring.' He gave him the title of *gui ong* and ordered: 'Let Muqali Gui Ong be in charge of the

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[1] See above, §95.
[2] See above, §103.
[3] Lit. 'using the Altai as a pillow'. See RSH 2.781.
[4] See above, §§57 and 117.
[5] The Gü'ün U'a of §137 above.
[6] For this title, see the first note to §202 above.

ten thousand *men* of the left wing which extends *eastwards* up to the Qara'un J̌idun *Mountains*.'[1]

207 Činggis Qa'an said to Qorči, 'You *once* made a prophecy *about me* and, from the time I was small until now, for a long time

When it was wet,
You suffered the wet with me;
When it was cold,
You suffered the cold with me.

Indeed, you have constantly been a beneficent spirit[2] *to me*. At that time *you*, Qorči, said, "If the prophecy comes true and if it is fulfilled by Heaven according to your wishes, let me have thirty women." Now, because it has come true, I shall favour you. Look at the fine women and fine girls of the people who have submitted *to us* and choose thirty women *from among them*.' So he ordered.

Further, he ordered: 'On top of the three thousand Ba'arin *that he already leads*, Qorči, together with Taqai and Ašiq, shall *add to the number so as to* make up a full ten thousand with the Činōs of the Adarkin, the Tö'ölös and the Telengüt, and Qorči shall be their commander. Freely establishing his camp along the Erdiš *River* up to the People of the Forest, Qorči shall reduce the People of the Forest to submission and be in charge of the ten thousand.' And he ordered: 'The People of the Forest must not act this way or that without Qorči's agreement. Those who act without his agreement, he should not hesitate *to kill them*.'

208 Further, Činggis Qa'an said to J̌ürčedei, 'Your *most* important service was at the time when we were fighting with the Kereyit at the Qalaqalǰit Sands and were worrying *about the outcome of the battle*. Sworn friend Quyildar *then* made an oath but you, J̌ürčedei, carried out his task. In carrying it out you, J̌ürčedei, attacked and overcame the J̌irgin, the Tübegen, the Dongqayit, Quri

[1] Lit. 'using the Qara'un J̌idun as a pillow'; see the note just above.

[2] *Nendü qutuq*. For this expression, see RSH 2.784. For Qorči's prophecy, see above §121.

Šilemün[1] *and his* thousand bodyguards, the best troops – all of them – and, reaching the main body *of their army*, you shot an *učumaq arrow* into *one of* Senggüm's bright red cheeks.[2] Because of this, "the door was opened and the reins *were loosened*" *for me* by Eternal Heaven.[3] Had Senggüm not been wounded, what would have become of us? That was indeed Jürčedei's great*est* and *most* important service.

'When he separated from me, moving along the *river* Qalqa downstream, I constantly thought of Jürčedei as if he were the shelter *afforded* by a high mountain. He *then* went off [4] and we arrived at Lake Balǰuna to water *our animals*. When we set out again from Lake Balǰuna, Jürčedei went ahead to reconnoitre. We took the field against the Kereyit and, with our strength increased by Heaven and Earth, we utterly defeated and subdued the Kereyit people.[5] The *most* important people[6] being cut off, the Naiman and the Merkit lost heart; they could no longer fight and were scattered.

'In the struggle in which the Merkit and the Naiman scattered, Jaqa Gambu of the Kereyit was *allowed*, by reason of his two daughters, to stay with his own subject people as a whole *group*. But when, for the second time, he became hostile and separated from us, Jürčedei lured him with a stratagem and, after seizing him, made an end of Jaqa Gambu who had broken with us for good. For the second time we exterminated and plundered the people of that Jaqa Gambu. This was surely Jürčedei's second service.'

Because, on the day one kills and is killed,
He disregarded[7] his life;
Because, on the day one meets death together,

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[1] I.e., Qori Šilemün Taiši. See above, §170.
[2] For these events, see above, §§170-171, 174.
[3] I.e., Heaven opened the way to Činggis' success.
[4] On his mission to the Onggirat. See above, §176.
[5] See above, §§182-183, 185.
[6] I.e., the Kereyit.
[7] Lit., 'forsook.'

He fought to the death,

Činggis Qa'an favoured J̌ürčedei and gave him Ibaqa Beki *as wife*. He said to Ibaqa, 'I did not say that you have a bad character and that in looks and appearance you are ugly. You, who have entered into my heart and limbs, and who have come to me taking your place in the rank *of my principal wives*, I present to J̌ürčedei in deference to the great principle *whereby services are duly rewarded, to* J̌ürčedei

Who, on the day we fought,
Was *our* shield,
Who against the enemy people
Was *our* shelter;
He brought together the people
Who had become divided,
He united the people
Who had scattered.[1]

I have given you to him being mindful of the principle *of rewarding these* services of his. In future, when my descendants sit on Our throne, mindful of the principle *regarding* services that have thus been rendered, they should not disobey my words. Until the offspring of *my* offspring, they are not to abolish Ibaqa's *rightful* place *among my wives*.'[2] So he ordered.

Činggis Qa'an said further to Ibaqa, 'Your father J̌aqa Gambu gave you two hundred servants as dowry; *he gave* you *also* the steward Ašiq Temür and the steward Alčiq. Now you are going to the Uru'ut people; go, but give me one hundred out of your servants[3] and the steward Ašiq Temür to remember you.' And he took *possession of* them.

Činggis Qa'an spoke again to J̌ürčedei and, showing favour to him, gave the following order: 'I give you my Ibaqa. As to your four thousand Uru'ut, you will be in charge of them, won't you?'

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[1] Cf. the words in §§96 and 104 above.

[2] I.e., she would retain her former rank at court.

[3] In the text *ingǰes* for *inǰes*. See RSH 2.791-92.

CHAPTER NINE

209 Further, Činggis Qa'an said to Qubilai, 'For me you pressed down

The necks of the mighty ones,
The buttocks of the strong ones.

You, Qubilai, J̌elme, J̌ebe and Sübe'etei[1] – these "four hounds" of mine – when I sent you off, directing you *to the place* I had in mind,[2]

When I said, "Reach *there*!",
You crushed the stones *to be there*;
When I said, "Attack!",
You split up the rocks,
You shattered the shining stones,
You cleft the deep waters.[3]

When I sent you, Qubilai, J̌elme, J̌ebe and Sübe'etei, my "four hounds", to the place I had designated, if Bo'orču, Muqali, Boroqul and Čila'un Ba'atur – these "four steeds"[4] of mine – were at my side, and when the day of battle came and I had J̌ürčedei and Quyildar standing before me with their Uru'ut and Mangqut *troops*, *then* my mind was completely at rest. Qubilai, will you not be in charge of all military affairs?' So he ordered, favouring him.

Further, he said, 'Because of Bedü'ün's stubbornness,[5] I was displeased with him and did not give him a unit of a thousand. You are the right *person to manage* him! You shall be the commander of a thousand with him and you will proceed in consultation with each other.'[6]

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[1] Written Sübegetei.
[2] Lit., 'which I had pointed out.'
[3] Cf. above, §§72 and 147.
[4] See above, §163.
[5] See RSH 2.793-94.
[6] See above, §191.

And he added, 'Afterwards We shall examine Bedü'ün's *conduct*.'[1]

210 Further, Činggis Qa'an said to Qunan of the Geniges, 'For you, the commanders with Bo'orču and Muqali at their head, and for *you*, the chamberlains Dödei, Doqolqu and others, this Qunan was *like*

A male wolf in the dark night,
A black crow in the bright day:
When we were on the move he did not stop,
When we halted he did not move on.
With a stranger
He did not put on another face,
With a mortal enemy
He did not put on a different face.

Do not act without the agreement of Qunan and Kökö Čos. Act *only* in consultation with them.' So he ordered.

And he ordered, 'The eldest of my sons is J̌oči. Qunan, at the head of the Geniges, shall be a commander of ten thousand under J̌oči. Qunan, Kökö Čos, Degei and Old Üsün – these four are the four that never hid *from me* what they saw, never concealed *from me* what they heard.'

211 Further, Činggis Qa'an said to J̌elme, 'Old J̌arči'udai, carrying his bellows on his back – J̌elme was still in the cradle – came down from Burqan Qaldun and gave sable swaddling-clothes when I was born at Deli'ün Boldaq on the Onan *River*.[2] Since he became my companion, *J̌elme* has been

The slave of *my* threshold,
The personal slave of *my* door.[3]

J̌elme's merits are many. Fortunate and blessed J̌elme,

Who at birth was born together *with me*,
When growing, grew up together *with me*,[4]

and *whose companionship with me* has its origin in the

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[1] For Bedü'ün see above, §120. There are no further references to him in the SH.

[2] See above, §97.

[3] See above, §§137, 180.

[4] See above, §204.

sable swaddling-clothes, he shall not incur punishment if he commits *up to* nine crimes.' So he ordered.

212 Further, Činggis Qa'an said to Tolun, 'Why is it that you, father and son, will *each* be in charge of a separate thousand? When you gathered[1] the people – you, *Tolun*, being one of the two wings of your father – you strove together and together gathered the people. It is, indeed, because of that that I gave you the title of chamberlain.[2] Now, will you not form your own thousand with *the people* that you have acquired yourself and constituted *as your own patrimony*, and *act* in consultation with Turuqan?' So he ordered.

213 Further, Činggis Qa'an said to the steward Önggür, 'You, the three Toqura'ut and the five Tarqut, and you, Önggür, son of Mönggetü Kiyan, with *your* Čangši'ut and Baya'ut, have formed one camp for me.[3] You, Önggür,

You did not go astray in the fog,
You did not separate from the others in the fight.
When it was wet
You suffered the wet with me;
When it was cold,
You suffered the cold with me.[4]

Now, what kind of reward will you take *from me*?' At this Önggür said, 'If you allow me to choose the reward, as my Baya'ut brothers are scattered about among all the various tribes, by your favour let me bring together my Baya'ut brothers.'

Thereupon, Činggis Qa'an ordered, 'Yes, be it so! Bring together your Baya'ut brothers and you take command – one thousand!' He said further, 'When you, the two stewards Önggür and Boro'ul,[5] distribute food to the right and left sides,

Do not let it fall short
For those who stand or sit

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[1] I.e., 'conquered.'
[2] *Čerbi*. See above, §191.
[3] See above, §120.
[4] Cf. above, §207.
[5] = Boroqul.

On the right side;
Do not let it fall short
For those who are placed in a row –
Or who are not –
On the left side.

If you two distribute *the food* in this way, my throat will not choke and my mind will be at rest. Now, Önggür and Boro'ul, ride off and distribute food to the multitude.' So he ordered, and pointing out their seats, he said, 'When you take your seats, you must sit so as to look after the food on the right and the left sides of the large *kumis* pitchers.[1] Sit with Tolun and the others in the centre *of the tent*, facing north.'

214 Again, Činggis Qa'an spoke to Boroqul, saying, 'As for Šigi Qutuqu, Boroqul, Güčü and Kököčü – the four of you – my mother

On the *bare* ground she found you,
In *other* people's camps.
She placed you close to her legs,
She treated you as her own sons
And brought you up with care;
She stretched your necks
And made you into adults;
She stretched your shoulders
And made you into men.[2]

She surely brought you up in order to make you the companions for us her sons. Who knows how many favours and services you have returned to my mother for the favour of having brought you up! Boroqul, you became my companion and

When we made swift sorties on rainy nights
You did not let me spend the night with an
empty stomach;[3]
When we were engaged in battle with the enemy
You did not let me spend the night without soup.

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[1] I.e., of the wine table.

[2] Lit. (here and just above) 'made you equal with (= to) a man' and '...a male' (RSH 2.802). Cf. below, §254.

[3] I.e., in spite of the difficulty of making a fire in the rain.

Again, we crushed the Tatar people who, full of hatred and resentment, had destroyed *our* fathers and forefathers. At the time when

We were taking revenge,
We were requiting the wrong,

by killing the Tatar people to the last one, measuring them against the linchpin of a cart,[1] and as they were being slain, Qargil Šira of the Tatar escaped and became an outcast. Then, reduced to straits and suffering from hunger, he came *back* and entering the tent said to *my* mother, "I am a beggar."[2] When he was told, "If you are a beggar, sit there", he sat at the end of the bench on the western side *of the tent*, near the inside of the door.

'At that moment, Tolui, who was five years old, came into *the tent* from outside. Then, as he ran out *again*, Qargil Šira rose and *seizing* the child pressed him under his arm. He went out and, as he was going forward feeling for and drawing out his knife, Boroqul's wife, Altani, was sitting on the eastern side of *my* mother's tent. When mother cried, "The boy is done for!", Altani followed her out and running together with her caught up with Qargil Šira: *with one hand* she seized his plaits and with the other she seized the hand that was drawing the knife. She pulled *it so hard that* he dropped the knife. At that very moment, north of the tent, J̌etei and J̌elme were killing a hornless black ox for provisions. At Altani's cry they both[3] came running, holding their *butchering* axes, their fists red *with the animal's blood*. With axe and knife they slew Qargil Šira of the Tatar on the spot.

'While Altani, J̌etei and J̌elme were arguing among the three of them whose chief merit it was for having saved the life of the child, J̌etei and J̌elme said, "If we had not been there and if, by running fast and arriving *in time*, we had not killed him, what could Altani, a woman, have done? *Qargil Šira* would have harmed the life of the child. The chief merit is certainly ours!" Altani said, "If

[1] See above, §154.
[2] Lit., 'a seeker of good things.'
[3] Lit., 'J̌etei and J̌elme.'

you had not heard my cry, how could you have come? And when I ran and caught up with him, seizing his plaits and pulling the hand that was drawing the knife, if the knife had not dropped, wouldn't he have done harm to the child's life before J̌etei and J̌elme arrived?" When she had finished speaking the chief merit went, *by general consent*, to Altani. Boroqul's wife became the second shaft *of a cart* for Boroqul and was useful in *saving* the life of Tolui.

'Again, when Boroqul was fighting *with us* against the Kereyit at the Qalaqalǰit[1] Sands, Ögödei was hit by an arrow in the neck vein and fell *from his horse*. Boroqul got off his horse and stopped by him, sucked the clotting blood with his mouth and spent the night with him. The following morning he put him on a horse, but as *Ögödei* could not sit up they rode double, *Boroqul* clasping Ögödei from behind and continuously sucking the *wound*-clogging blood, so that the corners of his mouth were red *with it*; *and so* he came, bringing Ögödei *back* alive and safe.[2] In return for my mother's suffering in bringing him up, he was indeed of service in *saving* the lives of my two sons. Boroqul was a companion to me: he never tarried

At *my* beck and call,
At *my* voice and its echo.

If Boroqul commits *up to* nine crimes he shall not be punished.' So he ordered.[3]

215 Further, *Činggis Qa'an* said, 'Let Us reward Our female offspring!'[4]

216 Further, Činggis Qa'an said to Old Üsün, 'Üsün, Qunan, Kökö Čos and Degei, these four, without hiding or concealing, have always reported to me what they saw and heard; they have always informed me of what they

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[1] Qalqalǰit in the text.

[2] See above, §173.

[3] There follows a sentence identical with that in §215. This is due to a scribal error and should be deleted.

[4] There is a lacuna here. The original text probably involved a set of ordinances and injunctions concerning grants and rewards to Činggis Qan's daughters and granddaughters. See RSH 2.807.

thought and comprehended. In the Mongol tradition it is customary for a senior ranking personage to become a *beki*.[1] You are a descendant of Elder Brother the Ba'arin. As to the rank of *beki*, you Old Üsün, who are from among *us* and senior to Us, shall become a *beki*. When one has been raised to *the rank of beki*,

He shall wear a white dress
And ride a white gelding;
He shall sit on a *high* seat
And be waited upon.

Furthermore, yearly and monthly I shall hold discussions with you *to seek your advice*.[2] Let it be so!' So he ordered.

217 Further, Činggis Qa'an said, 'Because of sworn friend Quyildar's service of first opening his mouth *and speaking* at the time of battle,[3] disregarding[4] his life, let his *descendants* to the offspring of *his* offspring receive the bounty *granted* to orphans.'[5] So he ordered.

218 Further, Činggis Qa'an said to Čaqān Qo'a's[6] son Narin To'oril, 'Your father Čaqān Qo'a was fighting zealously before me at the battle of Dalan Balǰut when he was killed by J̌amuqa.[7] Now, To'oril, for your father's services you shall receive the bounty *granted* to orphans.' To this To'oril said, 'If you are to favour me, as my Negüs brothers are scattered about among all the various tribes, by your favour let me bring together my Negüs brothers.' Thereupon, Činggis Qa'an ordered, 'If so, after having brought together your Negüs brothers, you will be in charge of them to the offspring of *your* offspring, won't you?' So he ordered.

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[1] For this problematic title, seemingly an honorific one conferred on both men and women, see RSH 1.288-89 and sources there.

[2] Cf. above, §204.

[3] See above, §171.

[4] Lit., 'forsaking.'

[5] Cf. above, §185.

[6] This is the same personage called Čaqa'an U'a (of the Ne'üs) in §§120 and 129 above.

[7] See above, §129.

219 Further, Činggis Qa'an said to Sorqan Šira, 'At the time when I was small, when out of jealousy I was seized by Tarqutai Kiriltuq of the Tayiči'ut and his brothers, then *you* Sorqan Šira, because my kinsmen[1] were jealous of me,[2] with your sons Čila'un and Čimbai, made your daughter Qada'an take care of me, hid me and *later*, releasing me, you sent me away.[3] Mindful of that good service of yours, *whether*

In the dark night in my dreams,
In the bright day in my heart,[4]

I certainly kept the memory of it; but you did come late to me from the Tayiči'ut. If I show favour to you now, what kind of favour do you wish?'

Sorqan Šira, who was together with his sons Čila'un and Čimbai, said, 'If you are to favour me, let me have the free use of grazing grounds. Let me settle on and freely use the territory of the Merkit on the Selengge *River*. As for other favours in addition *to this*, let Činggis Qa'an decide!'

To these words, Činggis Qa'an said, 'Settle on the territory of the Merkit on the Selengge and, indeed, have free use of its grazing grounds. You shall be a freeman, allowed to carry a quiver and drink the ceremonial wine to the offspring of *your* offspring.[5] You shall not incur punishment for *up to* nine crimes.' So he ordered.

Further, Činggis Qa'an, showing favour to Čila'un and Čimbai, gave the following order: 'Thinking of the words that you, Čila'un and Čimbai, once spoke, how will you be satisfied?[6] Čila'un and Čimbai, if you *want to* say what you have in mind or request *something* that you lack, do not tell an intermediary *about it*. You in person,[7] through your own mouths, tell me yourselves what you

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[1] I.e., the Tayiči'ut. Cf. above, §76.
[2] See above, §82.
[3] See above, §§85-87.
[4] Cf. Jamuqa's words in §201 above.
[5] For such privileges, see RSH 1.295, 2.811.
[6] Translation uncertain. See RSH 2.812-3.
[7] Lit., 'by your own bodies.'

have thought, request from me yourselves what you lack.'

Further, he gave the following order: 'You, the freemen Sorqan Šira, Badai and Kišiliq, you too, as freemen,

When swiftly pursuing many foes,
If you get booty,
What you get you shall take away.
When in a battue
You hunt wild beasts,
What you slaughter you shall take away.[1]

As for Sorqan Šira, he was but a retainer of Tödege of the Tayiči'ut.[2] Badai and Kišiliq were but horse-herders of Čeren.[3] Now, with my support, enjoy *the privilege of* being freemen, allowed to carry a quiver and drink the ceremonial wine!'

220 Further, Činggis Qa'an said to Naya'a, 'When Old Širgõtü,[4] together with you – his sons Alaq and Naya'a – seized Tarqutai Kiriltuq and, proceeding on his way to us, arrived at the Qutuqul Bend, Naya'a there and then said, "How can we go on, seizing and making away with our rightful lord?" And, unable to make away with him, you set him free and sent him away.

'When Old Širgõtü, together with *you* – his sons Alaq and Naya'a – arrived, then Naya'a Bilǰi'ür said, "We laid hands on our rightful lord Tarqutai Kiriltuq and were coming *here*, but we could not make away with him. We set him free and sent him off, and came to offer our services to Činggis Qa'an. We said to ourselves that had we come having laid hands on our lord, it would have been said of us: 'People who have laid hands on their rightful lord – how can they be trusted in future?' So, we could not make away with our lord."

'Then, because the reason why he could not make away with his rightful lord was *the fact that* he had been

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[1] Cf. above, §187.
[2] See above, §146.
[3] I.e., Yeke Čeren. See above, §169.
[4] The Širgü'etü of §149, where this event is narrated.

mindful of the great principle,[1] I approved of his words and said, "I shall entrust him with an *important* task."[2] Now, Bo'orču will be in charge of the ten thousand of the right wing; and I put Muqali in charge of the ten thousand of the left wing, giving him the title of *gui ong*.[3] Now, Naya'a will be in charge of the ten thousand of the centre.' So he ordered.

221 Further, *Činggis Qa'an* said, 'J̌ebe and Sübe'etei shall *each* be commanders of a thousand over as many of *those people* that[4] they themselves have acquired and constituted *as their own patrimony*.'

222 Further, *Činggis Qa'an* made the shepherd Degei bring together the unregistered households and put him in charge of a thousand.

223 Further, *Činggis Qa'an* said, 'As the carpenter Güčügür[5] lacks subjects *to form a unit of a thousand*, let *these* be collected from here and there *and given to him*. Since, from among the J̌adaran, Mulqalqu has been a perfect companion *to me*, you two – Güčügür and Mulqalqu – be jointly in command of a thousand and consult with one another.'

224 Činggis Qa'an made commanders of a thousand those who had established the state with him and who had suffered with him. Forming units of a thousand, he appointed the commanders of a thousand, of a hundred and of ten. Forming units of ten thousand, he appointed the commanders of ten thousand. The commanders of ten thousand and of a thousand to whom reward seemed appropriate, he rewarded; those who were to be commended, he commended. He gave them the following order: 'Formerly, I had eighty men to serve on roster as nightguards and seventy men to serve as dayguards. Now, by the strength of Eternal Heaven, my strength and

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[1] I.e., the principle of mutual obligations between lord and subject. Cf. above, §208.

[2] Cf. above, §149.

[3] See above, §202 and RSH 2.761-2.

[4] Lit., 'as many of theirs as.'

[5] The Küčügür of §120. See also above, §§124 and 202.

power have been increased by Heaven and Earth and I have brought the entire people to allegiance, causing them to come under my sole rule,[1] so now choose men to serve on roster as dayguards from the various thousands and recruit them for me. When you recruit them and have nightguards, quiverbearers and dayguards enrolled, recruit them so as to make up a full ten thousand.' So he ordered.

Further, Činggis Qa'an proclaimed the following order to the various thousands regarding the selection and recruitment of the guards: 'When guards will be recruited for Us, and the sons of commanders of ten thousand, of a thousand and of a hundred, or the sons of ordinary people, will enter *Our service*, those shall be recruited who are able and of good appearance, and who are deemed suitable to serve by Our side. When recruiting the sons of commanders of a thousand, they shall *each* bring with them ten companions and one younger brother. When recruiting the sons of commanders of a hundred, they shall *each* bring with them five companions and one younger brother. When recruiting the sons of commanders of ten, or the sons of ordinary people, they shall *each* bring with them three companions and, likewise, one younger brother; and they shall be provided with fully equipped mounts *supplied* by the units to which they originally belonged. When strengthening *in this guise the number of* those who will be placed to serve by Our side, the ten companions to be given to *each of* the sons of the commanders of a thousand must be drawn from the units of a thousand and the units of a hundred from which they originally came. Whether *or not* they have a share *of goods* given by their fathers and regardless of the number of men and geldings that they have personally acquired and constituted *as their own patrimony*, a levy shall be raised – independently of their personal share *of goods* – *of mounts and men* according to the amount fixed by Us and, levying *men* and preparing *mounts* in this manner,

[1] Lit., 'to enter into my only reins (= control).' See RSH 2.820.

they shall be given to them. And exactly in the same manner, independently of their personal share *of goods* and levying in precisely the same way, five companions *each* shall be given to the sons of commanders of a hundred, and three companions *each* to the sons of commanders of ten, as well as to the sons of ordinary people.' So he ordered.

And he ordered, 'As to the commanders of a thousand, of a hundred and of ten, and the numerous *ordinary* people who have received this order of Ours, or who have heard it, anyone who transgresses it shall be guilty *and liable to punishment*. As to the people who have been recruited to serve on roster for Us, if any of them are unsuitable *for duty* because they evade it, regarding their service by Our side as *too* difficult, we shall recruit others *in their stead* and we shall punish those people and send them to a distant place, out of *Our* sight.'

And he said, 'People who come to Us in order to learn to serve inside *the tent* by Our side shall not be hindered.'

225 Since Činggis Qa'an had issued an order, choosing *guards* from the units of a thousand and, according to the same order, choosing the sons of commanders of a hundred and of ten, as they came forward – formerly there were *only* eighty nightguards – he brought *their number* up to eight hundred. And he said, 'On top of the eight hundred, *add to the number so as to* make up a full thousand.'

He ordered, 'Those who *want to* enrol in the nightguards shall not be hindered.' And he ordered, 'Yeke Ne'ürin shall be the commander of the nightguards and he shall be in charge of a thousand.'

Earlier four hundred quiverbearers had been chosen. Choosing them *anew*, he said, 'Yisün Te'e, the son of J̌elme, shall be the commander of the quiverbearers and he shall *act* in consultation with Tüge's[1] son, Bügidei.'

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[1] This Tüge is the Tüngge of §137 and the Tüge of §202 above. Although there is no previous mention of the four hundred quiverbearers, see §192 above for their duties.

And he ordered, 'When the quiverbearers together with the dayguards join *to form* the various companies,[1] Yisün Te'e shall join as the commander of one company of quiverbearers; Bügidei shall join as the commander of one company of quiverbearers; Horqudaq shall join as the commander of one company of quiverbearers; and Lablaqa shall join as the commander of one company of quiverbearers. *These four* shall make their quiverbearers join the various companies of dayguards to carry quivers and so be their commanders. Yisün Te'e shall *add to the number of* quiverbearers to make up a full thousand and be the *overall* commander.'

226 *Činggis Qa'an*, bringing *the number of* dayguards who had formerly enrolled with Ögele Čerbi up to a full thousand, said, 'Ögele Čerbi from the family of Bo'orču shall be in charge of them.' He said, 'As for one thousand dayguards, Buqa from the family of Muqali shall be in charge of them.'[2] He said, 'Alčidai from the family of Ilügei shall be in charge of one thousand dayguards.' He said, 'Dödei Čerbi shall be in charge of one thousand dayguards and Doqolqu Čerbi shall be in charge of one thousand dayguards.' And he ordered, 'Čanai from the family of Jürčedei shall be in charge of one thousand dayguards; Aqutai from the family of Alči shall be in charge of one thousand dayguards; Arqai Qasar shall be in charge of one thousand dayguards – one thousand chosen brave warriors – who, in the many days *of peace* shall serve as dayguards, and in the days of battle shall stand before me and be brave warriors.'

Thus, there were eight thousand dayguards chosen from the various thousands; there were also two thousand nightguards with quiverbearers. *Altogether* there were ten thousand guards.

Činggis Qa'an ordered, 'The ten thousand guards attached to Us shall be strengthened and become the main body *of the army*.' So he ordered.

227 Further, when Činggis Qa'an issued the order ap-

[1] I.e., the separate watches.

[2] Lit., 'of one thousand dayguards.'

pointing those who were to be the elders[1] of the four companies of dayguards on roster duty, he said, 'Buqa shall be in charge of one company of guards; he shall marshal them[2] and take his turn of duty. Alčidai shall be in charge of one company of guards; he shall marshal them and take his turn of duty; Dödei Čerbi shall be in charge of one company of guards; he shall marshal them[3] and take his turn of duty. Doqolqu Čerbi shall be in charge of one company of guards; he shall marshal them[3] and take his turn of duty.' So he appointed the elders of the four companies on roster duty.

Činggis Qa'an promulgated the order about taking turns of duty, saying, 'On taking his turn of duty, the commander of the company will himself muster the guards who are to serve on roster *and then* take his turn of duty; after spending three *days and* nights with them *the company* shall be relieved. If a member of the Guard fails to take his turn, the guard that has so failed shall be disciplined with three strokes of the rod. If the same guard fails again – for the second time – to take his turn of duty, he shall be disciplined with seven strokes of the rod. If, once more, the same man, without being sick in body and without having *first* consulted the commanders of the company, if the same guard fails once more – *that is* three times – to take his turn of duty, *thus* regarding his service by Our side as *too* difficult, he shall be disciplined with thirty-seven strokes of the rod and shall be sent to a distant place, out of *Our* sight.' So he ordered.

And he ordered, 'The elders of the companies shall proclaim this order to the guards every third turn of duty. If the elders of the companies do not proclaim it they shall be guilty *and liable to punishment*. When the guards have heard the order, if they contravene it and fail to take their turn of duty according to the order they shall be guilty *and liable to punishment*.' So he ordered.

He said, 'Elders of the companies, do not reprimand

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[1] I.e., the senior officers.

[2] Lit., 'the guards'; i.e. he shall dispose them in due order.

[3] Lit., 'the guards.'

my guards, who have enrolled *as guards* equal *to you*, without my permission and merely on the ground of seniority. If *any of them* breaks the law report it to me. Those liable to execution We shall certainly cut down. Those liable to be beaten We shall certainly compel to lie down and have them beaten. If you yourselves merely on the ground of seniority lay hands on my guards who are equal *to you* and strike them with a rod, as requital for strokes of the rod you shall be repaid with strokes of the rod, and as requital for fists you shall be repaid with fists.'

228 Further, Činggis Qa'an ordered, 'My guards are of higher *standing* than the outside commanders of a thousand; the attendants of my guards are of higher *standing* than the outside commanders of a hundred and of ten. If outside leaders of a thousand, regarding themselves as equal to and a match for my guards, quarrel with them, *We* shall punish the persons who are leaders of a thousand.' So he ordered.

229 Further, Činggis Qa'an issued the *following* order and proclaimed it[1] to the commanders of the various companies: 'When the quiverbearers, the dayguards *and the stewards* take their turn of duty, they shall carry out their day duties, each at his respective post. As the sun sets, they shall retire *so as to be replaced* by the nightguards and, going outside, they shall spend the night *there*. At night, the nightguards shall spend the night beside Us. The quiverbearers shall leave, turning over their quivers – and the stewards their bowls and vessels – to the nightguards. *The following morning*, the quiverbearers, dayguards and stewards who have spent the night outside shall stay at the horse station while We eat Our soup; *then*, they will report to the nightguards. When We have finished eating *Our morning* soup, the quiverbearers shall return to their quivers, the dayguards to their *appointed* place and the stewards to their bowls and vessels. Those who take their turn of duty on roster must *all* act thus, in precisely the same manner, according to this ordinance.'

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[1] Lit., 'the order.'

So he ordered.

He said, 'Any person who moves about crosswise at the rear or front of the Palace after sunset shall be arrested and the nightguards shall hold him *in custody* for the night. The following morning, the nightguards shall question him. When the company is relieved, the *incoming* nightguards shall hand over their passes and *only then* come in and take their turn of duty; the outgoing nightguards when relieved shall likewise hand *theirs* over and depart.'

He said, 'The nightguards at night lie down all around the Palace; *you*, nightguards who stand guarding the door, shall hack *any* persons entering at night until their heads are split open and their shoulders fall *apart*, *then* cast them away. If *any* persons come at night with an urgent message, they must report to the nightguards and communicate *the message to me* while standing together with the nightguards at the rear[1] of the tent.'

'No one is to sit in a place above the nightguards.[2] No one is to enter *the precinct* without permission from the nightguards. No one is to walk up beyond the nightguards. One must not walk between the nightguards. One must not ask the number of nightguards. The nightguards shall arrest the people who walk up beyond them.[3] The nightguards shall arrest the people who walk between them. And the nightguards – with regard to *any* person who shall have asked their number – the nightguards shall seize the gelding that that person was riding that very day, with saddle and bridle, together with the clothes that he was wearing.' So he ordered.

Elǰigedei,[4] even though he was a trustworthy *person*, was he not arrested by the nightguards when in the evening he happened to walk up beyond them?

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[1] I.e., at the northern side.
[2] I.e., between the nightguards and the tent.
[3] Lit., 'the nightguards.'
[4] The Elǰigidei of §§275 and 278 below.

CHAPTER TEN

230 Činggis Qa'an said,

'My elder nightguards who, in the cloudy night,
Lying down around my vented tent[1]
Ensured that I slept in quiet and peace,
You have made me gain this throne.[2]
My blessed nightguards who, in the starry night,
Lying down all around my Palace tent,
Ensured that I was without fear in my bed,
You have made me gain the high throne.
My true-hearted nightguards who in the swirling snowstorm,
In shivering cold, in pouring rain, taking no rest,
Stood all around my latticed tent
Bringing peace to my heart,
You have made me gain *this* throne of joy.
My trustworthy nightguards, who in the midst
Of trouble-making enemies, not blinking an eye,
Stood all around my felt-girt tent
Withstanding *their onslaught*;
My watchful nightguards who, *hearing the enemy's*
Quivers of birch-bark barely rattling,
Stood up without delay;
My swift-moving nightguards who, *hearing the enemy's*
Quivers of willow-wood barely rattling,
Stood up not *a moment* too late;
My blessed nightguards, *from now on*
You shall call *yourselves* "the elder nightguards."

The seventy dayguards who had enrolled with Ögöle

[1] I.e., a tent with a smoke-hole at the top.
[2] See above, §205.

Čerbi[1] shall be called "the great dayguards." The brave warriors of Arqai[2] shall be called "the elder brave warriors." The quiverbearers Yisün Te'e, Bügidei and the others shall be called "the great quiverbearers."' So he ordered.

231 *Činggis Qa'an* said, 'As for my ten thousand personal guards who have come *to serve* in my presence, chosen for personal service from the ninety-five thousand,[3] you, sons *of mine* who will later sit on my throne to the offspring of my offspring, considering these guards as a keepsake *from me*, give them no cause for dissatisfaction, but take good care of them! These ten thousand guards – will they not be called my beneficent spirits?'[4]

232 Further, Činggis Qa'an said, 'The nightguards shall be in charge of the female attendants[5] of the Palace, the "sons of the household",[6] the camel-keepers and the cowherds, and they shall take care of the tent-carts of the Palace. The nightguards shall take care of the standards and drums, and the spears *arranged* beneath *them.* The nightguards shall also take care of the bowls and vessels. The nightguards shall supervise Our drink and food. The nightguards shall supervise and cook the uncut meat and food as well: if drink and food are lacking, we shall seek them from the nightguards who have been entrusted with their supervision.' And he said, 'When the quiverbearers distribute drink and food, they must not distribute them without permission from the supervising nightguards. When they distribute food, they shall first distribute it beginning with the nightguards.' And he said, 'Entering into and going out from the Palace tent must be regulated by the nightguards. At the door, the doorkeepers from the nightguards shall stand right next to the tent. Two from the nightguards shall enter *into the tent* and oversee the

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[1] See above, §120.
[2] I.e., Arqai Qasar.
[3] See above, §202.
[4] See above, §207.
[5] *Čerbin ökit*. See RSH 2.835.
[6] I.e., young domestic slaves.

large *kumis* pitchers.' And he said, 'The campmasters from the nightguards shall go *before Us* and set up the Palace tent.' And he said, 'When We *go* falconing or hunting, the nightguards shall go falconing and hunting with Us; *but* exactly one half of them shall stay at the carts.'

233 Further, Činggis Qa'an said, 'If We Ourselves do not go on a military campaign the nightguards must not take the field without Us.' So he said, and gave the following order: 'After being thus instructed *by Us*, the chamberlains in charge of troops who transgress the order and, out of jealousy for the nightguards, send them out on campaign, shall be guilty *and liable to punishment*.' And he said, 'You say, "Why is it that soldiers from the nightguards are not sent out on campaign?" It is the nightguards that watch over my golden[1] life. When I go falconing or hunting, they toil with *me*; being charged with the administration of the Palace, *whether this* is moving or stationary, they look after the carts. Is it an easy *thing* to spend the night watching over my person? Is it an easy *thing* to look after the tent-carts when the main base camp is in movement or settled? The reason why We say that they[2] must not take the field separately and without Us, is because We say *to Ourselves* that they have *already* so many and quite distinct duties.'

234 Further, *Činggis Qa'an* gave the following order: '*Some* of the nightguards shall decide on judicial matters together with Šigi Qutuqu.' And he said, '*Some* of the nightguards shall take care of quivers, bows, breastplates and weapons, and they shall distribute them. Managing *some* of the geldings, they shall load the *hunting* nets *on to them*.' And he said, '*Some* of the nightguards, together with the chamberlains, shall distribute the satin.' And he said, 'When the quiverbearers and the dayguards have reported on *the establishment of* the encampment, the quiverbearers such as Yisün Te'e and Bükidei, and the dayguards such as Alčidai, Ögöle and Aqutai, shall take

[1] I.e., royal.
[2] I.e., the nightguards.

up duty on the right[1] side of the Palace.' And he said, 'The dayguards such as Buqa, Dödei Čerbi, Doqolqu Čerbi and Čanai shall take up duty on the left[2] side of the Palace.' And he said, 'Arqai's brave warriors shall take up duty in front[3] of the Palace.' And he said, 'The night-guards, having taken care of the tent-carts of the Palace, shall take up duty in the proximity of the Palace, on the left[2] side.' And he said, 'Dödei Čerbi shall constantly supervise the Palace: all the guards who are dayguards, and, round about the Palace, the "sons of the household" of the Palace, the horse-herders, shepherds, camel-keepers and cowherds.'[4] He appointed him and gave the following order: 'Dödei Čerbi shall take up duty and be constantly present, at the rear[5] of the Palace,

Eating scraps of leftovers,
Burning dried dung.'[6]

235 *Činggis Qa'an* sent Qubilai Noyan to fight against the Qarlu'ut. Arslan Qan of the Qarlu'ut came to submit to Qubilai. Qubilai Noyan took Arslan Qan back with him and made him pay homage to Činggis Qa'an. Because he had not opposed resistance, Činggis Qa'an showed favour to Arslan and said, 'I shall give him a daughter *in marriage*.'

236 Sübe'etei Ba'atur, who had been *provided with* an iron cart,[7] had gone on a campaign in pursuit of the sons of Toqto'a of the Merkit led by Qutu and Čila'un. He overtook them at the Čui River, destroyed them and came back.

237 J̌ebe, pursuing Güčülük Qan of the Naiman, overtook him at Sariq Qun.[8] He destroyed Güčülük and came back.

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[1] I.e., western.
[2] I.e., eastern.
[3] I.e., at the southern side.
[4] See above, §232.
[5] I.e., at the northern side.
[6] For fuel.
[7] See above, §199.
[8] I.e., 'Yellow Cliff'; possibly an error for Sariq Qol. See RSH 2.844-45.

238 The *idu'ut* of the Ui'ut[1] sent envoys to Činggis Qa'an. Through the envoys Atkiraq and Darbai he had the following petition conveyed to him:

'As if one saw Mother Sun
When the clouds disperse;
As if one came upon the river water
When the ice disappears,[2]

so I greatly rejoiced when I heard of the fame of Činggis Qa'an. If through your favour, O Činggis Qa'an, I were to obtain

But a ring from your golden belt,
But a thread from your crimson coat,

I will become your fifth son and will serve you.'

Činggis Qa'an, in reply to those words and showing favour to him, sent the following message: 'I shall give him a daughter and let him become my fifth son. The *idu'ut* must come, bringing with him gold, silver, small and big pearls, brocades, damasks and silks.' The *idu'ut* rejoiced because he had been favoured; and taking with him gold, silver, small and big pearls, silks, brocades, damasks and satins, he[3] came and paid homage to Činggis Qa'an. Činggis Qa'an favoured the *idu'ut* and gave him *his daughter* Al Altun *in marriage*.

239 In the Year of the Hare (1207), *Činggis Qa'an* sent J̌oči with the troops of the right wing on an expedition against the People of the Forest. Buqa went with him acting as a guide. Quduqa Beki of the Oyirat came to submit ahead of the Tümen Oyirat. He came and, acting as a guide, led J̌oči to *the territory* of the Tümen Oyirat and made them submit at the Šiqšit *River*.[4] J̌oči brought the Oyirat, Buriyat, Barqun, Ursut, Qabqanas, Qangqas and Tubas under submission.

When he reached *the territory of* the Tümen Kirgisut,

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[1] I.e., the ruler of the Uighurs.
[2] I.e., melts.
[3] Lit., 'the *idu'ut*.'
[4] The Šisgis River of §44 above.

their[1] leaders Yedi Inal, Aldi Er and Örebek Digin – *these* leaders of the Kirgisut – came to submit. Bringing with them *gifts of* white gerfalcons, white geldings and black sables, they paid homage to J̌oči.

After J̌oči had subjugated the People of the Forest from the Šibir, Kesdim,[2] Bayit, Tuqas, Tenlek,[3] Tö'eles,[4] Tas and Bağigit up to this side,[5] he came back bringing with him the commanders of ten thousand and of thousands of the Kirgisut and the leaders of the People of the Forest. He caused them to pay homage to Činggis Qa'an with *gifts of* white gerfalcons, white geldings and black sables.

Činggis Qa'an welcomed Quduqa Beki of the Oyirat, saying, 'He came to submit before *the others*, leading the Tümen Oyirat.' And he showed favour to him, giving Čečeyigen to his son Inalči. He gave J̌oči's daughter Qoluiqan[6] to Törölči, elder brother of Inalči. He gave Alaqa Beki to *the ruler of* the Önggüt.

Činggis Qa'an favoured J̌oči, saying, 'You, eldest of my sons, who only *now for the first time* have left home, you have been lucky. Without wounding or causing suffering to man or gelding in the lands where you went, you came back having subjugated the fortunate[7] People of the Forest. I shall give *this* people to you.' So he ordered.

240 Further, he sent Boro'ul Noyan to fight against the Qori Tumat people. As Daiduqul Soqor, the leader of the Tumat people, had died, his wife Botoqui Tarqun was governing them.[8] Upon reaching *their territory*, Boroqul Noyan *with two others* – three men *altogether* – set out

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[1] Lit., 'of the Kirgisut.'

[2] Written Kesdiyim.

[3] Read Teleng (pl. Telengüt; cf. §207), the modern Telengit of the Altai Republic (RSH 2.853).

[4] The Tö'ölös of §207 above.

[5] I.e., 'up to our side (= territory).'

[6] Huluiqan in the text.

[7] Because they had peacefully submitted to the Mongols, thus gaining Činggis' favour.

[8] Lit., 'the Tumat people.'

from the main army to proceed ahead of it. In the evening, as they were going along a trail in the dense forest and were off guard, they were attacked from the rear by their[1] patrolmen, who blocked the trail. Boroqul Noyan was caught and killed.

When Činggis Qa'an learnt that the Tumat had killed Boroqul, he was greatly angered and prepared to move in person *against them*, but Bo'orču and Muqali pleaded with him[2] until he desisted. Thereupon he appointed Dörbei Doqšin of the Dörbet and commanded him thus: 'Set the army in strict order, pray to Eternal Heaven and strive to subdue the Tumat people!'

Dörbei set the army in order and beforehand made a decoy manoeuvre[3] along the paths, trails and passes where the army was *expected* to advance and which *enemy* patrols would keep under surveillance. *Then*, *going* by paths trodden by the red bull,[4] he issued an ordinance to *his* warriors that, with regard to all the men in the army, if anyone lost heart *and refused to proceed*, they should beat him, and he made *each* man carry ten rods *for this purpose*; he *also* had axes, adzes, saws, chisels and weapons prepared for the men. Along the paths trodden by the red bull he had them chop, hew and saw the trees that stood in the way, *thus* making a road *for the army to pass*.

They went up the mountain and, *as though falling* on to the smoke-hole of the tents[5] of the Tumat people who were busy feasting, they *took them* by surprise and plundered them.

241 Earlier Qorči Noyan and Quduqa Beki had been seized by the Tumat and were there, with Botoqui Tarqun. The way in which Qorči was seized *was the following*: When *Činggis Qa'an* said, 'The girls of the Tumat people

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[1] I.e., the Tumat's.

[2] Lit., 'Činggis Qa'an.'

[3] Lit., 'falsely caused *troops* to move.'

[4] Probably a large deer or an elk is meant.

[5] For this simile, referring to a surprise attack that comes as though falling from the sky on the roof of one's tent, cf. above, §§105 and 109.

are beautiful; let him take thirty wives[1] *from among them*!', *Qorči* went, intending to take the girls of the Tumat people, but *these* people, who had formerly submitted, *now* rebelled and seized Qorči Noyan.

When Činggis Qa'an learnt that Qorči had been seized by the Tumat, he said, 'Quduqa knows the ways *and manners* of the People of the Forest', and sent him *to them*, but Quduqa Beki was also seized.

After he had brought the Tumat people completely under submission, *Činggis Qa'an*, because of the death[2] of Boroqul gave one hundred Tumat *to his family*. Qorči took thirty girls. *Činggis Qa'an* gave Botoqui Tarqun to Quduqa Beki.

242 Činggis Qa'an decreed that he would apportion the *subject* people among *his* mother, children and younger brothers. When he gave *them their share*, he said, 'The one who toiled *most* gathering[3] the people was mother. The eldest of my sons is J̌oči. The youngest of my younger brothers is Otčigin.' To *his* mother, together with Otčigin's share, he gave ten thousand people. The mother was dissatisfied, *thinking them too few*, but she did not complain.

To J̌oči he gave nine thousand people. To Ča'adai 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 Alčidai he gave two thousand people. To Belgütei he gave one thousand five hundred people.

He said, 'Dāritai joined the Kereyit.[4] I shall wipe him from my sight.' On that, Bo'orču, Muqali and Šigi Qutuqu spoke saying, '*This action would be*

Like extinguishing one's own *hearth*-fire,
Like destroying one's own tent.

As a reminder of your good[5] father, only your paternal

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[1] Lit., 'thirty women.'
[2] Lit., 'bones.'
[3] I.e., rallying.
[4] Gereyit in the text.
[5] I.e., 'late.'

uncle is left. How can you do away with him? He *acted* without thinking, so spare him. Allow the youngest brother of your good father, together with *his people*, to let the smoke of their camp swirl up!' And they reasoned with him until *he was so moved that*

He snuffled, as if
He had smoke in his nose.

'Right!' – he said, and thinking of his good father, he calmed down at the words of Bo'orču, Muqali and Šigi Qutuqu.

243 *Činggis Qa'an said*, 'I have given ten thousand people to mother and to Otčigin, and *for them* I have appointed the four commanders Güčü, Kököčü, J̌ungsai and Qorqasun. For J̌oči I have appointed the three *commanders* Qunan, Möngke'ür and Kete. For Ča'adai I have appointed the three *commanders* Qaračar, Möngke and Idoqudai.'

Further, Činggis Qa'an said, 'Ča'adai is headstrong and is, by nature, punctilious. Köke Čos shall stay at his side evening and morning, and shall tell him what he thinks.'[1] So he ordered.

For Ögödei he appointed both Ilüge and Degei. For Tolui he appointed both J̌edei and Bala. For Qasar he appointed J̌ebke. For Alčidai he appointed Ča'urqai.[2]

244 The sons of Father Mönglik of the Qongqotan were seven. The middle one was Kököčü Teb Tenggeri. Those seven ganged up and beat Qasar.

When Qasar, kneeling before Činggis Qa'an, told him that he had been beaten by the seven Qongqotan who had ganged up *against him*, Činggis Qa'an was angry about other *matters*. While Qasar was *still* talking, Činggis Qa'an in his anger said to him, '*In the past* you have done *nothing* but *claim* that you would not be vanquished by *any* living being. How is it that you have *now* been vanquished?' At this Qasar wept, *then* rose and left.

Qasar was vexed and for three days *in succession* did

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[1] I.e., 'he shall advise him.'

[2] Some of the names in this section appear elsewhere in the SH in slightly different forms. See RSH 2.868.

not come *before Činggis Qa'an*.

After this, Teb Tenggeri said to Činggis Qa'an, 'The decree of Eternal Heaven *concerning* the ruler has been *fore*told by *heavenly* signs[1] *as follows*: once they say that Temüjin will hold the nation, once that[2] Qasar *will*. If you don't strike at Qasar by surprise, there is no knowing *what will happen*!'

On these words, Činggis Qa'an that very night rode off to seize Qasar. When he left, Güčü and Kököčü informed the mother[3] that he had gone to seize Qasar. When the mother heard *this*, straightaway – it was *still* night – she harnessed a white camel and set out in a black covered cart, travelling all night.

On her arrival at sunrise, Činggis Qa'an had tied up *the opening of* Qasar's sleeves, removed his hat and belt, and was interrogating him. Činggis Qa'an, surprised by the mother descending upon him, became afraid of her.[4]

The mother was furious. As *soon as* she got there and dismounted from the cart, she[5] herself untied and loosened Qasar's sleeves, *the opening of* which had been tied up, and gave *back* to Qasar his hat and belt. The mother was *so* angered that she was unable to contain her fury. She sat cross-legged, took out both her breasts, laid them over her knees and said, 'Have you seen them? They are the breasts that suckled you, and these[6] are the ones who, rushing out *of my womb*,[7]

Have snapped at their own afterbirth,[8]
Have cut their own birth cord.

What has Qasar done? Temüjin used to drain this one breast of mine. Qači'un and Otčigin between them did not drain a single breast. As for Qasar, he completely

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[1] Cf. §§121 and 206 above.
[2] Lit., 'they say that.'
[3] I.e., Hö'elün.
[4] Lit., 'of the mother.'
[5] Lit., 'the mother.'
[6] I.e., 'you two.'
[7] Translation uncertain. See RSH 2.875-76.
[8] Cf. above, §78.

drained both my breasts and brought me comfort until my bosom relaxed. He used to make *my* bosom relax. Therefore,

My able Temüǰin
Has skill of mind.[1]
My Qasar has skill in archery
And might, and so he was wont
To shoot and subdue
All those on the run, shooting at him.
With long-distance arrows he was wont
To shoot and subdue
All those on the run, in fear *of him*.

But now, saying that you[2] have destroyed the enemy people, you can no *longer* bear the sight of Qasar.' So she spoke.

After Činggis Qa'an had at last calmed the mother, he said, 'I was afraid of mother getting *so* angry and *really* became frightened; and I felt shame and was *really* abashed.' And saying, 'Let us withdraw!', he withdrew *and returned home*. But, without letting the mother know, he stealthily took away the subjects[3] of Qasar and let Qasar have *only* one thousand four hundred people. That is how, when the mother learned *this*, the thought of it made her go quickly *into decline*. J̌ebke of the J̌alayir then left in fright and fled into the Barquǰin *Lowland*.

245 After that, the 'people of nine tongues'[4] gathered under Teb Tenggeri. Many from Činggis Qa'an's horse station *also* decided to gather under Teb Tenggeri. When they had thus gathered, the people who were subject to Temüge Otčigin went over to Teb Tenggeri. Otčigin Noyan *then* sent his messenger, by name of Soqor, to request *the return of* the people who had departed. Teb Tenggeri said to the messenger Soqor, 'I am grateful to

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[1] Lit., 'of bosom.'
[2] I.e., Temüǰin.
[3] Lit., 'the people.'
[4] Possibly Kereyit tribesmen distributed among the Mongols. See RSH 2.878-80.

both Otčigin and you',[1] and, after beating him, sent the messenger Soqor back on foot, forcing him to carry his saddle on his back.

Greatly affected by the beating of his messenger Soqor and his returning on foot, Otčigin the following day – Otčigin himself – went to Teb Tenggeri and said, 'I sent my messenger Soqor *to you*, but you beat him and sent him back on foot. Now I have come *myself* to request *the return of* my people.'

On that, the seven Qongqotan from all sides surrounded Otčigin, saying, 'You were right to send your messenger Soqor.' Otčigin Noyan, being dealt with *in this way* and fearing to be seized and beaten *by them*, said, 'I was wrong to send my messenger.' The seven Qongqotan *then* said, 'If you were wrong, kneel down and make amends', and they had him kneel down behind Teb Tenggeri.

Otčigin was not given his people; so, early next day, when Činggis Qa'an had not yet got up and was still in bed, he[2] went into *his tent*. He wept and, kneeling down, said, 'As "the people of nine tongues" had assembled under Teb Tenggeri, I sent a messenger called Soqor to request from Teb Tenggeri *the return of* the people subject to me. They beat my messenger Soqor, they made him carry the saddle on his back, and he was sent back on foot. When I in person went to request *the return of my people*, I was surrounded from all sides by the seven Qongqotan, who compelled me to make amends and kneel down behind Teb Tenggeri.' And he wept.

Before Činggis Qa'an could utter a sound, Lady Börte sat up in bed, covering her breasts with the edge of the blanket. Seeing Otčigin weep, she *herself* shed tears and said, 'What are those Qongqotan doing? They recently ganged up and beat Qasar. And now, why do they make this Otčigin kneel down behind them? What kind of behaviour is this? Thus they covertly injure even these younger brothers of yours *who are* like cypresses and

[1] For the gift of the horse – said sarcastically, of course.
[2] I.e., Otčigin.

pines. And truly, later

When your body, like a great old tree,
Will fall down,
By whom will they let govern your people
Who are like tangled hemp?
When your body, like the stone base of a pillar,
Will collapse,
By whom will they let govern your people
Who are like a flock of birds?

How will people covertly injuring in this fashion your younger brothers, *who are* like cypresses and pines, *ever* allow my three or four little "naughty ones"[1] to govern while they are *still* growing up? What are those Qongqotan doing? *Now* that you have let them *ill*-treat your younger brothers in such a way, how do you view *all this*?' So spoke Lady Börte and shed tears.

On these words of Lady Börte, Činggis Qa'an said to Otčigin, 'Teb Tenggeri is coming now. Whatever you may *wish to* do *to him* within your power, it is for you to decide!' Whereupon Otčigin rose, wiped away his tears and, going out *of the tent*, stood in readiness with three strong men.

After a while, Father Mönglik came with his seven sons. The seven all entered and, as Teb Tenggeri sat down on the right side of the *kumis* pitchers,[2] Otčigin seized the collar of Teb Tenggeri, saying, 'Yesterday you compelled me to make amends. Let us *now* measure up to each other!' – and, holding his collar, dragged him towards the door. Teb Tenggeri, *then*, facing Otčigin, seized his collar and wrestled with him. As they were wrestling, Teb Tenggeri's hat fell in front of the fireplace. Father Mönglik took his hat, smelled it and placed it in his bosom. Činggis Qa'an said, 'Go out and match each other's strength and might.'

Otčigin dragged Teb Tenggeri out. The three strong men who had earlier been standing in readiness at the threshold of the door faced Teb Tenggeri. They seized

[1] I.e., 'my sons.'
[2] I.e., of the wine table. See above, §213.

him, dragged him out *further*, broke his back and cast him *down* at the end of the *line of* carts of the left side.[1]

Otčigin came *back* into *the tent* and said, 'Teb Tenggeri had compelled me to make amends. When I said, "Let us measure up to each other", he was not willing *to wrestle* and lay down pretending *that he could not get up*. Not much of a companion, is he!'

Father Mönglik understood and, shedding tears, said, 'I have been your companion

Since the brown earth
Was *only* the size of a clod,
Since the sea and rivers
Were *only* the size of a rivulet.'

At these words, his six Qongqotan sons barred the door and disposed themselves around the fireplace. When they rolled up their sleeves, Činggis Qa'an became frightened. Being pressed *by them*, he said, 'Make way, I am going out.' As soon as he stepped outside, quiver-bearers and dayguards surrounded Činggis Qa'an and stood by.

Činggis Qa'an saw that after breaking his backbone, they[2] had cast Teb Tenggeri *down* at the end of the *line of* carts. He had a grey tent brought from the back and placed over Teb Tenggeri, saying, 'Fasten the harnessing *to the carts*, we shall move on.' And he moved on from there.

246 After they had covered the smoke-hole of the tent in which they had placed Teb *Tenggeri*, had blocked the door and put people to keep watch, on the third night at dusk *Teb Tenggeri* opened the smoke-hole of the tent and came out bodily *through it*. When they investigated closely, it was established that it really was Teb *Tenggeri who had been seen* in that part *of the tent*.[3]

Činggis Qa'an said, 'Because Teb Tenggeri laid hands on my younger brothers and spread baseless

[1] I.e., the east side.
[2] I.e., the three strong men.
[3] I.e., over the smoke-hole.

slanders among them[1] *in order to sow discord*, he was no longer loved by Heaven, and his life, together with his body, has been taken away.'

Činggis Qa'an then railed at Father Mönglik saying, 'By not restraining your sons' nature, you *and your sons* began thinking that you were equal *to me*, and you have paid *for this* with Teb Tenggeri's life.[2] If I had known that you had such a nature, you would have been dealt with like J̌amuqa, Altan, Qučar and the others.' So he railed at Father Mönglik.

When he had finished railing at him, he said further, 'If one retracts in the evening what one has said in the morning, and retracts in the morning what one has said the *previous* evening, surely one will only be criticised until he is covered with shame. I have earlier pledged my word *to you*. Enough of this matter!' And, his anger abated, he showed favour to him *again*. He said, 'Had you restrained your ambitious nature, who among Father Mönglik's offspring would have *dared to* consider himself equal *to me*?' After Teb Tenggeri had been annihilated, the *proud* air of the Qongqotan was *much* reduced.

[1] Lit., 'among my younger brothers.'
[2] Lit., 'head.'

THE SECRET HISTORY OF THE MONGOLS

CHAPTER ELEVEN

(= SUP. 1)

247 After that, in the Year of the Sheep (1211), Činggis Qa'an set out against the Kitat people. He took Vuǰiu,[1] crossed over Hünegen Daba'an, took Söndiivu and sent J̌ebe and Güyigünek Ba'atur as vanguards.

On reaching Čabčiyal, *seeing that* the Čabčiyal Pass was defended, J̌ebe there and then said, 'We shall entice them and get them to move and come *after us*. Then, let us put them to the test!' So saying, he turned back. *When they discovered that* he had turned back, the Kitat troops said, 'Let us pursue him!', and they went in pursuit until the valleys and the mountains were completely covered *with them*. Upon reaching the spur of Söndiivu, J̌ebe turned back, rushed forth against the enemies who were approaching in successive *waves* and routed them. Činggis Qa'an, pressing on with the main body of the army, dislodged the Kitat *from their positions*, crushed the valiant and bold J̌üyin troops of the Qara Kidat and the J̌ürčet, slaying them until they were *like* heaps of rotten logs as far as Čabčiyal.

J̌ebe took the gate of Čabčiyal, and after he had captured the passes and crossed over them, Činggis Qa'an pitched camp at Šira Degtür.

Launching the attack on J̌ungdu, he sent troops to various towns and cities, ordering them to attack. He sent J̌ebe to attack the city of Dungčang. *J̌ebe* reached the city of Dungčang but, unable to take it *by storm*, turned back

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[1] For the identification of the localities in north China mentioned in this and the following sections, see RSH 2.888-95. Most crucially, 'Vuǰiu' (Fu-chou) is the northernmost outpost of the J̌urchen/Chin state (*Kitat irgen*, with a mixed population of Chinese and J̌ürčet); 'J̌ungdu' is Peking.

and went as far as the distance of a six days' *march from there*. Then – *the enemy* being unaware – he returned and, marching throughout the night, *each soldier* leading a *spare* horse by hand, he arrived at the moment when *the enemy* was unprepared and took the city of Dungčang.

248 After taking the city of Dungčang, J̌ebe returned and joined Činggis Qa'an.

When J̌ungdu was under siege, a high official of the Altan Qan, Ongging Čingsang, advised the Altan Qan as follows: '*This is* the destiny and *favourable* time *decreed* by Heaven and Earth.[1] Could it be that the time has come when the great throne will pass *to a new ruler*? The Mongols are coming in great might: they have crushed our valiant and bold élite J̌üyin troops of the Qara Kitat[2] and the J̌ürčet, slaying them until they were utterly destroyed. Even Čabčiyal *Pass*, on which we were relying, they have wrested *from us*. If we now set *our* troops in order and send them out *to fight*, should they again be crushed by the Mongols, they will no doubt scatter *and return* to their various cities. And, if we rally them against their will, they will turn against us and will no *longer* be our friends. If *you*, the Altan Qan, grant *permission*, let us for the present submit and come to terms with the ruler of the Mongols. If the Mongols agree to withdraw, after their withdrawal we shall there and then take up another different counsel. It is said that the men and geldings of the Mongols find *our* country unsuitable and fall victim to epidemics. Let us give a princess to their ruler, and to the men in *his* army let us send out gold, silver, satin and goods in abundance. Who knows whether they will *or will* not agree to our proposal?'

When Ongging Čingsang had given his advice, the Altan Qan approved these words of his, saying, 'Let it be so!' *Then*, offering submission, he sent to Činggis Qa'an a

[1] Cf. above, §194.
[2] = Qara Kidat.

princess by name of Gungǰu[1] and from J̌ungdu he sent out to the men in *his* army gold, silver, satin and goods – as much as, in their judgement, their strength *and that of their horses* could carry. He *also* sent Ongging Čingsang to Činggis Qa'an.

When they came and submitted themselves, Činggis Qa'an agreed to their proposal. He ordered back the troops that were attacking the various towns and withdrew. Ongging Čingsang accompanied Činggis Qa'an as far as the spurs called Moǰiu[2] and Vuǰiu, and *then* returned. As for the satin and goods, our troops loaded as much as *their horses* could carry and moved away, tying up their loads with *bands of* heavy silk fabric.

249 In the course of that military campaign, *Činggis Qa'an* set out towards the Qašin people. When, moving in their direction, he reached *their country*, Burqan *Qan* of the Qašin people said, 'I shall submit and, becoming your right[3] wing, I shall serve you.' And he offered his daughter, called Čaqa, to Činggis Qa'an.

Further, Burqan Qan said, 'Hearing of Činggis Qa'an's fame we were in awe *of you*. Now your august person has arrived, you have come to us, and we are *indeed* awed by your majesty. Being awed, we the Tang'ut people have said, "We shall become your right[3] wing and we shall serve you." When we serve you, *know that*

We are the ones who live in permanent camps,
We are the ones who have towns with pounded-earth *walls*.
And so, when we become your companions,
In waging a swift campaign,
In fighting a deadly combat,
We shall not be able to hasten into a swift campaign,
We shall not be able to fight a deadly combat.

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[1] This is not the name of the lady in question, but the Chinese term *kung-chu* meaning 'princess.'

[2] An error in the text, possibly for Mači. See RSH 2.900-02.

[3] I.e., west.

But if Činggis Qa'an shows favour to us, we the Tang'ut people,

We shall bring forth many camels
Reared in the shelter of the tall feather-grass:
We shall turn them into government property
And we shall give *them to you*.
We shall weave woollen material and make satin,
And we shall give *them to you*.
Training falcons to fly loose *at game*,
We shall gather them

and *all* the best ones we shall send *to you*.' Thus he petitioned *Činggis Qa'an*. And having spoken, he kept to his word. He levied camels from his Tang'ut people and, bringing *so many* that it was impossible to drive *any more of them*, he gave *them to Činggis Qa'an*.

250 On that campaign Činggis Qa'an obtained the submission of the Altan Qa'an[1] of the Kitat people and took a large quantity of satin. He *also* obtained the submission of Burqan of the Qašin people and took a great number of camels.

Having *thus* obtained the submission of the Altan Qan of the Kitat people, named Aqutai, and[2] of Iluqu Burqan of the Tang'ut people in that campaign of the Year of the Sheep (1211), Činggis Qa'an returned *home* and set up camp on the Sa'ari Steppe.

251 Again, after that, since J̌ubqan and many other envoys of ours who were sent to J̌au Gon to seek allegiance had been hindered by the Altan Qa'an[1] Aqutai of the Kitat people, in the Year of the Dog (1214) Činggis Qa'an set out once more against the Kitat people. On setting out he said, 'After they had already submitted themselves, how could they hinder the envoys sent to J̌au Gon?'

Činggis Qa'an moved in the direction of the Tunggon Pass, ordering J̌ebe to go by way of Čabčiyal. Realizing that Činggis Qa'an had gone by the Tunggon Pass, the Altan Qan entrusted the command of his troops to Ile, Qada and Höbögetür, saying, 'With the army blocking *the*

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[1] *Read* Qan.
[2] Lit., 'and having obtained the submission.'

passage and disposing the Red Coats as vanguard, fight for the Tunggon Pass and do not let them cross the defile!' And he sent Ile, Qada and Höbögetür in haste with the troops.

When *Činggis Qa'an* arrived at the Tunggon Pass, the Kitat troops came to intercept him, saying, '*Our* soil!'[1] Činggis Qa'an fought against Ile, Qada and Höbögetür and put to flight Ile and Qada. Tolui and Čügü Gürigen[2] *then* arrived and, charging at their flanks, forced back the Red Coats, repulsed and *completely* defeated Ile and Qada, and slew the Kitat until they were *like* heaps of rotten logs.

When the Altan Qan learned that his Kitat troops had been slain and destroyed, he fled out of J̌ungdu and entered the city of Namging. As the remnants of his troops were dying of starvation, they ate human flesh between them.

Because Tolui and Čügü Gürigen had performed well, Činggis Qa'an greatly favoured both of them.[3]

252 Činggis Qa'an set up camp at Qosivu, *then* in the Šira Ke'er[4] of J̌ungdu. J̌ebe broke down the gate of Čabčiyal and, having routed the *enemy* troops who were holding Čabčiyal, came and joined Činggis Qa'an.

When the Altan Qan moved out of J̌ungdu, he appointed Qada as *liušiu*[5] in J̌ungdu before leaving *the city*. When Činggis Qa'an had the inventory taken of the gold, silver, goods, satin and *other* things *gathered* in J̌ungdu, he sent the steward Önggür, Arqai Qasar and Šigi Qutuqu *to do it*. As these three were approaching, Qada went ahead to greet them, taking with him gold-*embroidered* and patterned satins. He came out of J̌ungdu and welcomed them.

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[1] I.e., 'Let us defend our soil!'

[2] The Čigü Güregen of §202 (no. 85).

[3] Lit., 'both Tolui and Čügü Gürigen.'

[4] I.e., 'the Yellow Plain', i.e. the open country north of Peking, 'yellow' no doubt referring to the characteristic colour of the soil (loess). See RSH 2.916.

[5] I.e., as temporary vicegerent or governor.

Šigi Qutuqu said to Qada, 'Formerly, the goods of this J̌ungdu, and the very *city of* J̌ungdu, did belong to the Altan Qan. Now J̌ungdu surely belongs to Činggis Qa'an. How can you give us the goods and satins of Činggis Qa'an, stealing them and bringing them *here* behind his back? I shall not take them.' Thus spoke Šigi Qutuqu and did not take them, but the steward Önggür and Arqai took them. After making the inventory of the goods and *other* things of J̌ungdu, these three came back *to Činggis Qa'an*.

Činggis Qa'an then asked Önggür, Arqai and Qutuqu, 'What did Qada give you?' Šigi Qutuqu said, 'He brought and gave us gold-*embroidered* and patterned satins. I said to him, "Formerly, this J̌ungdu belonged to the Altan Qan. Now it has surely become Činggis Qa'an's *property*. How can you, Qada, give us Činggis Qa'an's goods, stealing them behind his back?" *Thus* I said and did not take them, but Önggür and Arqai took what *Qada* had given them.' So spoke Šigi Qutuqu.

Činggis Qa'an then mightily rebuked Önggür and Arqai. *As for Šigi Qutuqu*, he greatly favoured him, saying, 'You, Šigi Qutuqu, have been mindful of the great norm *concerning one's obligations to the qan*.'[1] And he said, 'You shall be

Eyes for me to see with,
Ears for me to hear with!'[2]

253 After the Altan Qan had entered Namging, he submitted himself in person and, making obeisance, sent his son called Tenggeri, with a hundred companions, to Činggis Qa'an to serve as a dayguard *and hostage*.

As *the Altan Qan* had been brought under submission by him, Činggis Qa'an said that he would withdraw. There and then he withdrew by the Čabčiyal *Pass*, sending Qasar along the sea *coast* with the troops of the left[3] wing. He sent him with the following instructions: 'Set

[1] Cf. above, §220.
[2] See above, §§138 and 203.
[3] I.e., east.

up camp at the city of Beiging.[1] After you have subjugated the city of Beiging, proceed further and cross *the country of* Vuqanu of the Jürčet. If Vuqanu intends to offer resistance, go for him. If he submits, pass through their[2] border towns, go along the rivers Ula and Na'u, and crossing the Ta'ur River upstream, join forces with me at the main basecamp.' With Qasar he sent Jürčedei, Alči and Tolun Čerbi from among the *army* commanders.

Qasar brought the city of Beiging into subjection, forced Vuqanu of the Jürčet to submit and subjugated the towns which were on the way *there*. Qasar *then* proceeded upstream along the Ta'ur River and settled at the main base camp.

254 After that, as Činggis Qa'an's one hundred envoys with Uquna at their head had been held up and slain by the Sarta'ul people, Činggis Qa'an said, 'How can my "golden halter" be broken[3] by the Sarta'ul people?' And he said, 'I shall set out against the Sarta'ul people,

To take revenge,
To requite the wrong

for *the slaying of* my hundred envoys with Uquna at their head.'

When he was about to set out, there and then Yisüi Qatun respectfully gave the following advice to Činggis Qa'an: 'The Qa'an has thought of

Establishing order over his many people,
Climbing high passes,
Crossing wide rivers
And waging a long campaign.

Still, living beings who are but born *to this world* are not eternal:

When your body, like a great old tree,
Will fall down,
To whom will you bequeath your people

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[1] Buiging? See RSH 2.921.

[2] I.e., the Jürčet's.

[3] I.e., 'How can my sovereign authority be infringed?' The 'golden halter' refers to the firm bond uniting the Mongol *qan* to other rulers who owed him allegiance.

Which is like tangled hemp?
When your body, like the stone base of a pillar,
Will collapse,
To whom will you bequeath your people
Which is like a flock of birds?[1]

Of your four sons, the heroes whom you have begotten, which one will you designate *as your successor?* I have given you *this* advice on what, thinking about it, we – the sons, younger brothers, the many common people and my poor self [2] – understood *to be an important question.* Your order[3] shall decide!'

So she advised him and Činggis Qa'an declared: 'Even though she is only a woman,[4] Yisüi's words are more right than right. No matter who – younger brothers and sons, and you Bo'orču, Muqali and others – no one has advised me like this. And also

I forgot,
As if I would not follow the forefathers;
I slept,
As if I would not be caught by death.'

Having said *this*, he said, 'The eldest of my sons is J̌oči. What do you, *J̌oči*, say? Speak up!' But before J̌oči could utter a sound, Ča'adai said, 'When you say, "J̌oči, speak up!", do you mean *by that* that you will appoint J̌oči *as your successor?* How can we let ourselves be ruled by this bastard offspring of the Merkit?'[5]

At these words, J̌oči rose and grabbing Ča'adai by the collar, said, 'I have never been told by *my* father the Qan that I was different *from my brothers*. How can you discriminate *against* me? In what skill are you better *than I?* Only in your obstinacy you are, perhaps, better. If we shoot arrows at a long distance and I am outdone by you, I shall cut off my thumb and throw it away! If we wrestle

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[1] Cf. above, §245.
[2] Lit., 'and Us "the bad one."'
[3] I.e., 'word.'
[4] Lit., 'a lady-person.'
[5] For the implications of Ča'adai's insulting words, see RSH 2.926-27.

and I am defeated by you, I shall not rise from the place where I have fallen! Let the order[1] of *my* father the Qan decide *which of us is better*!'

So he said, and as J̌oči and Ča'adai both stood holding each other by the collar, with Bo'orču pulling J̌oči by the arm and Muqali pulling Ča'adai by the arm, Činggis Qa'an listened and sat without saying a word.

Then, Kökö Čos, who was standing on the left side, said, 'Ča'adai, why are you so hasty? It was you, among the sons, for whom your father the Qan had cherished hopes. Before you were born,

The starry sky was turning upon itself,
The many people were in turmoil:
They did not enter their beds *to rest*,
But fought against each other.
The crusty earth was turning and turning,
The entire nation was in turmoil:
They[2] did not lie on their coverlets *to rest*,
But attacked each other.
At such time *your mother was abducted*.
It was not her wish:
It happened at a time
When men met, *weapons in hand*.
She was not running away *from her home*:
It happened at a time
Of mutual fighting.
She was not in love *with someone else*:
It happened at a time
When one *man* slew another.

You speak so as to harden the butter of your mother's affection, so as to sour the milk of *that* august lady's heart.[3]

From the warm *womb, coming forth*
Suddenly, were you *two*
Not born from the same belly?

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[1] I.e., 'word.'

[2] I.e., the people.

[3] 'Butter' and 'milk' indicate softness and loving kindness respectively.

From the hot *womb, coming forth*
Abruptly, were you *two*
Not issued from a single womb?
If you incur blame
From your mother who has borne you
From her heart, her affection
For you will grow cold:
Even if you appease her
It will be of no avail.
If you incur reproach
From your mother who has borne you
From her belly,
Even if you lessen her reproach
It will be of no avail.
When your father the Qan
Established the whole nation,
His black head was bound to the saddle,
His black blood was poured
Into a large leather bucket.[1]
His black eyes he did not wink,
His flat ear he did not rest on a pillow:
Of his sleeve he made a pillow and
He spread his robe *for a mattress*.
Easing his thirst with his own saliva,
Eating the flesh between his teeth for supper,

he strove fiercely, and

Till the sweat of his brow reached the soles of his feet,
Till the sweat from the soles of his feet went up to his brow,

he applied himself earnestly *to his great task*. It was the time when your mother, together *with him*, suffered hardship:

Pulling firmly her tall hat
Over her head,
Tying tightly her belt
To shorten *her skirt*,
Fastening her tall hat

[1] I.e., he was in constant danger of losing his life. For these images see RSH 2.928-29.

Over her head,
Fixing her belt
To tighten *her waist*,
She brought you up, her *sons*.[1]
As she gulped *her food*
She gave you half of it;
Her throat choking *with pity*
She gave you all of it,
And she herself went hungry.
Stretching your shoulders,
"How shall I make them into men?"
She said to herself.
Stretching your necks,
"How shall I make them into adults?"[2]
She said *to herself*.
Cleaning your whole body,
Causing you to lift your heels
And learn how to walk,
She made you reach
Up to men's shoulders,
Up to geldings' cruppers.

And *even* now, does she not wish to see the happiness of you, her *sons*? Our august Qatun, *in bringing you up* had a heart

As bright as the sun,
As wide as a lake.'

So he spoke.

255 Thereupon, Činggis Qan said *to Ča'adai*, 'How can you speak thus about J̌oči? Isn't J̌oči the eldest of my sons? In future do not talk like that!' So he said, and at these words Ča'adai smiled and said, 'I shall not dispute J̌oči's strength, nor shall I reply to *his claims* of skill:

"*Game* that one has killed *only* with one's mouth
Cannot be loaded on one's mount;
Game that one has slain *only* with one's words
Cannot be skinned."

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[1] Cf. above, §74.
[2] Cf. above, §214.

The eldest sons are J̌oči and I.[1] We shall, in cooperation with each other, serve *our* father the Qan.

Whichever of us[2] evades *his duty*
Shall have *his head* split open;
Whichever of us lags behind
Shall have his heels cut across.

But it is Ögödei *among us* who is steady *and reliable*: let us, *therefore*, agree on Ögödei. As Ögödei is close to *our* father the Qan, if *the Qan* instructs him on the great array of the "teachings of the hat",[3] *this* will be fine!'

So he spoke, and at these words Činggis Qa'an said, 'What do you say, J̌oči? Speak up!' Whereupon, J̌oči said, 'Ča'adai has just said it: Ča'adai and I[4] shall, in co-operation with each other, serve *the Qan*. Let us agree on Ögödei.' So he spoke, and Činggis Qa'an declared as follows: 'Why should you *two* go so far as to cooperate with each other? Mother Earth is wide: its rivers and waters are many. Extending the camps[5] that can be easily divided, We shall make *each of you* rule over a domain and We shall separate you.' And he said, 'You J̌oči and Ča'adai, keep to your word:

Do not let yourselves be scorned by people,
Do not let yourselves be laughed at by men.

Formerly, Altan and Qučar had pledged their word like that,[6] but because they failed to keep their word, how were they dealt with? What happened to them? Now, with you, We shall separate *also some* of the offspring of Altan and Qučar: seeing them, how can you be remiss *in your duties*?'

Having spoken thus, Činggis Qa'an said, 'Ögödei, what do you say? Speak up!' Ögödei said, 'When *my* father the Qa'an, favouring me, tells me to speak, what am I to say? How can I say that I am not able *to do so?* I

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[1] Lit., 'we.'
[2] Lit., 'The one of us who.'
[3] I.e., on how to be a *qan*. See RSH 2.932-33.
[4] Lit., 'we.'
[5] I.e., the grazing grounds.
[6] I.e., 'as you did.'

shall say that I will certainly try according to *my* ability. Later, if perchance *some* among my descendants will be born *so worthless that*

Even if one wrapped them in fresh grass,
They would not be eaten by an ox;
Even if one wrapped them in fat,
They would not be eaten by a dog,

will they *not* "miss the elk breadthwise *just as* the rat lengthwise?"[1] I'll say as much as that. What else shall I say?'

So he spoke, and at these words Činggis Qa'an declared as follows: 'If Ögödei speaks such words, *that* will do.' Further, he said, 'Tolui, what do you say? Speak up!'

Tolui said, 'Being at the side of my elder brother[2] whom *our* father the Qa'an has *just* designated,

I shall remind him of what he has forgotten,
I shall wake him up when he has fallen asleep.
I shall become a friend of *the word* "yes"
And the whip of his chestnut horse.
Not being remiss in *my* "yes",
Not being absent from the ranks,
I shall go forth for him on a long campaign
Or fight in a short fight.'

When *Tolui* had spoken thus, Činggis Qa'an approved, saying, 'Descendants of Qasar, appoint one of you to govern. Descendants of Alčidai, appoint one of you to govern. Descendants of Otčigin, appoint one of you to govern. Descendants of Belgütei, appoint one of you to govern. If, thinking in this way and appointing one of my descendants to govern, you do not rescind my order by contravening it, *then* you will not err, you will not be at fault. Supposing that the descendants of Ögödei are *all* born *so worthless that*

Even if one wrapped them in fresh grass,

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[1] I.e., just like an unskilled hunter; in other words, they will be totally unfit to govern.

[2] I.e., Ögödei.

They would not be eaten by an ox;
Even if one wrapped them in fat,
They would not be eaten by a dog,

is it *possible* that among my descendants not *even* a single one will be born who is good?' So he spoke.

256 When Činggis Qa'an set out on the campaign, he sent envoys to Burqan of the Tang'ut people *with a message* saying: 'You said that you would be *my* right[1] wing. As the Sarta'ul people have broken my "golden halter",[2] I have set out to call them to account *for their action.* You set forth *too* as the right wing *of my army.*'

When *the message* he had sent *was received*, and before Burqan could utter a word, Aša Gambu forestalling him said, 'Since *Činggis Qa'an's* forces are incapable *of subjugating others,*[3] why did he go as far as becoming *qan*?' So saying, he did not dispatch auxiliary troops *to him* and sent back *the envoys* with haughty words.

Thereupon, Činggis Qa'an said, 'How can we *bear* being spoken to in this manner by Aša Gambu?' And he said, 'The best plan *would be for us* to send *troops* against them at once by detouring in their direction. What difficulty would there be *in that? But now*, when we are indeed moving in the direction of other people, let that pass. If I am protected by Eternal Heaven, when I come back pulling in strongly *my* golden reins,[4] then surely this matter shall be *dealt with*!'

257 In the Year of the Hare (1219), Činggis Qa'an set out against the Sarta'ul people crossing the Alai.[5] From among the ladies, he took with him on the campaign Qulan Qatun and, having entrusted Otčigin Noyan from among his younger brothers with the main base camp, he moved forth. He sent J̌ebe as vanguard. He sent Sübe'etei in support of J̌ebe and sent Toqučar in support of Sübe'etei.

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[1] I.e., west.
[2] See above, §254.
[3] I.e., on their own, without assistance.
[4] I.e., at the end of the campaign. Cf. below, §275.
[5] Arai in the text. Cf. above, §198.

As he sent these three *ahead* he said, 'Go *round the* outside, coming out at the other side[1] of the Sultan[2] and, waiting for Us to arrive, attack him from your side.' So saying he sent them forth.

J̌ebe then went and, passing the cities of Qan Melik without touching them, he bypassed them on the outside. Behind him, Sübe'etei bypassed them in the same manner without touching them. But Toqučar, *coming* behind him,[3] attacked the border towns of Qan Melik and pillaged his peasants. Because his towns had been attacked, Qan Melik rose in rebellion *against us* and joined J̌alaldin Soltan.

J̌alaldin Soltan and Qan Melik moved against Činggis Qa'an. Šigi Qutuqu went as vanguard before Činggis Qa'an. J̌alaldin Soltan and Qan Melik fought with Šigi Qutuqu. They defeated Šigi Qutuqu and, pressing on, approached as far as Činggis Qa'an; at that moment, however, J̌ebe, Sübe'etei and Toqučar came in from behind J̌alaldin Soltan and Qan Melik, overcame them and utterly destroyed them. By so doing,[4] they prevented them from joining forces in the cities of Buqar, Semisgab[5] and Udarar.[6] They pursued them as far as the Šin River and when, being pressed, the Sarta'ul started throwing themselves into it,[7] many of them did indeed perish there, in the Šin River. J̌alaldin Soltan and Qan Melik fled upstream along it,[8] saving their lives.

Činggis Qa'an advanced along the Šin River upstream and went to plunder Batkesen. He reached the Eke Stream and the Ge'ün Stream, and set up camp in the Baru'an

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[1] I.e., at the back.

[2] = Soltan, i.e. J̌alaldin Soltan mentioned below.

[3] I.e., Sübe'etei.

[4] Lit., 'Overcoming them.'

[5] An error for Semisgen.

[6] = Bukhara, Samarkand, and Otrar; for the identification of the localities in this and the following sections, see RSH 2.943. *Šin* (< *Šind*) is the Indus River.

[7] Lit., 'into the Šin River.'

[8] Lit., 'along the Šin River.'

Plain. He sent Bala of the J̌alayir[1] in pursuit of J̌alaldin Soltan.

Č*inggis Qa'an*, greatly favouring J̌ebe and Sübe'etei, said, 'J̌ebe, you were named J̌irqo'adai. When you came *to me* from the Tayiči'ut, you indeed became[2] J̌ebe. Toqučar, of his own will, attacked the border towns of Qan Melik and caused him[3] to rebel *against us*. Making *this a matter of* law, we shall execute him!' However, in the end he did not execute him, but having severely reprimanded him, he punished him by demoting him from his command of the army.

258 Then Činggis Qa'an, returning from the Baru'an[4] Plain, sent *his* three sons, J̌oči, Ča'adai and Ögödei, saying, 'Cross the Amui River with the troops of the right[5] wing and set up camp at the city of Ürünggeči.' He sent Tolui, saying, 'Set up camp at Iru, Isebür and many other towns.' Činggis Qa'an himself encamped at the city of Udirar.[6]

The three sons, J̌oči, Ča'adai and Ögödei sent the following request: 'Our troops are completely assembled. We have reached the city of Ürünggeči. Of *the three of* us, according to whose words should we act?' Upon their request, Činggis Qa'an sent a message to them ordering that they should act according to the words of Ögödei.

259 Then Činggis Qa'an, having brought the city of Udurar[7] to submission, set out from the city of Udurar and pitched camp at the city of Semisgab.[8] Setting out from the city of Semisgab, he pitched camp at the city of Buqar. Thereupon, Činggis Qa'an waited for Bala and spent the summer at the ridge of Altan Qorqan in the

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[1] J̌aliyar in the text.
[2] I.e., 'were named.' See above, §147.
[3] Lit., 'Qan Melik.'
[4] Barula in the text.
[5] I.e., west.
[6] The Udarar of §257 and Udurar of §259.
[7] See prior note.
[8] See note 5 on p. 179.

former summer quarters of the Soltan.[1] *From there* he sent messengers to Tolui, saying, 'The weather[2] has become warm. The other troops must set up camp *too*. You *come and* join Us.'

When he sent *this message*, Tolui had captured the cities of Iru, Isebür and others, had destroyed the city of Sisten and was just destroying the city of Čuqčeren. When the messengers gave him this message, Tolui, having destroyed the city of Čuqčeren, returned to pitch camp and joined Činggis Qa'an.

260 J̌oči, Ča'adai and Ögödei, *these* three sons *of Činggis Qa'an*, subjugated the city of Örünggeči:[3] they shared the people of the cities among all three of them but did not give Činggis Qa'an a share.

When these three sons came to set up camp, Činggis Qa'an reprimanded J̌oči, Ča'adai and Ögödei – the three sons *in question* – and for three days did not allow them into his presence. Then Bo'orču, Muqali and Šigi Quduqu[4] petitioned as follows: 'We caused the Soltan of the Sarta'ul people, who had refused to submit, to abase himself and we conquered his cities and peoples. The city of Örünggeči,[3] which was taken and shared, and the sons *of yours* who took it and shared it among themselves, all belong to Činggis Qa'an. Now that, with our strength increased by Heaven and Earth, we have caused the Sarta'ul people to abase themselves like this, we – *the men of* your entire army – are rejoicing and are content with ourselves. Why is the Qa'an so angry? The sons have realized their mistake and are indeed afraid. Let *this* be a lesson for their future *conduct*! We fear lest the sons' natural *ardour* may be discouraged *as a result of this*. Will you not, *therefore*, show favour to them *again* and allow them into your presence?'

Upon their petition, Činggis Qa'an, appeased, allowed the three sons J̌oči, Ča'adai and Ögödei into his presence.

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[1] = Sultan. Here Muḥammad Šāh is almost certainly meant.
[2] Lit., 'the year.'
[3] = Ürünggeči.
[4] = Qutuqu. See above, §135.

He rebuked them
Quoting ancient words,
Citing old sayings,
and reprimanded them
To the point where they almost sank
In the place where they stood,
To the point where they could not wipe off
The sweat of their brow.[1]

Just as he was addressing them with reprimands and admonitions, Qongqai Qorči, Qongtaqar Qorči and Čormaqan Qorči – these three quiverbearers – *also* petitioned Činggis Qa'an as follows: 'Like grey falcons that have just begun training, the sons are barely learning *how* to wage a military campaign, and, at such a time, you rebuke them in this way, piling abuse on them.[2] Why? We fear lest the sons, being afraid, will lose heart. From *the place* where the sun sets to *the place* where it rises there are enemy people. If you incite us – your Tibetan dogs – and send us *on a mission*, with our strength increased by Heaven and Earth we shall bring *back* for you enemy people, gold, silver, satin, goods and subjects. If you say, "Which people?", we say, "Here in the west there is one called the Qalibai Soltan of the Baqtat people." Let us move against him!' So they petitioned him. The Qa'an was appeased by these words and *his anger* abated.

Činggis Qa'an approved *their proposal* and issued the *following* order, favouring the three quiverbearers Qongqai, Qongtaqar and Čormaqan: 'Qongqai of the Adargin and Qongtaqar of the Dolonggir shall stay at my side.' He sent Čormaqan of the Ötegen on a campaign against the Baqtat people and the Qalibai Soltan.

261 Further, *Činggis Qa'an* sent Dörbei Doqšin of the Dörbet on a campaign against Aru,[3] Maru and the city of Abtu of the Madasari people between the Hindus people and the Baqtat people.

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[1] Because they were sweating so profusely.
[2] Lit., '(on) the sons.'
[3] An error for Iru. Cf. above, §§258, 259.

262 Further, he sent Sübe'etei Ba'atur northwards to campaign as far as the countries and peoples of these eleven tribes: Qanglin, Kibča'ut, Bajigit, Orusut, Maǰarat, Asut, Sasut, Serkesüt, Kešimir, Bolar and Kerel;[1] and, making him cross the rivers Idil and J̌ayaq rich in waters, *he sent* Sübe'etei Ba'atur *to campaign* as far as the city of Kiwa Menkermen.

263 Further, having completed the conquest of the Sarta'ul people, Činggis Qa'an issued an order setting up resident commissioners[2] in the various cities. Two Sarta'ul of the Qurumši clan – father and son – called Yalawači and Masqut, came from the city of Ürünggeči. They told Činggis Qa'an about the laws and customs of cities; *whereupon the latter*, being adequately informed as to *these* customs, appointed his[3] son Masqut the Qurumši, putting him in charge, with our resident commissioners, of Buqar, Semisgen, Ürünggeči, Udan, Kisqar, Uriyang, Güsen Daril and other cities. He[4] brought *back with him* his[5] father Yalawači and put him in charge of the city of J̌ungdu of the Kitat.

Because, from *among* the Sartaq[6] people, Yalawači and Masqut were adept in the laws and customs of cities, *Činggis Qa'an* appointed them, with *our* resident commissioners, putting them in charge of the Kitat people.

264 *Činggis Qa'an* spent seven years in *the country of* the Sarta'ul people. Then, at the time when he was waiting for Bala of the J̌alayir, Bala, having crossed the Šin River, was pursuing J̌alaldin Soltan and Qan Melik as far as the country of the Hindus. He lost track of J̌alaldin Soltan and Qan Melik and, *even though* he sought them as far as the middle of *the country of* the Hindus, he was unable *to find them* and returned. He came back pillaging the

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[1] The text has incorrectly Raral. For all these names see RSH 2.959-61. See also the Names Index below.

[2] *Daruqačin* and, further down, *daruqa*. See RSH 2.961-62.

[3] I.e., Yalawači's.

[4] I.e., Činggis Qa'an.

[5] I.e., Masqut's.

[6] = Sarta'ul.

people on the border of the Hindus and seizing many camels and many gelded billy-goats.

Then Činggis Qa'an returned *home.* On the way he spent the summer on the *river* Erdiš. In the autumn[1] of the Year of the Hen (1225) – the seventh year *of the campaign* – he settled at his Palaces[2] in the Black Forest by the Tūla.[3]

[1] Read 'spring' (*qabur*) for 'autumn' (*namur*).
[2] *Ordos*, i.e. the royal encampment.
[3] = the Tu'ula of §§96, 104, 115, 164, 177 and 178 above.

THE SECRET HISTORY OF THE MONGOLS

CHAPTER TWELVE
(= SUP. 2)

265 After spending the winter *there*,[1] Činggis Qa'an said, 'I shall set forth against the Tang'ut people.' He counted his troops anew and in the autumn of the Year of the Dog (1226) set forth against the Tang'ut people. From *among* the ladies, he took with him Yisüi Qatun.

In the winter, Činggis Qa'an, riding *his steed* J̌osotu Boro,[2] on the way hunted the many wild asses of Arbuqa. When the wild asses passed *close* by them J̌osotu Boro took fright. Činggis Qa'an fell off the horse and, his body being in great pain, he halted at Čo'orqat.

He spent that night *there* and the following morning Yisüi Qatun said, 'Princes and commanders, consult each other *on what to do*: the Qa'an has spent the night, his body hot *with fever*.' Thereupon, the princes and commanders assembled and Tolun Čerbi of the Qongqotan advised as follows: 'The Tang'ut people

Are ones who have towns with pounded-earth *walls*,
Are ones who live in permanent camps.
They won't leave, carrying off their towns with pounded-earth *walls*;
They won't leave, abandoning their permanent camps.[3]

Let us withdraw. Then, when the Qa'an's body has cooled down, we shall set out again!'

When he spoke *thus*, all the princes and commanders agreed with his words and petitioned Činggis Qa'an *accordingly*, but Činggis Qa'an said, 'The Tang'ut people

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[1] I.e., at his *ordos* in the Black Forest by the Tūla. See above, §264.
[2] I.e., 'Reddish Grey.'
[3] See above, §249.

will say that we turned back because we lost heart. However, if we send envoys to them and watch right here at Čo'orqat which turn my illness takes,[1] and withdraw after considering their reply,[2] that would be fine.' And so he sent envoys to carry the following message: 'In the past, you, Burqan, said, "We, the Tang'ut people, shall be your right[3] wing."[4] Although told so by you, when I sent you a request *for troops*, saying that I was going on a campaign because the Sarta'ul people had not agreed to my proposal, you, Burqan, did not keep your promise and did not give me troops, but came out with mocking words.[5] As I was moving in a different direction at the time, I said that I would call you to account later. I set out against the Sarta'ul people and being protected by Eternal Heaven I brought them duly under submission.[6] Now I have come to call Burqan to account for his words.'

Burqan said, 'I did not speak the mocking words.' Thereupon Aša Gambu said, 'I spoke the mocking words. As for now, if you Mongols, who are used to fighting, say, "Let us fight!", *then* turn towards the Alašai and come to me, for I have an encampment in the Alašai,

I have tents of thin woollen cloth,
I have camels laden *with goods*.

Let us fight there! If you need gold, silver, satin and *other* goods, turn towards Eriqaya and Eriǰe'ü.' He sent this message to Činggis Qa'an.

When his words were conveyed to Činggis Qa'an, his body was *still* hot *with fever*. Činggis Qa'an said, 'This is enough! When one lets oneself be addressed so boastfully, how can one withdraw? Even if we die let us challenge their boasts!' And, saying, 'Eternal Heaven, you be the judge!', he moved in the direction of Alašai.

He arrived *there* and fought with Aša Gambu. He

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[1] Lit., 'trying the illness.'
[2] Lit., 'their (i.e. the Tang'ut's) word.'
[3] I.e., west.
[4] See above, §§249 and 256.
[5] A reference to Aša Gambu's words in §256 above.
[6] Lit., 'I forced them into righteousness.'

overcame Aša Gambu and forced him to barricade himself up on the Alašai. He captured Aša Gambu and plundered his people

Who had tents of thin woollen cloth,
Who had camels laden *with goods*,

until they were blown *to the winds* like *hearth*-ashes.

He *then* gave the following order: 'Kill the valiant, the bold, the manly and the fine Tang'uts, and let the soldiers take for themselves as many of the common Tang'uts[1] as they can lay hands on and capture.'

266 Činggis Qa'an spent the summer on Časutu[2] *Mountain*. He sent troops against the Tang'uts

Who had tents of thin woollen cloth,
Who had camels laden *with goods*,

and who, with Aša Gambu, had made for the mountains and were offering resistance. He caused *his troops* to plunder them as planned until they were utterly destroyed.

Then, showing favour to Bo'orču and Muqali, he ordered that they should take as much *booty* as in their judgement their strength *could carry*.

Further, Činggis Qa'an ordered to reward Bo'orču and Muqali as follows: 'Since I did not give you *a share* of the Kitat people, the two of you take and divide equally between yourselves the Jüyin of the Kitat people. Go and make their fine sons follow you, holding your falcons. Bring up their fine daughters and make them arrange the hems of your wives' skirts. The trusted friends of the Altan Qan of the Kitat people are the Qara Kitat Jüyin people who have destroyed the ancestors of the Mongols. Now, you two, Bo'orču and Muqali, are my trusted friends.'

267 Činggis Qa'an moved away from Časutu *Mountain* and set up camp at the city of Uraqai. After setting out from the city of Uraqai, while he was destroying the city of Dörmegei, Burqan came to pay homage to Činggis Qa'an.

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[1] I.e., of the Tang'ut population at large.
[2] I.e., 'Snowy.'

Burqan then paid homage, presenting himself with *gifts such as*, in the first place, golden images of Buddha; *then* golden and silver bowls and vessels, nine of each *kind*; boys and girls, nine of each; geldings and camels, nine of each; and all sorts *of other objects* arranged in nines according to their colour and form. *Činggis Qa'an kept* the door closed and made Burqan pay homage *outside the tent*.

On that *occasion*, when Burqan paid homage, Činggis Qa'an felt revulsion within his heart. On the third day, Činggis Qa'an issued an order giving Iluqu Burqan the name Šidurqu.[1] Being *thus* visited by Iluqu Burqan Šidurqu, Činggis Qa'an then ordered that Iluqu be put to death and that Tolun Čerbi seize and execute him *with his own hands*.

Afterwards, when Tolun Čerbi reported that he had seized Iluqu and killed him, Činggis Qa'an ordered as follows: 'When I approached the Tang'ut people to call *Iluqu Burqan* to account for his words, and on the way hunted the wild asses of Arbuqa, my body being in pain, it was indeed Tolun who, concerned about my life, spoke words of advice and said, "Let it heal!"[2] We came *here* on account of the poisonous words of an enemy and with *Our* strength increased by Eternal Heaven, who gave him into Our hands, we took Our revenge. Tolun shall take *for himself* this movable palace brought by Iluqu, together with the bowls and vessels.' So he ordered.

268 After he had plundered the Tang'ut people and, making Iluqu Burqan *change his name* to Šidurqu, had done away with him, and after having exterminated the Tang'ut people's mothers and fathers down to the offspring of their offspring, maiming and taming[3] (?), *Činggis Qa'an* gave the following order: 'While I take my meals you must talk about the killing and destruction *of the Tang'ut* and say, "Maimed and tamed, they are no more."'

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[1] I.e., 'Upright.' See RSH 2.976-77.

[2] See above, §265.

[3] *Muquli musquli*. See RSH 2.977-79.

Because the Tang'ut people gave their word but did not keep it,[1] Činggis Qa'an for the second time took the field against them.[2] Having destroyed the Tang'ut people, Činggis Qa'an came back and in the Year of the Pig (1227) ascended to Heaven. After he had ascended *to Heaven* a great part of the Tang'ut people was given to Yisüi Qatun.

269 In the Year of the Rat (1228), the princes of the right hand[3] headed by Ča'adai and Batu; the princes of the left hand[4] headed by Otčigin Noyan, Yegü and Yisüngge;[5] the princes of the centre headed by Tolui; the princesses, the imperial sons-in-law, the commanders of ten thousand and *those* of a thousand, all assembled in full force at Köde'ü Aral on the Kelüren *River*. In accordance with the very decree by which Činggis Qa'an had nominated him they installed Ögödei Qa'an as *qan.*

Elder brother Ča'adai installed his younger brother Ögödei Qa'an as *qan.* The nightguards, the quiverbearers and the eight thousand dayguards who had been protecting the precious life of their father Činggis Qa'an, the personal slaves and the ten thousand guards who had been in close attendance on the person of my[6] father the Qan were *all* handed over by elder brother Ča'adai and Tolui to Ögödei Qa'an. The domain of the centre they handed over to him in the same manner.

270 Ögödei Qa'an, having concluded the installation of himself as *qan* and the transfer of the ten thousand guards on internal duty *together with* the domain of the centre to himself, held first *of all* a consultation with elder brother Ča'adai, *whereupon* he sent Oqotur and Mönggetü on a campaign in support of Čormaqan Qorči who had taken the field against the Qalibai Soltan of the Baqtat people – a people not dealt with by his father Činggis Qa'an.

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[1] Lit., 'did not keep to the word.'
[2] Lit., 'against the Tang'ut people.'
[3] I.e., of the west.
[4] I.e., of the east.
[5] Written Yisünge. See §183 and RSH 2.659.
[6] A mistake for 'his'? See RSH 2.987-88.

Earlier on, Sübe'etei Ba'atur, campaigning against Meket, Menkermen Keyibe and other cities, had crossed the rivers Adil[1] and J̌ayaq rich in waters, and had reached as far as the Qanglin, Kibča'ut, Baǰigit, Orusut, Asut, Sesüt, Maǰar, Kešimir, Sergesüt, Buqar and Kerel peoples.[2]

As Sübe'etei Ba'atur had been put in a difficult situation by these peoples, *Ögödei Qa'an* sent forth Batu, Büri, Güyük, Möngge and several other princes in support of Sübe'etei. He ordered that Batu should be in command of all those princes who went on the campaign and that[3] Güyük should be in command of *all the troops* coming from the centre.[4] He *further* ordered, with regard to those who went on the campaign, that the princes in charge of a domain should send the eldest of their sons into the field and that the princes who were not in charge of a domain, the commanders of ten thousand, of a thousand, of a hundred and of ten, and any commoners, whoever they might be, should *also* send the eldest of their sons into the field. Likewise, the princesses and imperial sons-in-law should send the eldest of their sons into the field.

Further, Ögödei Qa'an said, 'This principle of sending the eldest sons on a campaign does indeed originate from elder brother Ča'adai. Elder brother Ča'adai came and said to me, "I shall send Büri, the eldest of my sons, on the campaign in support of Sübe'etei. If the eldest of the sons goes into the field, the army will be larger *than before*. If the troops who set forth are numerous, they shall go *to fight* looking superior and mighty. The enemy people beyond consist of many states, and there, at the end *of the world*, they are hard people. They are people who, when they become angry, would rather die by their own swords. I am told they have sharp swords." So he said when he came.' *Then* Ögödei Qa'an

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[1] The Idil of §262 and Eǰil of §274, i.e. the Volga.

[2] For all these names, which already appear in §262 above, see RSH 2.990-91.

[3] Lit., 'and ordered that.'

[4] I.e., those belonging to the main body of the army.

said, 'By these words and by the zeal and strength of Our elder brother Ča'adai, let us send out the eldest of the sons.' And he proclaimed *this order* everywhere. Such is the way in which he sent Batu, Büri, Güyük, Möngge and the other princes into the field.

271 Further, Ögödei Qa'an sent *the following message* to elder brother Ča'adai asking for advice: 'I have sat on *the throne made* ready by my father Činggis Qa'an. Will *people not* say of me, "By what merit has he sat on it?" If elder brother Ča'adai agrees, since our father the Qa'an did leave *matters* with the Altan Qan of the Kitat people unfinished, I shall now move against the Kitat people.' So he sent *this message* asking for advice.

Elder brother Ča'adai sent *a message in reply*, expressing his agreement as follows: 'What obstacles are there? Place a capable man in charge of the main base camp and set forth. I shall send out troops from here.'

272 Having put Oldaqar Qorči in charge of the Great[1] Palaces, in the Year of the Hare (1231) Ögödei Qa'an set out against the Kitat people. He sent forth J̌ebe as vanguard. Thus he crushed the Kitat troops, slaying them until they were *like* heaps of rotten logs. He crossed Čabčiyal and ordered his troops to advance and attack their[2] towns and cities in every direction. *Then* Ögödei Qa'an pitched camp at Šira Degtür.[3]

There Ögödei Qa'an fell ill. When he lost his speech and was in *great* distress, various shamans and soothsayers were ordered to divine *the cause of the illness. They said*, 'The lords and rulers[4] of the land and rivers of the Kitat are raging violently *against the Qa'an now* that their people are plundered and their cities and towns are destroyed.' When they divined by inspecting the entrails of victims and said *to the lords and rulers of the land and rivers*, 'We shall give, as substitute *for the Qa'an*, people, gold and silver, cattle and food', *the illness* did not abate

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[1] I.e., 'the Qa'an's.'
[2] I.e., the Kitat's.
[3] See above, §247 and RSH 2.894.
[4] I.e, the powerful spirits.

and they[1] raged even more violently. When they divined *further* by inspecting the entrails and said, 'Could a person from the *Qa'an's* family serve *as a substitute*?', the Qa'an, opening his eyes, requested water, drank it and asked, 'What has happened?'

The shamans *then* reported to *the Qa'an* as follows: 'The lords and rulers of the land and rivers of the Kitat people are raging violently *against you now* that their land and waters are destroyed and their people plundered. When we divine by inspecting the entrails of victims and say, "We shall give anything as substitute", with renewed anger they rage even more violently. When we say, "Could a person from the *Qa'an's* family serve *as a substitute*?", *the illness* abates. Now your order shall decide!'

After they had made their report, *the Qa'an* said, 'Who is at my side from among the princes?' To these words Prince Tolui, who was at his side, said, 'Even though there were elder brothers above you and younger brothers below you, our fortunate father Činggis Qa'an chose you, elder brother the Qa'an, as one would *choose* a gelding, feeling you as one would *feel* a wether *to make sure it is fat*. To your person he showed the great throne and upon you he placed the burden of many people for you *to govern*. As for myself, I was told by him, "Being at the side of *your* elder brother the Qa'an,

Do remind him of what he has forgotten,
Do wake him up when he has fallen asleep."[2]

Now, if I lose you, my elder brother the Qa'an,

Whom shall I remind of what he has forgotten,
Whom shall I wake up when he has fallen asleep?

In truth, if my elder brother the Qa'an dies,

The numerous Mongol people
Would be left orphans;
The Kitat people
Would rejoice at their good fortune.

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[1] I.e., the land and river spirits.

[2] Cf. above, §§200 and 255.

I shall take the place of my elder brother the Qa'an.
I have cleft the back of the trout,
I have rent the back of the sturgeon;
I have conquered *those* in the fore,
I have pierced *those* afar.[1]
And fair of face,
And tall of stature
am I. Shamans, cast your spells and make your incantations!'

Thus he spoke, and as the shamans made their incantations Prince Tolui drank the magic water. *Then* he sat for a moment and said, 'I have become drunk. While I recover from my drunkenness, let elder brother the Qa'an decide *how best* to take care of his younger brothers[2] who are orphaned and young, and of his younger sister-in-law Berüde who is widowed, until they are able to look after themselves. I have said all I have to say. I have become drunk.' On that, he passed out. Such is the manner in which he died.

273 Then *Ögödei Qa'an* destroyed the Altan Qan and gave him the name Seüse.[3] He despoiled him of his gold, silver, gold-*embroidered* and patterned satins, possessions, piebald horses and young slaves. Having established scouts and garrison troops, and having appointed resident commissioners in Namging, J̌ungdu and in cities everywhere, he peacefully returned *home*, setting up camp at Qara Qorum.

274 Čormaqan Qorči brought the Baqtat people under subjection. When Ögödei Qa'an learned that the land was reputedly good and that the things *therein were also reputedly* good, he ordered as follows: 'Čormaqan Qorči shall reside at that very place *as commander of* the garrison troops. Every year he shall make *people* deliver

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[1] I.e., the enemies who came forward and were near, as well as those who stayed back. See RSH 2.997-98.

[2] Tolui actually means the nephews of Ögödei, i.e. his own sons. Cf. above, §68.

[3] I.e., 'Little Slave.' See RSH 2.1001.

yellow gold, *naq*-fabrics,[1] brocades and damasks with gilded *thread*, small and big pearls, fine Western[2] horses with long necks and tall legs, dark brown *Bactrian* camels and one-humped *Arabian* dromedaries, pack-mules and *riding* mules, and he shall send them *to Us*.'

Batu, Büri, Güyük, Möngge and several other princes who had gone on a campaign in support of Sübe'etei Ba'atur brought the Qanglin, Kibča'ut and Bajigit *people* under submission. *They crossed the rivers* Ejil[3] and J̌ayaq, destroyed the city of Meget, slew the Orusut and plundered them until they were utterly crushed. They ravaged and brought under submission the peoples of Asut, Sesüt, Bolar, Mankerman[4] Kiwa and other cities. Having established resident commissioners and garrison troops they returned home.

Ögödei Qa'an sent Yisüder Qorči on a campaign in support of J̌alayirtai Qorči who had earlier on been campaigning against the J̌ürčet and the Solangqas. He ordered that he reside *there as the commander of* the garrison troops.

275 From the Kibčaq campaign, through messengers, Batu sent the following report to Ögödei Qa'an: 'By the strength of Eternal Heaven and the good fortune of *my* uncle the Qa'an, I have destroyed the city of Meget, I have ravaged the Orusut people and brought eleven countries and peoples duly under submission. When we turned back, pulling in the golden reins,[5] we decided to hold a parting feast. A large tent was set up and, as we began feasting, since I was quite the eldest among those princes who were present, I was the first to drink one or two bowls of the ceremonial wine. Büri and Güyük became angry with me *because of that*, refused to join the feast and rode off. As they rode off, Büri said, "Since Batu, then, is equal *to us*, why should he have drunk first?

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[1] A type of gold brocade fabric produced in western Asia.
[2] I.e., Arab.
[3] The Idil of §262 and Adil of §270, i.e. the Volga.
[4] = Menkermen. For all these names see RSH 2.1009.
[5] I.e., at the end of the campaign. Cf. above, §256.

Old women with beards *like him*,
Who pretend to be one's equal,
One should push with one's heels,
One should trample under one's feet."

On that Güyük said, "Those old women with quivers *like Batu* – let us also strike their bosoms with a stick of *burning* wood – those ones!" And Elǰigidei's son Harqasun said, "Let's attach a wooden tail to them!"[1] So, just at the time when, having been sent to ride against a rebellious people of a different race,[2] we were asking ourselves whether we had been successful, Büri and Güyük spoke to us in this way and we parted in disaccord. Now, the order of *my* uncle the Qa'an shall decide *the matter*!' Thus he reported.

276 At these words of Batu, the Qa'an became very angry. He did not allow Güyük into his presence but said, 'Following whose counsel does this mean *creature* fill his mouth with talk against a person senior to him? May he *and he* alone rot like an egg! He has turned against the bosom of a person who is senior to him. *Therefore*,

We shall place him in the vanguard:
We shall make him climb the town walls
Which are as high as mountains
Until the nails of his ten fingers are worn away;
We shall place him in the garrison army:
We shall make him climb the town walls
Which are made of hard-pounded *earth*
Until the nails of his five fingers are ground down.

And you, wretched, wicked, mean Harqasun, in imitation of whom have you filled your mouth with *such* boastful talk against Our family? Let us send Güyük and Harqasun *away* together. We could cut down Harqasun, but you would *then* say that We showed partiality. As for Büri, tell Batu to send him to elder brother Ča'adai, informing him *of the matter*. Let elder brother Ča'adai decide on it!'

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[1] To mock them.
[2] Lit., 'liver.'

277 *Then* Mönggei[1] from among the princes, and Alčidai, Qongqortāi, J̌anggi and other commanders from *among* the commanders, respectfully advised *the Qa'an* as follows: 'A decree of your father Činggis Qa'an *stated that* field matters should be decided in the field, just as domestic matters should be decided in the tent. *Now*, the Qa'an is angry with Güyük. *This* is a field matter: will the Qa'an not show favour and send *Güyük* to Batu, entrusting *him with the decision*?' So they advised him.

The Qa'an approved their words and agreeing *to their request* allowed Güyük into his presence. He rebuked him with the following words of admonition: 'It is said about you that when you went on the campaign, in the course of it,

You did not leave *unlashed* the buttocks
Of *any* man with buttocks;

And it is *also* said about you that

You crushed the spirit[2]
Of *every* man in the army.

Do you imagine that the Orusut people have submitted out of fear of that fury and anger of yours? And thinking as if you alone have brought the Orusut people under submission do you *now* go on, with pride in your heart, rebelling against a person who is senior to you? In the pronouncements of Our father Činggis Qa'an, was he not accustomed to say that

"The multitudes *of people* make one afraid,
The depth *of water* makes one die"?

You pretend that you have accomplished it alone, whereas you set out under the shelter of Sübe'etei and Büǰek, and with the full force *of the army*, to bring the Orusut and Kibča'ut under submission. You took one or two Orusut and Kibča'ut, but while you haven't yet acquired *as booty* even the hoof of a kid, you make yourself into a hero; having left home but once, you pretend that you alone have accomplished everything and come out with *such*

[1] The Mönggе (= Möngke) of §§270 and 274 above.
[2] Lit., 'mien (*or* countenance)', i.e. the morale and self-confidence.

abusive and provocative language. *But now*, owing to Mönggei, Alčidai, Qongqortāi, J̌anggi and the others, who

Being at my side as *faithful* companions
Have restrained my agitated heart,
Being *like* a broad ladle
Have calmed the overboiling cauldron,

I say, "Right! *This* is a field matter. They have said that it is Batu's *concern*. Let *then* Batu decide on Güyük and Harqasun."' He sent *them both to him*, and said, 'Elder brother Ča'adai shall decide about Büri.'

278 Further Ögödei Qa'an ordered: 'In proclaiming the *present* order which announces anew the duties of all the guards – nightguards, quiverbearers and dayguards – who have served my father Činggis Qa'an, I command that in what*ever* capacity they previously acted in accordance with the order of *my* father the Qa'an, so shall they act in the same capacity now. The quiverbearers and the dayguards shall, in accordance with the previous *order*, carry out their day *duties*, each at his post. While there is *still* sun*light*, they shall retire *so as to be replaced* by the nightguards and they shall spend the night outside.'[1] So he ordered.

And he ordered the following: 'At night, the nightguards shall spend the night beside Us. The nightguards shall stand at the door and around the *Palace* tent. The nightguards shall patrol the rear and front of the Palace. The nightguards shall seize people who move about at night – after sunset – and shall hold them *in custody* for the night. After the multitude *of men* has dispersed, except for *those* nightguards who have spent the night *on duty and are to be relieved*, the nightguards shall seize anyone who by mingling with them has entered the precinct.[2] They shall split their heads open and shall cast them away. If at night a person comes with an urgent message he must report to the nightguards and communicate *the message to me* while standing together with

[1] Cf. above, §229.
[2] Lit., 'inside.'

the nightguards at the rear[1] of the tent. The supervisors Qongqortai, Širaqan and others, together with the nightguards, shall supervise *all* comings and goings at the Palace tent. And because Elǰigidei, even though he was a trustworthy *person*, was arrested by the nightguards when in the evening he happened to walk up beyond them, the nightguards *too*, who *like those who arrested Elǰigidei* do not contravene the orders, are worthy of confidence.' Thus he spoke, and issued the following order: 'One must not ask the number of nightguards. One must not walk beyond the nightguards' post. One must not walk between the nightguards. The nightguards shall arrest the people who walk beyond or between them.[2] With regard to *any* person who shall have asked their[3] number, the nightguards shall seize the gelding that *that person* was riding that day, with saddle and bridle, together with the clothes that he was wearing. No one is to sit above the place of the nightguards. The nightguards shall take care of the standards and drums, and of the spears, bowls and vessels *arranged* beneath *them*. The nightguards shall supervise drink and food – the uncut meat.'[4]

And he ordered: 'The nightguards shall take care of the tent-carts of the Palace. If We Ourselves do not go on a military campaign, the nightguards must not take the field separately and without Us.[5] When We go falconing or hunting, exactly one half of the nightguards shall stay at the tent-carts of the Palace and the *other* half shall go with Us. The campmasters from *among* the nightguards shall go *before Us* and set up the Palace. The doorkeepers from *among* the nightguards shall stand right next to the door. The *commander of a* thousand Qada'an shall be in charge of all the nightguards.'

Further, when he appointed the commanders of the various companies of nightguards, he said, 'Qada'an and

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[1] I.e., at the northern side.
[2] Lit., 'who walk between the nightguards.'
[3] Lit., 'of the nightguards.'
[4] Cf. above, §232.
[5] Cf. above, §233.

Bulqadar, forming one company, shall consult together; when taking the same turn of duty they shall stay on the right and left[1] side of the Palace respectively and marshal *their guards accordingly*. Amal and Čanar, consulting together, shall form one company; when taking *the same* turn of duty, they shall *stay* on the right and left side of the Palace respectively and marshal *their guards accordingly*. Qadai and Qori Qačar shall consult together and, when taking the same turn of duty, they shall stay on the right and left side of the Palace respectively and marshal *their guards accordingly*. Yalbaq and Qara'udar, consulting together, shall form one company; when taking *the same* turn of duty, they shall stay on the right and left side of the Palace respectively and marshal *their guards accordingly*. Further, the company of Qada'an and Bulqadar, and the company of Amal and Čanar – these two companies – shall encamp on the left[2] side of the Palace and take their turn of duty *there*. The company of both Qadai and Qori Qačar and the company of both Yalbaq and Qara'udar – these two companies – shall encamp on the right[3] side of the Palace and take their turn of duty *there*.'

And he ordered: 'Qada'an shall be in charge of these four companies of nightguards. Further, the nightguards shall stand around the Palace right next to my person, and they shall lie down guarding the door.[4] Two men from the nightguards shall enter into the Palace and be in charge of the large *kumis* pitchers.'

Further he ordered: 'As to the quiverbearers, Yisün Tö'e, Bükidei, Horqudaq and Labalqa,[5] forming four separate companies and marshalling their quiverbearers of the bodyguards, shall respectively join the four separate companies of the dayguards to carry quivers.'

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[1] I.e., west and east.

[2] I.e., east.

[3] I.e., west.

[4] Cf. above, §229; here 'lie down' and 'stand' are incorrectly reversed. See RSH 2.1023.

[5] = Lablaqa. See above, §225.

Further, when he appointed elders[1] of the dayguards' companies from *among* the offspring of those who had earlier been in charge of them, *he ordered*: 'Alčidai and Qongqortaqai[2] who were earlier in charge of them, after consulting together and having marshalled one company of dayguards, shall join *the dayguards*' *service*. Temüder and J̌egü after consulting together and having marshalled one company of dayguards shall join *the dayguards' service*. Mangqutai, who had been in charge of the reserve, shall marshal one company of dayguards and join *the dayguards' service*.'

Further, the Qa'an ordered as follows: 'Elǰigidei shall be in command *of the Guard* and all the commanders *of companies* shall act according to Elǰigidei's word.'

Further, he ordered: 'If a member of the Guard when *called* on duty fails to take his turn, in accordance with the previous order[3] he shall be disciplined with three strokes of the rod. If the same member of the Guard fails again – for the second time – to take his turn of duty, he shall be disciplined with seven strokes of the rod. If, once more, the same man, without sickness or *other* reason and without having *first* consulted the elder of the company, for the third time fails to take his turn, *thus* regarding his service by Our side as *too* difficult, he shall be disciplined with thirty-seven strokes of the rod and shall be sent to a distant place out of *Our* sight. Further, if the elders of the companies do not muster the guards who are to serve on roster with them and fail to take their turn of duty, We shall punish the elders of the companies. Further, the elders of the companies shall proclaim this order to the guards at the time when they[4] take every third turn of duty[5] and at the time when they are relieved. When the guards have heard the order, if they fail to take their turn of duty We shall punish them according to the *previous*

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[1] I.e., the senior officers. See above, §227.
[2] = Qongqortāi. See above, §277.
[3] See above, §227.
[4] I.e., the guards.
[5] I.e., every third shift.

order.[1] But if the elders of the companies do not proclaim this order to the guards they shall be guilty *and liable to punishment*. Further, elders of the companies without permission from Us shall not, merely on the ground of seniority, reprimand my guards who have enrolled as *guards* equal *to them*. If *any of them* breaks the law let it be reported to Us. Those liable to death We shall certainly cut down. Those liable to punishment We shall certainly discipline. If, without informing Us, they themselves[2] on the ground of seniority lay hands on *my guards*, as requital for fists they shall be repaid with fists, and as requital for strokes of the rod they shall be repaid with strokes of the rod.'[3] Thus he spoke.

Further, he ordered as follows: 'My guards are of higher *standing* than the outside commanders of a thousand; the attendants of my guards are of higher *standing* than the outside commanders of a hundred and of ten. If outside leaders of a thousand quarrel with my guards We shall punish those who are leaders of a thousand.'[4]

279 Further, Ögödei Qa'an said, 'We shall not cause suffering to the nation that Our father Činggis Qa'an established with *so much* toil. We shall make *the people* rejoice, causing them to rest

Their feet upon the ground,
Their hands upon the earth.

Sitting *now* on *the throne made* ready by Our father the Qa'an, so that people do not suffer, every year from these people one two-year-old sheep out of *every* flock shall be given *as levy* for *Our* soup.[5] They shall *also* provide one sheep out of *every* hundred sheep and give it to the poor and needy within the same *unit*. And when the *Qa'an*'s brothers and the numerous troops[6] and guards gather

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[1] See above, §227 ad fin.
[2] I.e., the elders of the companies.
[3] See above, §227 ad fin.
[4] See above, §228.
[5] I.e., for the support of the Qa'an.
[6] I.e., the Qa'an's family and the officers.

together *at feasts and meetings*, how could drink *for all* be levied every time from the people? From the various units of a thousand of different areas mares shall be provided and milked, and the mare-milkers shall be the ones to tend them. The camp-masters shall constantly provide replacements *of mares* and shall *in turn* be herders of the milch mares. And when the *Qa'an*'s brothers gather together We shall give them gifts and rewards. Conveying satins, *gold and silver* ingots, quivers, bows, breastplates, weapons and the land-tax grains into the storehouses, We shall have *people* guarding them: storemen and grainkeepers must be selected from different areas and made to guard *the storehouses*. And, dividing camps[1] and waters, We shall give them to the people. If We select campmasters from the various units of a thousand to reside in the camps, that will surely be *an* appropriate *measure*.

'Moreover, as there is nothing but wild animals in the Čöl[2] country, Čanai and Ui'urtai, being put in charge of the campmasters, shall make them dig wells in the Čöl for people *to live in this* rather vast *area*, and they shall build brick walls *around the wells to protect them from wild animals*.

'Further, when the messengers ride in haste We allow them to ride moving freely among the population, and *as a result* the pace of *these* riding messengers is slow and they are an affliction on the people. Now We shall settle the matter once and for all by providing post-station masters and post-horse keepers from the various units of a thousand of different areas, by setting up a post station at every stage, by not allowing the messengers to move freely among the population unless on urgent business, but *instead* by having them ride in haste through the post stations. If we do this, it will surely be *an* appropriate *measure*.

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[1] I.e., the grazing grounds (*nuntuq*).

[2] Lit., 'the Desert' (= the Gobi; cf. above, §188), but perhaps more generally 'the desert country' (RSH 2.1027).

'When Čanai and Bolqadar,[1] being well informed, proposed these measures to Us We considered that they were indeed right *and said*, "Let elder brother Ča'adai decide. If these measures under discussion are appropriate and he approves them, let *the decision* come from elder brother Ča'adai."'

After *Ögödei Qa'an* had sent this message, *a reply* came *from* elder brother Ča'adai, saying, 'I approve these very measures about which you have asked me in your message – all of them. Thus, act *accordingly*!'

Further, elder brother Ča'adai's word came, saying, 'From here I shall have post stations connecting with *yours*.[2] Also, from here I shall send messengers to Batu, and Batu shall have his post stations connected with *mine*.' And a further word came *from him*, which he sent saying, 'Of all the measures, the one *concerning* the establishment of post stations is the most appropriate that has been proposed.'

280 Thereupon Ögödei Qa'an said, 'Elder brother Ča'adai and Batu, and the other brothers, princes of the right hand[3] – all of them; Otčigin Noyan and Yegü, and the other brothers, all the princes of the left hand;[4] the princesses and sons-in-law of the centre, and the commanders of ten thousand, of a thousand, of a hundred and of ten, have all together approved the following: "If, for the soup of the Universal Ruler[5] one provides *every* year one two-year-old wether out of *every* flock, it won't be a *burden* at all. To provide one one-year-old sheep out of *every* hundred sheep and give it to the poor and needy is good. If we have post stations set up and provide post-station masters and post-horse keepers *to manage them* there will be peace for the many peoples, and for the messengers in particular convenience in travelling." They unanimously approved *this*.'

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[1] The Bulqadar of §278 above.
[2] I.e., to facilitate communications.
[3] I.e., of the west.
[4] I.e., of the east.
[5] I.e., for the support of the Qa'an. Cf. above, §279.

Having taken counsel with elder brother Ča'adai regarding the order of the Qa'an, and *this* having been approved by elder brother Ča'adai, all the people from the various units of a thousand of different areas according to the Qa'an's order were made to provide every year one two-year-old wether out of *every* flock for the soup *of the Qa'an*, and one one-year-old sheep out of *every* hundred sheep *for the poor and needy*. They were made to provide mares, and herders of milch mares were *also* assigned. They were made to provide herders of milch mares, storemen and grainkeepers. They were made to provide post-station masters and post-horse keepers, and measuring the distance between each stage they had post stations set up. Aračan and Toqučar were put in charge of them. At a single stage of the post there had to be twenty post-horse keepers, and at every stage there had to be *a post station with* twenty post-horse keepers each.

The Qa'an ordered: 'With regard to the geldings *to be used* as post horses, the sheep *to be used* as provisions, the milch mares, the oxen to be harnessed to carts, and the carts, from the amount fixed by Us from now on,

> If one causes *even* a piece of string to be lacking,
> He shall be guilty *and liable*
> To "splitting in half along the top of the head";[1]
> If one causes *even* a spoon-*shaped* spoke of a wheel to be lacking,
> He shall be guilty *and liable*
> To "splitting in half along the nose."'[1]

281 Ögödei Qa'an said, '*This* I have done after I sat on the great throne of my father:

'I campaigned against the J̌aqut people[2] and I destroyed them.[3]

'As my second deed, I had post stations set up so that our messengers could ride in haste *all* along the way; and for that *purpose* I had all necessities conveyed *to the post stations*.

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[1] I.e., to the confiscation of half his goods. See RSH 2.1031-32.
[2] I.e., the people of north China. See RSH 2.1032-33.
[3] Lit., 'I destroyed the J̌aqut people.'

'As to the next[1] deed, I had wells dug in places without water and had *the water* brought forth, thus providing the people with water and grass.

'Further,[2] I established scouts and garrison troops among the people of cities everywhere and so I let the people live *in peace*, causing them to rest

Their feet upon the ground,
Their hands upon the earth.[3]

'After my father the Qa'an I have indeed added four *good* deeds *to his*.

'But, being placed on the great throne by my father the Qa'an and being made to take upon myself the burden of my many peoples, I was at fault to let myself be vanquished by wine. This was indeed one fault of mine.

'As to my second fault, to listen to the word of a woman without principle, and to have the girls of my uncle Otčigin's domain brought to me was surely a mistake.[4] Even though I was the Qa'an and lord of the nation, to participate in wrong and unprincipled actions, this was indeed one fault of mine.

'To secretly injure[5] Doqolqu was also a fault *of mine*. And why was it a fault? *Because* to secretly injure Doqolqu who strove fiercely in the service of his rightful *lord*, my father the Qan, was a fault and a mistake. Who will now strive so fiercely in my service? *Therefore*, I have myself acknowledged the fault of having secretly harmed, without discernment, a person who diligently observed the principle *of loyalty* in the service of my father the Qa'an and *in the service* of all.

'Further,[6] being greedy and saying *to myself*, "What if

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[1] I.e., the third.

[2] I.e., as the fourth deed.

[3] See above, §279.

[4] For this complicated incident, nowhere mentioned in the *Secret History*, see RSH 2.1034-36.

[5] = 'poison'? Cf. above, §68. And for this third fault, see RSH 1036-37.

[6] I.e., as the fourth fault (for which we have no direct additional evidence). See RSH 2.1037-38.

the wild animals born with their destiny *ordained* by Heaven and Earth go over to *the territory of* my brothers?", I had fences and walls built of *pounded* earth *to prevent the animals from straying*. As I was *thus* confining them, I heard resentful words *coming* from my brothers. *That,* too, was a fault *of mine.*

'After my father the Qa'an, I indeed added four *good* deeds *to his,* and four deeds *of mine* were surely faults.' Thus he spoke.

282 The writing *of this book* was completed at the time when the Great Assembly convened and when, in the Year of the Rat, in the month of the Roebuck, the Palaces were established at Dolo'an Boldaq of Köde'e Aral on the Kelüren *River,* between Šilginček and [...].[1]

[1] The name of the second locality is missing owing to a lacuna in the text.

INDEX

1. PROPER AND PLACE NAMES

The index below uses boldface type to refer to sections (not pages) of the SH translation; the sign + after a number indicates that the name occurs in that section more than once. Please note the following abbreviations:

cl. = clan	cmdr. = commander
dau. = daughter	des. = desert
lk. = lake	mt. = mountain, any elevation
peo. = people[s], tribe, nation	pl. = place, locality,
pr. = person, any individual	rv. = river, any water-course

Abǰi'a Ködeger (mt.), **187**; *also* Abǰiqa Köteger **191**
Abtu (pl.), **261**
Ačiq Širun (pr.; of the Tümen Tübegen of the Kereyit), **170+**, **171+**, **174+**, **181**
Adangqan Uriangqai (cl.), **38**, **44**; man of, **44** (*see also* J̌aǰiradai); woman of, **38**, **40**
Adargin (cl.), **46**, **260**: *see also* Adarkin
Adarkidai (pr.; son of Qači'un), **46**
Adarkin (cl.), **207**: *see also* Adargin
Adil (rv.; tu. Ïtül, 'Volga'), **270**; *see also* Ejil, Idil
Ai-tsung (pr.): *see* Altan Qan [Ai-tsung of Chin], Seüse
Aǰai Qan (pr.), **152+**
Aǰin Be'i (pr.): *see* Qoǰin Beki
Aǰinai (pr.; cmdr. of 1000), **202**
Al Altun (pr.; a dau. of Činggis Qan), **238**. *Also* Al Altun Beki, Ilqaltun Beki
al-Mustanṣir (pr.): *see* the Qalibai Soltan
Alai (pl.), **198+**, **257**. *Also* Arai
Alan Qo'a (pr.; dau. of Qorilartai Mergen; wife of Dobun Mergen), **7**, **8**, **9**, **10**, **17**, **18+**, **20**, **22+**, **23**; *see also* Mother Alan
Alans (peo.): *see* Asut
Alaq (pr.; son of Širgü'etü; cmdr. of 1000), **149+**, **202**, **220**
Alaq It (pr.; wife of Yeke Čeren), **169**
Alaqa Beki (pr.; a Mongolian princess), **239**
Alaquš Digit Quri (pr.; of the Önggüt; cmdr. of 1000), **182**, **190+**; *also* Alaquš Digit Quri Güregen, **202**
Alašai (mt., and battle there), **265+**. *Also* Ho-lan Mountains
Ala'ut Turqa'ut Mountains (mt.), **129**

Alči [a] (pr.; cmdr. of 1000), **202**, **253**. *Also* Alči Noyan
Alči [b] (pr.), **226**. *Also* Alči Noyan (?)
Alči Güregen (pr.; cmdr. of 1000), **202**. *Also* Alči Noyan
Alči Noyan (pr.): *see* Alči Güregen; *also* Alci [b] (?)
Alči Tatar (cl.), **141**, **153+**
Alčidai (pr.; nephew of Činggis Qan), **170**, **242**, **243**, **255**
Alčidai (pr.; of the J̌alayir; of family of Ilügei; cmdr. of 1000 dayguards), **226**, **227**, **234**, **277+**, **278**. *Also* Alǰidai, Elčidei, Elǰidei
Alčiq (pr.; a steward), **208**
Aldi Er (pr.; a chief of the Kirgisut), **239**
Alin Taiši (pr.), **152**
Alǰidai (pr.): *see* Alčidai [of the J̌alayir]
Alqui (pr.; of the Onggirat), **141**
Alqui Bula'a (pl.; 'Sarsaparilla Spring'), **141**
Altai (mt.), **144**, **158+**, **177**, **194+**, **196**, **198**, **205**
Altan (pr.; 3rd son of Qutula Qan), **51**, **123**, **127+**, **142+**, **153**, **166+**, **168**, **174**, **179+**, **180**, **181**, **246**, **255+**; *also* Altan Otčigin, **122**
Altan Qa'an (pr.; Hsüan-tsung of Chin; ruled 1213-23), **250**, **251**; *also* Altan Qan, **248+**, **250**, **251+**, **252+**, **253+**; *see also* Aqutai
Altan Qan (pr.; Ai-tsung of Chin; personal name Shou-hsü; ruled 1224-34), **271**, **273**; *see also* Seüse
Altan Qan (pr.; Chang-tsung of Chin; ruled 1189-1208), **53**, **132**, **133**, **134+**, **266**
Altan Qorqan (mt.), **259**
Altani (pr.), **214+**
Altun Ašuq (pr.; of the Kereyit), **152+**
Amal (pr.; cmdr. of nightguards), **278+**
Ambaqai Qa'an (pr.; a son of Čaraqai Lingqu; ruler of the Mongols), **47**, **52**, **53+**, **57**, **58**, **70**, **71**
Amīn al-Mulk/Amīn Malik (pr.): *see* Qan Melik
Amui Müren (rv.; 'Amui River' = Amu Darya, the Oxus), **258**
Aqutai (pr.; of family of Alči; cmdr. of 1000 dayguards), **226**, **234**
Aqutai (pr.; Hsüan-tsung of Chin), **250**, **251**; *see also* Altan Qa'an/Qan
Aračan (pr.), **280**
Arai (pl.): *see* Alai
Arbuqa (pl.), **265**, **267**
Ariq Usun (pl.), **8**, **9**
Arqai (pr.; of the J̌alayir; cmdr. of dayguards), **181+**, **185**, **230**, **234**; *also* Arqai Qasar, **120**, **124**, **127**, **177**, **181+**, **191**, **192**, **226**, **252+**
Arqal Geügi (pl.; of the Kelüren), **183+**, **184**
Arslan (pr.; of the Qarlu'ut), **235**; *also* Arslan Qan, **235+**. Later renamed Arslan Sartaqtai (RSH 2.843)
Arulat (cl.), **47**, **120**
Aruqai Tatar (cl.), **153**+
Asan (pr.; = Ḥasan; a Muslim trader), **182**

Asut (peo.; plural of As; the Alans or Ossets of the Caucasus), **262**, **270**, **274**
Aša Gambu (pr.; of the Tang'ut), **256+**, **265+**, **266**
Ašiq (pr.; of the Ba'arin), **207**; *also* Ašiq Güregen (cmdr. of 1000), **202**
Ašiq Temür (pr.; a steward), **208+**
Atkiraq (pr., an ambassador of the Ui'ut), **238**
A'uču Ba'atur (pr.; of the Tayici'ut), **141**, **142**, **144+**, **148**
A'uǰam Boro'ul (pr.; son of Qoričar Mergen), **2+**
Ayil Qaraqana (pl.), **107**, **122+**
Ayiri'ut Buiru'ut Tatar (cl.), **53**

Ba'aridai (pr.; a son of Bodončar), **41+**; *see also* Elder Brother the Ba'arin
Ba'arin (peo.), **41**, **120**, **197**, **207**, **216**
Badai (pr.; cmdr. of 1000), **51**, **169+**, **170**, **187+**, **202**, **219**
Baghdad (pl.): *see* Baqtat
Bai Šingqor Doqšin (pr.; son of Qaidu), **47+**
Baikal (lk.): *see* Lake Baikal, Tenggis
Baǰigit (peo.; the Bashkir), **239**, **262**, **270**, **274**
Bala (pr.; a son of Seče Domoq of the J̌alayir; cmdr. of 1000), **120**, **202**, **243**, **257**, **259**, **264+**. *Also* Bala Noyan
Bala Čerbi (pr.; cmdr. of 1000), **202**
Balaqači (pr.; messenger of Ambaqai Qan), **53**
Balǰun Aral (pl.), **24**
Balǰuna (lk.): *see* Lake Balǰuna
Baqaǰi (pr.; of the Tayiči'ut), **177**
Baqtat (pl.; Baghdad), **260+**, **261**, **270**, **274**
Bargut/Baryut, Bargu Buriat (peo.): *see* Barqun, Buriats
Barguzin Buriat (peo.): *see* Buriats
Barguzin River (rv.); *see* Barquǰin Lowland (Baryuǰin Tögüm)
Barim Ši'iratu Qabiči (pr.; son of Bodončar), **43**; *see also* Qabiči Ba'atur
Barqaq (pr.; eldest son of Qabul Qan), **140**; *also* Barqaq Ba'atur **179**; *see also* Ökin Barqaq
Barqudai Mergen (pr.), **8**
Barquǰin (pl.), **109**
Barquǰin Lowland (pl.; Baryuǰin Tögüm; inhabited by the Qori Tumat), **157**, **177+**, **244**; *see also* Köl Barquǰin Lowland
Barquǰin Qo'a (pr.), **8+**
Barqun (peo.; plural Barqut), **239**; *see also* Buriats
Bartan Ba'atur (pr.; 2nd son of Qabul Qan), **48**, **50**, **140+;** in **179** error for Barqaq Ba'atur
Baru'an Plain (pl.), **257; 258** (where wrongly written Barula). *Also* Parwan/Parvān
Barulas (peo.), **46+**, **120+**; *see also* Erdemtü Barula, Tödö'en Barula, Üčügen Barula, Yeke Barula

Barulatai (pr.; son of Qači'u), **46**
Bashkir (peo.): *see* Bajigit
Batačiqan (pr.; son of wolf and doe), **1**, **2**
Batkesen (pl.; Badakhshan [in Eastern Afghanistan]), **257**
Batu (pr.; son of Joči), **269**, **270+**, **274**, **275+**, **276+**, **277+**, **279+**, **280**
Baya'ut (peo.), **120**, **213+**; thousand, **213**; *see also* Ma'aliq Baya'ut
Bayidaraq Confluence (pl.); **159**, **177**
Bayit (peo.), **239**
Beder Promontory (pl.), **88**
Bedü'ün (pr.; of the Dörbet; joint cmdr. of 1000 with Qubilai), **209**; *see also* Moči Bedü'ün
Beiging [or Buiging] (pl.; Pei-ching, northern capital of the Chin; Peking), **253+**; *see also* Jungdu (Chinese Chung-tu)
Bekter (pr.; a half brother of Temüjin), **60**, **76+**, **77+**
Belgünüt (cl.), **42**
Belgünütei (pr.; a son of Dobun Mergen), **10**, **18**, **19**, **20**, **23**, **42**
Belgütei (pr.; a half brother of Temüjin), **50**, **60**, **76+**, **77**, **79**, **90+**, **94**, **95+**, **96**, **99**, **101**, **103**, **104**, **105+**, **107**, **112+**, **124**, **131+**, **132**, **134**, **136**, **140+**, **154+**, **205**, **242**, **255**; *also* Belgütei Noyan, **112**, **190**, **191**
Berke Elet (pl.), **166**
Berüde (pr.; 2nd dau. of Jaqa Gambu; wife of Tolui), **272**; *see also* Sorqaqtani Beki
Besüt (cl.), **47**, **53**, **119**, **120**, **138**
Besütei (pr.; a son of Čaraqai Lingqu), **47**
Bilge Beki (pr.; a messenger of Ong Qan), **142**, **181+**
Black Forest by the Tu'ula River (Qara Tün) (pl.), **96**, **104**, **115**, **164**, **177+**, **264**
Black Forest Tatars (peo.): *see* Tubas
Black Irtysh (rv.): *see* Erdis/Erdiš River
Bodončar (pr.; a son of Alan Qo'a), **23**, **24**, **28**, **29+**, **32**, **33**, **34**, **35**, **37**, **38**, **40**, **41**, **42**, **43+**, **44**, **121**; *also* Bodončar Mungqaq, **17**, **19**, **30;** Bodončar Boqdo, **121**
Bolar (peo.; the Volga Bulgars), **262**, **274;** in **270** error for Buqar
Bolγar (peo.): *see* Bolar
Bolqadar (pr.; a commissioner of post stations under Ögödei), **279**; *see also* Bulqadar
Bo'orču (pr.; son of Naqu Bayan; cmdr. of 10,000; with Jelme appointed in command of all; one of the 'four steeds'), **90+**, **91**, **92**, **93+**, **99**, **103**, **120+**, **124**, **125**, **156**, **163**, **172+**, **177**, **202**, **203+**, **205+**, **210**, **220**, **226**, **240**, **242+**, **254+**, **260**, **266+**
Borjigidai Mergen (pr.; son of Qarču), **3+**
Borjigin (cl.), **42**. *See also* Kiyat-Borjigin lineage in Subject Index, *and* RSH 1.238, 280, 297-99
Boro (name of gelding; 'Grey'), **3**
Boroldai (pr.; of the Ikires), **129**

Boroldai Suyalbi (pr.; a young manservant of Toroqoljin Bayan), **3**
Boroqčin Qo'a (pr.; wife of Toroqoljin Bayan), **3**
Boroqul (pr.; foundling; of the J̌ürkin; cmdr. of 1000, 10,000; one of the 'four steeds'), **163**, **172+**, **173+**, **177**, **202**, **209**, **214+**, **241**; *also* Boroqul Noyan, **240+**; Boro'ul, **137**, **138**, **213+**; Boro'ul Noyan, **240**
Botoqan Bo'orǰi (pl.), **106+**, **108**; *also* Botoqan Bo'orǰin, **109**
Botoqui Tarqun (pr.; widow of Daiduqul Soqor, ruler of the Tumat; a wife of Quduq Beki), **240**, **241+**
Botu (pr.): *see* Butu
Bögen (pr.; cmdr. of 1000), **202**
Börte (pr.; dau. of Dei Sečen of the Onggirat; wife of Temüǰin), **66**, **98-103**, **104**, **105**, **110+**, **111**, **118**, **245**, **254**; *see also* Lady Börte
Börte Činō (pr.; 'blue-grey wolf') **1**
Bučaran Čerbi (pr.; a steward/chamberlain), **191**
Buda'at (cl.), **46**
Buddha (pr.): golden images (altan süme-s) of, **267**
Buiging (pl.): *see* Beiging
Buir Nōr (lk.): *see* Lake Buyur
Buǰir (pr.; cmdr. of 1000), **202**
Bukhara (pl.): *see* Buqar
Bukhtarma River (rv.): *see* Buqdurma
Bulqadar (pr.; a commissioner of post stations under Ögödei), **278+**; *see also* Bolqadar
Bultaču Ba'atur (pr.): *see* Bültečü Ba'atur
Buluqan (pr.; cmdr. of 1000), **202**
Buqa (pr.; younger son of Gü'ün U'a of the J̌alayir; brother of Muqali; cmdr. of dayguards), **137**, **226**, **227**, **234**
Buqa (pr.; J̌oči's guide; identity not clear), **239**
Buqa Güregen (pr.; cmdr. of 1000), **202**
Buqa Temür (pr.; younger brother of Ong Qan), **177**
Buqar (peo.), **270** (error for Bolar, q.v.)
Buqar (pl.; Bukhara [Buxāra]), **257**, **259**, **263**
Buqatai (pr.; messenger of Činggis Qan to Senggüm), **168**+
Buqatu Salǰi (pr.; a son of Alan Qo'a), **17**, **19**, **23**, **42**
Buqdurma (rv.), **198**. *Also* Bukhtarma River
Buqu Čorogi (pr.; of the Qadagin), **141**
Buqu Qatagi (pr.; a son of Alan Qo'a), **17**, **19**, **23**, **30**, **32**, **33+**, **42**
Buriats (peo.); *also* Buriyat, **239**; *also* Bargut, Barguzin Buriat, Barqun/Barqut, Ekhirit-Buriat
Burqan (mt.), **103**, **112**, **145**; *see also* Burqan Qaldun
Burqan (pr.; ruler of the Qašin/Tang'ut), **250**, **256+**, **265+**, **267+**; *see also* Burqan Qan
Burqan Bosqaqsan (pr.; one of two 'Lords of [Mt.] Burqan Qaldun'; but note RSH 3.48-49), **9**

Burqan Qaldun (sacred mountain, original home of the Mongols), **5+**, **9+**, **89**, **97**, **102+**, **103+**; *see also* Burqan, Mount Burqan, Qaldun Burqan. *Also* Khentei Khan
Burqan Qan (pr.; 'Buddha [= Divine] Ruler' of the Hsi Hsia kingdom), **249+**, **267**); *see also* Burqan, Iluqu, Šidurqu. *Also* Hsiang-tsung [= Li An-ch'üan; ruled 1206-11]; Iluqu/Iluqu Burqan/Iluqu Burqan Šidurqu, Li Hsien [ruled 1226-27]; Li Tsun-hsü [ruled 1211-23]
Butu (pr.; son of Nekün of the Ikires; Temüǰin's brother- and son-in-law; cmdr. of 1000), **120**; *also* Butu Güregen, **202**. *Also* Botu (RSH 1.447)
Bu'ura Steppe (pl.), **105**, **109**, **152**
Buyiruq Qan (pr.; of the Naiman; cf. tu. title buïruq), **141**, **142**, **143**, **144**, **158+**, **177**
Buyur (lk.): *see* Lake Buyur
Bügidei (pr.; son of Tüge; cmdr. of a company of quiverbearers), **225+**, **230**, **278**; *see also* Bükidei
Bügünüt (cl.), **42**
Bügünütei (pr.; a son of Dobun Mergen), **10**, **18**, **19**, **20**, **23**, **42**
Büjek (pr.; a general in the Orosut campaign), **277**
Bükidei (pr.), **234**, **278**; *see also* Bügidei
Bültečü Ba'atur (pr.; son of Sem Sečüle), **48** (error for Bultaču Ba'atur, RSH 1.287)
Bürgi Escarpment (pl.; of the Kelüren River), **96**, **97**, **98**, **107+**, **177**
Büri (pr.; grandson of Ča'adai), **270+**, **274**, **275+**, **276**, **277**
Büri (pr.; son of Qutuqtu Möngler), **140**; *also* Büri Bökö ('Büri the wrestler'), **50**, **131+**, **140+**
Büri Bulčiru (pr.; son of Tügü'üdei), **40+**

Caucasia, north: reconnaissance raid in by Sübe'etei (and J̌ebe), **262**
Ch'a-erh (pr.): *see* Čaqa
Chang-tsung [of Chin] (pr.): *see* Altan Qan [Chang-tsung]
Chao Kuan [of Sung] (pr.): *see* J̌au Gon
Ch'i-kuo (pr.): *see* Gungǰu
Ch'i-lien Mountains (mt.): *see* Čo'orqat
China, north: epidemics in, **248**
Chu River (rv.): *see* Čui River
Chung-hsing (fu) (pl.): *see* Eriqaya
Chung-tu (pl.): *see* J̌ungdu
Chü-yung kuan (pl.): *see* Čabčiyal
Circassians (peo.): *see* Sergesüt
Comans (peo.): *see* Kibča'ut
Cyriacus (pr.): *see* Qurčaqus

Ča'a'an Tatar (cl.; 'White Tatars'), **153**; *see also* Ča'ān Tatar
Ča'adai (pr.; 2nd son of Temüjin), **242**, **243+**, **254+**, **255+**, **258+**, **260+**, **269+**, **270+**, **271+**, **276+**, **277**, **279+**, **280**

Ča'alun (pr.), **157**
Ča'ān Tatar (cl.), **153**; *see also* Ča'a'an Tatar
Čabčiyal (pl.), **247+**, **251**, **252+**, **272**; *also* Čabčiyal Pass, **247**, **248**, **253**. *Also* Chü-yung kuan
Čakirma'ut (pl.), **195**+
Čanai (pr.; of the family of Jürcedei), **226**, **234**, **279+**
Čanar (pr.; military officer in the service of Ögödei), **278+**
Čangši'ut (peo.), **120**, **213**
Čaqa (pr.; dau. of Iluqu Burqan of the Tang'ut), **249**
Čaqa'an Qo'a (pr.; cmdr. of 1000), **202**; *also* Čaqān Qo'a, **218+**; Čaqa'an U'a, **120**, **129**
Čaqurqan (pr.; of the Uriangqai), **183+**, **184+**, **185**; *also* Ča'urqai, Ča'urqan
Čaraqa (pr.): *see* Old Čaraqa
Čaraqai Lingqu (pr.; 2nd son of Qaidu), **47+**, **180**
Časutu Mountain (mt.; 'Snowy Mtn.'), **266**, **267**. *Also* Hsüeh-shan
Čaujin Örtegei (pr.; son of Qaidu), **47+**
Ča'ur Beki (pr.), **165+**, **168+**
Ča'ur Sečen (pr.): *see* Taiču Güregen.
Ča'urqai (pr.; cmdr. of 1000), **202**, **243**; *see also* Čaqurqan, Ča'urqan
Ča'urqan (pr.; a son of Jarči'udai of the Uriangqai; cousin of Jelme), **120**, **124**, **127**; *see also* Čaqurqan, Ča'urqai. *Also* RSH2.868-89
Čečeyigen (pr.; a dau. of Temüjin), **239**
Čeren (pr.; son of Qulan Ba'atur), **219**; *see also* Yeke Čeren
Čerkes (peo.): *see* Sergesüt
Čiduqul Bökö (pr.; son of Ba'aridai), **41**
Čigidei (pr.), **170**
Čigü Güregen (pr.; son of Alči Noyan; husband of Tümelün; cmdr. of 1000), **202**; *see also* Čügü Gürigen
Čila'un (pr.; younger son of Sorqan Šira of the Suldus; one of the 'four steeds'), **84**, **85**, **219**; *also* Čila'un Ba'atur, **163**, **177**, **209**
Čila'un (pr.; son of Toqto'a Beki of the Merkit), **157**, **162**, **177**, **197**, **198+**, **199+**, **236**
Čila'un Qayiči (pr.; 2nd son of Telegetü Bayan of the Jalayir), **137+**
Čiledü (pr.; of the Merkit; 1st husband of Hö'elün), **55+**, **56**, **102**, **111**; *see also* Yeke Čiledü
Čilger/Čilger Bökö (pr.; of the Merkit), **111+**
Čilgütei (pr.; of the Suldus), **120**, **124**; *see also* Čülgetei (?)
Čimbai (pr.; elder son of Sorqan Šira of the Suldus), **84**, **85**, **198+**, **219+**
Činggis Qa'an (pr.; title of Temüjin, eldest son of Yisügei and Höelün; husband of Börte, father of Jöči, Ča'aday, Ögödei, and Tolui), **1**, **124**, **125+**, **127**, **129+-136+**, **137**, **139+-142+**, **144+-151+**, **153+-157+**, **158**, **159+**, **161+**, **163+- 166+**, **168+-173+**, **175+**, **176+**, **177**, **179+**, **180**, **181+**, **188+**, **190+**, **191**, **192+**, **193+**, **196+-204+**, **205**, **206**, **208+**, **209-212**, **213+**, **214-217**, **218+-220+**, **221-223**, **224+**, **225**, **226+**, **227+**,

228-234, **235+**, **238+**, **239+**, **240**, **241+**, **242**, **243+-260+**, **261**, **263+-269+**, **270-272**, **277+**, **279**; *also* Činggis Qan, **255**, Činggis, **124**. S*ee also* Temüjin. (For details on all the above paragraphs, *see* RSH 2.1204-05. For his death, and locations of his grave and former 'palace', *see* RSH 2.981-83, 3.123ff.)
Činōs (peo.), **129**, **207**; *see also* Negüs
Čiqurqu (mt.): *see* Mount Čiqurqu
Čirgidai Ba'atur (pr.; of the Salǰi'ut), **141**
Čoči Darmala (pr.; of the Mongols), **201**; *see also* J̌oči Darmala
Čonaq Čaqa'an (pr.), **141**; *see also* Čo'os Čaqān
Čo'orqat (pl.), **265**+. *Also* Ch'i-lien Mountains
Čo'os Čaqān, **182**; *see also* Čonaq Čaqa'an
Čoqčaran (rv.): *see* Čuqčeren. *Also* Herirud
Čormaqan (pr.), **260+**; *also* Čormaqan Qorči **260**, **270**, **274+**
Čotan (pr.; wife of Dei Sečen; mother-in-law of Temüjin), **94+**, **95**, **96**
Čöl (des.), **188+**, **279**+. *Also* Gobi desert
Čui River (rv.), **152**, **177**, **198**, **236**
Čuqčeren (pl.), **259**+; *erroneous transcription for* Čoqčaran (RSH 2.948)
Čügü Gürigen (pr.; cmdr. of 1000), **251**+; *see also* Čigü Güregen
Čülgetei (pr.; cmdr. of 1000), **202**; *see also* Čilgütei (?)

Da'aritai (pr.; uncle of Temüjin), **154**; *see also* Dāritai
Daiduqul Soqor (pr.; chief of the Tumat people), **240**
Dalan Balǰut (pl.), **129**, **201**, **218**
Dalan Nemürges (pl.), **153+**, **173**, **175**, **205**
Daqai (pr.; of the Suldus; cmdr. of 1000), **126**; *see also* Taki, Taqai
Darbai (pr.; an ambassador of the Ui'ut), **238**
Da'un (pr.; cmdr. of 1000), **202**
Dayir (pr.; cmdr. of 1000), **202**
Dayir (name of a gelding, 'Bay'), **3**
Dayir Usun (pr.; of the U'as Merkit), **102**, **105**, **109**, **111**, **117+**, **197+**; *see also* Three Merkit
Dāritai (pr.; 4th son of Bartan Ba'atur; uncle of Temüjin), **142**, **153**, **242**; *also* Dāritai Otčigin, **50**, **54**, **56+**, **122**; *see also* Da'aritai
Degei (pr.; of the Besüt; a shepherd; cmdr. of 1000), **120**, **124+**, **202**, **210**, **216**, **222**, **243**
Dei Sečen (pr.; of the Onggirat; father-in-law of Temüjin), **61**, **62+**, (**63**), **65**, **66**, **69+**, **94+**
Deli'ün Boldaq (pl.; 'Deli'ün Hill'), **59**, **97**, **211**
Dersüt (pl.), **150**
Didik Saqal (pl.), **188**+
Dobun Mergen (pr.; a son of Toroqolǰin; husband of Alan Qo'a), **3**, **5+**, **6+**, **7**, **9**, **10**, **11**, **12**, **13+**, **14**, **15**, **16**, **17**, **18**
Dolo'adai (pr.; cmdr. of 1000), **202**
Dolo'an Bolda'ut (pl.; 'Seven Hills'), **136**; *also* Dolo'an Boldaq, **282**

Dolonggir (cl.), **260**
Dongqayit (cl.; of the Kereyit), **171**, **208**; *see also* Olon Dongqayit
Doqoladai (pr.; a son of Način Ba'atur), **46**
Doqolqu (pr.; of the Mangqut), **210**, **281**; *also* Doqolqu Čerbi, **120**, **124**, **191**, **226**, **227**, **234**
Dori Buqa (pr.; cmdr. of 1000), **202**
Dödei (pr.; cmdr. of dayguards; palace supervisor), **210**; *also* Dödei Čerbi, **124**, **191**, **193+**, **226**, **227**, **234+**
Dörbei (pr.; of the Dörbet), **240**; *also* Dörbei Doqšin, **240**, **261**
Dörben (peo.), **11**, **120**, **141+**, **196**; *also plural* Dörbet, **240**, **261**
Döregene (pr.; a wife of Qudu; given by Činggis Qan to Ögödei, and became regent of the Empire [1241-46] after the latter's death; mother of Güyük), **198+**. *Also* Nai-ma-chen, Töregene
Dörmegei (pl.), **267**. *Also* Ling-chou
Du'a Soqor (pr.; a son of Toroqoljin; had four sons), **3**, **4**, **5+**, **11+**
Dungčang (pl.; a city taken by Jebe; error for Dungging), **247**+, **248**
Duta'ut Tatar (cl.), **153+**

Ebegei (pr.; mother-in-law of Sača Beki of the Jürkin), **130+**
Ebügejin (pr.), **166+**
Eder Altai Confluence (pl.; at the Eder River), **161**, **177**
Ejil (rv.), **274**; *see also* Adil, Idil. *Also* Volga
Eke Stream (rv.), **257**
Ekhirit-Buriat (cl.): *see* Buriats
El Qutur (pr.; a younger brother of Ong Qan), **152**
Elčidei (pr.): *see* Alčidai [of the Jalayir]
Elder Brother the Ba'arin (pr.), **216**; *see also* Ba'aridai
Eljidei (pr.): *see* Alčidai [of the Jalayir]
Eljigidei (pr.; cmdr.-in-chief of the Guard), **275**, **278**; *also* Eljigedei, **229**
Enegen Güiletü (pl.), **142**
Erdemtü Barula (cl.), **46**
Erdis River (rv.), **198+**; *also* Erdiš, **198**, **207**, **264**. *Also* Irtysh
Erge Qara (pr.), **177**; *see also* Erke Qara
Ergüne River (rv.), **141+**, **144+**, **182**
Erije'ü (pl.; a city of the Hsia Hsia), **265**. *Also* Hsi-liang
Eriqaya (pl.; a city of the Hsia Hsia), **265**. *Also* Chung-hsing (fu)
Erke Qara (pr.; younger brother of Ong Qan), **151**, **177+**; *see also* Erge Qara

Father Mönglik (pr.; of the Qongqotat), **69**, **130**+, **168**+, **202**, **204+**, **244**, **245+**, **246+** ; *see also* Mönglik
Fu-chou (pl.): *see* Vujiu

Gan River (rv.): *see* Kan River
Genghis Khan: *see* Činggis Qa'an

Geniges (cl.), **47**, **122**, **210+**
Geügi (pr.; cmdr. of 1000), **202**
Ge'ün Stream (rv.), **257**
Girma'u (pr.; 2nd son of Qutula Qa'an), **51**
Gobi (des.): *see* Čöl
Gungǰu (pr.; = Kung-chu 'princess'; personal name Ch'i-kuo [RSH 2.899]), **248**
Gurganj (pl.): *see* Örünggeči, Ürünggeči
Güčü (pr.; foundling; of the Merkit; cmdr. of 1000), **138**, **202**, **214**, **243**, **244**; *see also* Küčü
Güčügür (cl.), **177**
Güčügür (pr.; of the Besüt; brother of Degei; cmdr. of 1000), **124**, **202**, **223+**; *see also* Küčügür
Güčülük (pr.; of the Naiman; son of Tayang Qan), **194**, **196**, **237**; *also* Güčülük Qa'an, **198;** Güčülük Qan **194+**, **198**, **202**, **137**. *Also* Küčlüg
Güčü'üt Naiman (cl.), **141**, **158**
Gür Qan (pr.; brother of Qurčaqus; also a title, 'Universal Ruler'), **150**, **177+**
Gürbesü (pr.; mother of Tayang Qan), **189+**, **194**, **196**
Gürelgü Mountains (mt.), **89**, **94**, **122**, **129**, **141**. *Also* Gürölgü Mountains
Gürin Ba'atur (pr.), **160**. *Also* Gürün Baγatur
Gürölgü Mountains (mt.): *see* Gürelgü Mountains
Gürün Baγatur (pr.): *see* Gürin Ba'atur
Güsen Daril (pl.; seemingly = Kucha [pl].+Tarim [rv.]), **263**
Güse'ür Na'ur (lk.): *see* Lake Güse'ür
Gü'ün Qo'a (pr.), **206**; *also* Gü'ün U'a **137**+
Güyigünek Ba'atur (pr.), **247**
Güyük (pr.; son and successor of Ögödei), **270+**, **274**, **275+**, **276+**, **277+**

Hariltu Na'ur (lk.): *see* Lake Hariltu
Harqasun (pr.; son of Elǰigidei), **275**, **276+**, **277**
Herat (pl.): *see* Iru
Herirud (rv.; the Harīrūd, south of Herat): *see* Čoqčaran
Hindus (peo.; pl.), **261**, **264+**
Ho-hsi-wu (pl.): *see* Qosivu
Ho-lan Mountains (mt.): *see* Alašai
Hoqatur (pr.): *see* Oqotur
Horqudaq (pr.; cmdr. of quiverbearers), **225**, **278**
Höbögetür (pr.; a general of the Kitat), **251+**
Hö'elün (pr.; bride of Čiledü of the Merkit; wife of Yisügei; mother of Temüǰin), **55**, **72**, **102**; *see also* Lady Hö'elün, Mother Hö'elün
Hökörtü Valley (pl.), **115**
Hsi Hsia (peo.; Tang'ut state [RSH 1.550]): *see* Tang'ut
Hsi-liang (pl.): *see* Eriǰe'ü
Hsi Liao (peo.): *see* Qara Kidat. *Also* Western Liao in RSH 1.521, 553

Hsiang-tsung [of Hsi Hsia] (pr.): *see* Burqan Qan
Hsüan-tsung [of Chin] (pr.): *see* Altan Qan [Hsüan-tsung]
Hsüeh-shan (mt.): *see* Časutu Mountain
Huǰa'ur Üǰin (pr.; a dau. of Ong Qan; wife of Toqto'a of the Merkit), **177**
Hula'an Burqat (pl.), **170+**, **173**
Hula'an Qut (mt.), **163**, **177**; *also* Hula'anu'ut Bolda'ut (plurals), **177**
Huliyatu Subčit (pl.), **115**
Hulun Nōr (lk.): *see* Lake Kölen
Hungarians (peo.): *see* Kerel, Maǰar
Hüle'üt Turas (pl.): *see* Ülengüt Turas
Hünegen Daba'an (pl.; 'Fox Pass'), **247**
Hüsün (pr.; cmdr. of 1000), **202**

I-la P'u-a (pr.): *see* Ile
Ibaqa (pr.), **208+**; *also* Ibaqa Beki, **186**, **208**
Ibir Sibir (peo.): *see* Šibir
Idil (rv.), **262**; *see also* Adil, Eǰil. *Also* Volga
Idoqudai (pr.; cmdr. of 1000), **243**; *also* Iduqadai (pr.), **202**
Idürgen (pr.; a messenger of Ong Qan), **177**; *see also* Itürgen
Ikires (peo.), **120**, **129**, **141+**, **202**
Ile (pr.; a general of the Kitat), **251+**
Ilqaltun Beki/Begi (pr.): *see* Al Altun
Iluqu (pr.; leader of the Tang'ut), **267+**; *also* Iluqu Burqan, **250**, **267+**, **268**; Iluqu Burqan Šidurqu, **267.** *See also* Burqan, Burqan Qan
Ilüge (pr.; cmdr. of 1000), **243**; *also* Ilügei, **202**, **226**
Inalči (pr.; son of Quduqa Beki of the Oyirat), **239+**
Inanča Bilge Qan (pr.; of the Naiman), **177+**, **189**, **194**; *also* Inanča Qan, **151+**
Indus (rv.): *see* Šin River
Irtysh (rv.): *see* Erdis River. *Also* Black Irtysh, Erdiš
Iru (pl.), **258**, **259**, **261**. *Also* Herat
Isebür (pl.), **258**, **259**
Itürgen (pr.), **184+**; *see also* Idürgen

Jui-tsung: *see* Tolui
Jurchens (peo.): *see* J̌ürčet; *and* RSH 2.889, 893

J̌adaradai (pr.; son of the woman seized by Bodončar), **40**; *see also* J̌aǰiradai
J̌adaran (cl.), **40+**, **122**, **129**, **196**, **223**; *see also* J̌aǰirat
J̌aǰiradai (pr.), **40**; *see also* J̌adaradai
J̌aǰirat (cl.; plural of J̌aǰiran), **141**
J̌alaldin Soltan (pr.), **257+**, **264+**; *see also* Soltan, the; Sultan, the. *Also* J̌alāl al-Dīn, Muḥammad Šāh of Khwārazm
J̌alama (mt.): *see* Mount J̌alama

J̌alayir (peo.), **120+**, **137**, **244**, **257**, **264**
J̌alayirtai Qorči (pr.), **274**
J̌alāl al-Dīn (pr.): *see* J̌alaldin Soltan; Soltan, the; Sultan, the
J̌ali Buqa (pr.), **58**; *also* J̌alin Buqa, **141**
J̌aliyar (peo.): *see* J̌alayir
J̌amuqa (pr.; son of Qara Qada'an of the J̌aǰirat; sworn friend of Temüǰin), **40**, **104+**, **105+**, **106**, **107+**, **108+**, **110**, **113+**, **115+**, **116+**, **117+**, **118+**, **119**, **121+**, **122+**, **125**, **127+**, **128**, **129+**, **130+**, **141+**, **142+**, **144+**, **160+**, **166+**, **167**, **170+**, **174**, **179**, **181**, **194**, **196+**, **200+**, **201+**, **218**, **246**; rupture of relations with Činggis Qan, **127**, **200**, **201**
J̌anggi (pr.), **277+**
J̌aqa Gambu (pr.; younger brother of Tayang/Ong Qan of the Kereyit), **107**, **108+**, **142**, **150+**, **152**, **186+**, **208+**
J̌aqut (peo.), **281**
J̌arči'udai (pr.; of the Uriangqai; father of Sübe'etei and J̌elme), **97+**; *see also* Old J̌arči'udai
J̌arči'ut (cl.), **38**
J̌au Gon (pr.; Sung Emperor), **251+**
J̌ayaq (rv.), **262**, **270**, **274**. *Also* Ural
J̌ebe (pr.; of the Tayiči'ut; cmdr. of 1000; one of the 'four hounds'), **146**, **147+**, **153**, **193**, **195**, **202**, **209+**, **221**, **237**, **247+**, **248**, **251+**, **252**, **257+**, **272**; *see also* J̌irqo'adai
J̌ebke (pr.; son of Telegetü Bayan of the J̌alayir; cmdr. of 1000), **137+**, **202**, **243**, **244**
J̌edei (pr.; of the Mangqut; elder brother of Doqolqu; cmdr. of 1000); *see also* J̌etei
J̌eder (pr.; cmdr. of 1000), **202**
J̌egei Qongdaqor (pr.), **120**; *see also* Yegei Qongtaqar; *also* J̌egei Qongtoqar
J̌egü (pr.; cmdr. of company of dayguards), **278**
J̌eǰe'er Heights (mt.), **166**, **185**
J̌elme (pr.; of the Uriangqai; elder brother of Sübe'etei; cmdr. of 1000; one of the 'Four Hounds'), **97+**, **99**, **103**, **120+**, **125**, **145+**, **195**, **202**, **209+**, **211+**, **214+**, **225**; *also* J̌elme Qo'a, **170**
J̌er Gorge pass (pl.), **185**
J̌erene Gorge (pl.), **129+**, **201**
J̌etei (pr.), **120**, **124**, **202**, **214+**; *see also* J̌edei
J̌e'üredei (pr.; a son of Bodončar), **43+**, **44**
J̌e'üret (cl.), **44**, **183**; *also* J̌e'üreyit, **44**
J̌irgin (cl.), **170+**, **171+**, **185+**, **186+**, **187**, **208**; relation of to the J̌ürkin, RSH 2.674-5
J̌irqo'adai (pr.), **147**, **257**; *see also* J̌ebe
J̌irqo'an (pr.; of the Oronar), **120**
J̌oči (pr.; eldest son of Temüǰin), **165**, **210**, **239+**, **242+**, **243**, **254+**, **255+**, **258+**, **260+**

J̌oči (pr.; son of Qutula), **51**
J̌oči Darmala (pr.), **128+**; *see also* Čoči Darmala
J̌oči Qasar (pr.; 2nd son of Yisügei Ba'atur), **60**, **195**; *see also* Qasar
J̌orqal Qun (mt.), **177**
J̌osotu Boro (name of a horse of Činggis Qan), **265+**
J̌ubqan (pr.; an ambassador of Činggis Qan to the Sung court), **251**
J̌ungdu (pl.), **247**, **248+**, **251**, **252+**, **263**, **273**; *see also* Beiging. *Also* Chung-tu, Peking
J̌ungsai (pr.; cmdr. of 1000), **243**; *see also* J̌ungšoi
J̌ungso (pr.; of the Noyakin), **120**
J̌ungšoi (pr.; cmdr. of 1000), **202**; *see also* J̌ungsai
J̌ürčedei (pr.), **130**, **171+**, **176+**, **185+**, **202**, **208+**, **209**, **226**, **253**; *see also* Uncle J̌ürčedei
J̌ürčet (peo.; plural of J̌ürčen; = Kitat), **247**, **248**, **253**; *see also* Jurchens
J̌ürčet (peo.; Eastern Jurchens of Manchuria), **274**; *see* RSH 2.1010
J̌ürki (cl.): *see* J̌ürkin, Yürki
J̌ürkin (cl.), **122**, **130**, **131**, **132**, **133+**, **136+**, **137+**, **138**, **139+**, **140**; relation of to the J̌irgin, RSH 2.674-5
J̌üyin (peo.; of the Qara Kidat/Kitat), **247**, **248**, **266**

Kan River (rv.; or Ken [RSH 3.89-90]), **141+**. *Also* Gan River
Karakorum: *see* Qara Qorum
Kashgar (pl.): *see* Kisqar (error for Kišqar)
Kashmir (pl.; *also* Kašmīr): *see* Kešimir
Keltegei Qada (pl.), **175**, **191**, **192**. *Also* Mount Keltegei
Kelüren River (rv.), **94+**, **96**, **98**, **107**, **136**, **142**, **151**, **177**, **183+**, **193**, **269**, **282**. *Also* Kerulen River
Ken River (rv.): *see* Kan River
Kerel (peo.), **262** (where wrongly written Raral), **270**; *see also* Maǰar. *Also* Hungarians
Kereyit (peo.), **96**, **104**, **105**, **126**, **134**, **150+**, **171**, **172**, **174**, **185**, **186**, **187+**, **200**, **208+**, **214**, **242**; *see also* Ongqoǰit Kereyit
Kerulen River/Kerülen River (rv.): *see* Kelüren River
Kesdim (peo.), **239**
Kešimir (peo.), **262**, **270**. *Also* Kashmir
Kete (pr.; cmdr. of 1000), **120**, **243**
Ketei (pr.; cmdr. of 1000), **202**
Khalkha River (rv.): *see* Qalqa River
Khan-melik (pr.): *see* Qan Melik
Khangai Mountains (mt.): *see* Qangqai Mountains
Khentei Khan (mt.): *see* Burqan Qaldun
Khorasan (pl.), **259**
Khotan (pl.): *see* Udan
Khwārazmian empire: *see* Qurumši

Kibčaq (peo.), **275**; *also plural* Kibča'ut, **262**, **270**, **274**, **277+**; *see also* Kimča'ut. *Also* Comans
Kičil Baš (lk.), **177**; *see also* Lake Kišil Baš
Kidat (peo.): *see* Kitat
Kiev (pl.): *see* Kiwa Menkermen, Mankerman Kiwa, Menkermen Keyibe
Kilqo (rv.), **105**, **109+**
Kimča'ut (peo.), **198**; *see also* Kibčaq
Kimurqa Stream (rv.), **88+**, **107**, **122+**
Kinggiyadai (pr.; cmdr. of 1000), **120**, **202**
Kiratai (pr.; a messenger of Činggis Qan to Senggüm), **168+**
Kirghiz (peo.): *see* Kirgisut, Tümen Kirgisut
Kirgisut (peo.; plural of Kirgis), **239+**; *see also* Tümen Kirgisut
Kisqar (pl.; error for Kišqar = Kashgar), **263**
Kišil Baš (lk.; tu. 'red head'): *see* Lake Kišil Baš
Kišiliq (pr.; herdsman of Yeke Čeren; cmdr. of 1000), **51**, **169+**, **170**, **187+**, **202**, **219**
Kitans (peo.): see Kitat
Kitat (peo.; plural of Kitan), **53**, **132**, **247+**, **250+**, **251+**, **263+**, **266+**, **271+**, **272+**; *see also* Altan Qan, Jurchet, Qara Kidat. *And see* RSH 2.889, 893
Kiwa Menkermen (pl.), **262**; *see also* Mankerman Kiwa, Menkermen Keyibe. *Also* Kiev
Kiyan (cl.): *see* Kiyat
Kiyat (cl.; plural of Kiyan), **63**
Kobdo River (rv.): *see* Soqoq Usun
Koreans (peo.): *see* Solangqas
Köde'e Aral (pl.), **282**; *also* Köde'ü Aral, **269**; Ködö'e Aral **136**
Köke Čos (pr.), **243**; *see also* Kökö Čos
Kökö (pr.; cmdr. of 1000), **202**
Kökö Čos (pr.; of the Ba'arin; cmdr. of 1000; adviser to Ča'adai), **120**, **202**, **210+**, **216**, **254**; *see also* Köke Čos
Kökö Na'ur (lk.; 'Blue Lake'), **89**, **122**
Kököčü (pr; foundling; cmdr. of 1000), **119**, **138**, **202**, **214**, **243**, **244**
Kököčü (pr.; Senggüm's equerry), **188+**
Kököčü Kirsa'an (pr.; son of slave Sübegei), **180+**
Kököčü Teb Tenggeri (pr.; middle son of Mönglik of the Qongqotat), **244**; *see also* Teb Tenggeri
Köksegü Sabraq (pr.; of the Naiman), **163**; *also* Köksе'ü Sabraq, **159**, **162**, **163**, **177+**, **189**, **190+**, **194**
Köl Barquǰin Lowland (pl.), **8**; *see also* Barquǰin Lowland
Kölen, Kölen Na'ur (lk.): *see* Lake Kölen
Kötön Baraqa (pr.), **58**
Köyiten (pl.), **143**, **147**
Kucha (pl.): *see* Güsen Daril
Küčlüg (pr.; Naiman prince [RSH 2.963]): *see* Güčülük

Küčü (pr.), **114**; *see also* Güčü
Küčügür (pr.), **120**; *see also* Güčügür

Labalqa (pr.; cmdr. of company of quiverbearers), **278**; *also* Lablaqa, **225**
Lady Börte (pr.; wife of Temüjin), **94+**, **99**, **100**, **104**, **105**, **110+**, **111**, **118**, **119**, **245+**; *see also* Börte
Lady Hö'elün (pr.; mother of Temüjin), **55**, **56+**, **59**, **70+**, **72**, **73**, **74+**, **130+**; *see also* Hö'elün, Mother Hö'elün
Lake Baikal (lk.): *see* Tenggis
Lake Balǰuna (lk.), **182**, **183**, **183+**, **208+**
Lake Buyur (lk.), **53**, **176**. *Also* Buir Nōr
Lake Güse'ür (lk.), **151**, **177**. *Also* Güse'ür Na'ur
Lake Hariltu (lk.), **136**
Lake Hulun (lk.): *see* Lake Kölen
Lake Kišil Baš (lk.), **158**; *see also* Kičil Baš
Lake Kölen (lk.), **53**. *Also* Hulun Nōr, Kölen Nau'ur, Lake Hulun
Li An-ch'üan (pr.; of Hsi Hsia): *see* Burqan Qan
Li Hsien (pr.; of Hsi Hsia): *see* Burqan Qan
Li Tsun-hsü (pr.; of Hsi Hsia): *see* Burqan Qan
Ling-chou (pl.): *see* Dörmegei
Lung-hu t'ai (pl.): *see* Šira Dektür

Ma'aliq Baya'ut (cl.), **15**, **18**; *see also* Baya'ut
Madasari (pl.), **261**. *Also* Mazandaran (RSH 2.957)
Magas (pl.): *see* Meget, Meket
Magyars (peo.): *see* Maǰar
Maḥmūd Yalavač (pr.): *see* Yalawači
Maǰar (peo.), **270**; *also* Maǰarat, **262**. *Also* Hungarians, Magyars
Malik Xān Amīn al-Mulk (pr.): *see* Qan Melik
Mangqut (peo.), **46**, **120**, **130+**, **170+**, **171+**, **175**, **195**, **209**
Mangqutai (pr.; a cmdr. in charge of reserve [of dayguards]), **278**
Mangqutai (pr.; son of Način Ba'atur), **46**
Mankerman Kiwa (pl.; = Menkermen), **274**; *see also* Kiwa Menkermen, Menkermen Keyibe. *Also* Kiev
Maqa Tudun (pr.): *see* Menen Tudun
Maral (pr.; cmdr. of 1000), **202**
Maru (pl.), **261**. *Also* Merv
Masqut (pr.; Mas'ūd Beg; son of Yalawači), **263+**
Ma'u Heights (mt.), **170+**, **173**. *Also* Mau Heights
Mazandaran (pl.): *see* Madasari
Meget (pl.), **274**, **275**; *see also* Meket. *Also* Magas
Megetü (pr.; cmdr. of 1000), **202**
Megüǰin (pr.), **133**; *also* Megüǰin Se'ültü, **133+**, **134+**
Meket (pl.), **270**; *see also* Meget

Menen Ba'arin (cl.), **41**, **120**
Menen Tudun (pr.; son of Qabiči Ba'atur), **45+**
Menkermen Keyibe (pl.; Menkermen); **270**; *see also* Kiwa Menkermen, Mankerman Kiwa. *Also* Kiev
Merkit (peo.), **54**, **102+**, **103+**, **104+**, **105**, **110+**, **111+**, **112**, **113**, **115**, **117**, **138**, **141**, **142**, **144**, **145**, **150**, **152+**, **157**, **162**, **169+**, **177+**, **198+**, **200**, **208+**, **219+**, **236**, **254**; *see also* Qa'at Merkit, Qo'as Merkit, Uduyit Merkit, U'as Merkit
Merv (pl.): *see* Maru
Moči Bedü'ün (pr.; of the Dörbet; joint cmdr. of 1000 with Qubilai), **120**; *see also* Bedü'ün
Moǰiu (pl.), **248**. *See* RSH 2.900
Mongγol (peo.): *see* Mongols
Mongγolǰin Γooa (pr.): *see* Mongqolǰin Qo'a
Mongols/Mongqol (peo.), **52+**, **57+**, **108**, **126**, **142**, **174+**, **187**, **189+**, **190+**, **193+**, **194+**, **196+**, **202**, **248+**, **265**, **266**, **272**. *Also* Mongγol
Mongqolǰin Qo'a (pr.), **3**. *Also* Mongγolǰin Γooa
Moroqa (pr.; cmdr. of 1000), **202**
Mother Alan (pr.), **76**; *see also* Alan Qo'a
Mother Earth, **113**, **255**
Mother Hö'elün (pr.), **61**, **93**, **98**, **99+**, **102**, **111**, **114**, **118**, **119+**, **135+**, **137**, **138+**, **166**, **195+**; *see also* Hö'elün, Lady Hö'elün
Mother Nomolun (pr.), **46**. *Also* Nomolun
Mother Onan (rv.), **75**; *see also* Onan River, Onon
Mother Qo'aqčin (pr.), **103**; *see also* Old Qo'aqčin, Qo'aqčin
Mother Sučigil/Suǰigil (pr.), **60**
Mother Sun, **238**
Mount Burqan (mt.), **100**, **101**, **103**; *also* Mount Burqan Qaldun, **1**, **103+**, **106**, **107+**, **111**, **115**, **199**, **205**, **211**; *see also* Burqan, Burqan Qaldun
Mount Čekčer (mt.), **61**, **67**, **94**, **142**
Mount Čiqurqu (mt.), **61**, **94**, **142+**,
Mount Düyiren (mt.), **28**
Mount J̌alama (mt.), **128**
Mount Keltegei (mt.): *see* Keltegei Qada (RSH 1.633-34)
Mount Qangqarqan (mt.), **193+**
Mount Qara J̌irügen (mt.), **89**, **122**
Mönggе (pr.), **270+**; *also* Mönggei, **277+**; *see also* Möngke
Mönggetü (pr.), **270**
Mönggetü Kiyan (pr.), **50**, **120**, **213**
Mönggü'ür (pr.; cmdr. of 1000), **202**; *see also* Möngke'ür
Möngke (pr.; eldest son of Tolui), **243**, **274**; *see also* Mönggе/Mönggei
Möngke (pr.; cmdr. for Ča'adai), **243**; *also* Möngkö Qalǰa, **202**
Möngke'ür (pr.), **243**; *see also* Mönggü'ür
Mönglik (pr.), **68+**, **69**; *see also* Father Mönglik
Muḥammad Šāh (pr.): *see* Khwārazm; Qurumši; Soltan, the; Sultan, the

Mulqalqu (pr.; joint cmdr. of a thousand with Güčügür), **122**, **124**, **223+**
Muqali (pr.; son of Gü'ün Ü'a of the J̌alayir; brother of Buqa; one of the 'four steeds'), **137**, **156**, **163**, **177**, **202**, **203+**, **205**, **206+**, **209**, **210**, **220**, **226**, **240**, **242+**, **254+**, **260**, **266+**; *also* Muqali Gui Ong, **202**, **206**
Müge (pr.; cmdr. of 1000), **202**
Mülke Totaq (pr.; of the Ikires), **129**
Mürüče Se'ül (pl.), **177**

Način Ba'atur (pr.; a son of Menen Tudum), **45**, **46**
Nai-ma-chen (pr.; = Naimaǰin 'The Naiman' [RSH 2.729]): *see* Döregene
Naiman (peo.; some were Nestorian Christians), **141**, **142**, **144**, **151**, **152+**, **159**, **160+**, **161**, **163**, **166**, **177+**, **188**, **189**, **190+**, **192**, **193+**, **195+**, **196+**, **198+**, **200+**, **202**, **208+**, **237**; *see also* Güčü'üt Naiman
Namging (pl.; = Nan-ching, 'Southern Capital', of the Chin), **251**, **253**, **273**
Naqu Bayan (pr.; 'Naqu the Rich'; father of Bo'orču), **90**, **92+**, **93+**, **205**
Naqu (mt.), **196**; *also* Naqu Cliff, **195+**, **196**
Naratu Šitü'en (pl.), **133**, **135**
Narin Ke'en (pr.; son of Yeke Čeren), **169+**
Narin To'oril (pr.; son of Čaqa'an Qo'a), **218**; *see also* To'oril [Narin To'oril]
Na'u (rv.), **253**
Naya'a (pr.; a son of Širgü'etü of the Ničügüt Ba'arin; cmdr. of 1000, 10,000), **149+**, **197+**, **202**, **220+**; *also* Naya'a Bilǰi'ur, **220,** Naya'a Noyan (pr.), **197+**
Negüs (peo.), **218+**; *see also* Činōs, Ne'üs
Nekün Taiši (pr.; a son of Bartan Ba'atur; elder brother of Yisügei), **50**, **54**, **56**, **122**, **130**, **179**
Nekün Usun (pl.), **188+**
Ne'üs (peo.), **120**, **129**; *see also* Negüs
Ničügüt Ba'arin (cl.), **149**
Nilqa Senggüm (pr.; son of Ong Qan of the Kereyit; for the two names see RSH 1.589-90), **165**, **166+**, **167+**; *see also* Senggüm
Nomolun/Nomolun Eke (pr.; mother of Qaidu): *see* Mother Nomolun
Noyagidai (pr.; son of Qačin), **46**
Noyakin (peo./pr.), **46**, **120**, **166+**

Olar Güregen (pr.; cmdr. of 1000), **202**
Old Čaraqa (pr.), **68**, **72+**, **73+**
Old J̌arči'udai (pr.; of the Uriangqai), **97**, **211**; *see also* J̌arči'udai
Old Qo'aqčin (pr.; maidservant of Mother Hö'elün), **98**, **100+**, **101+**; *see also* Qo'aqčin, Mother Qo'aqčin
Old Širgōtü (pr.; of the Ničigüt Ba'arin), **220+**; *also* Old Širgü'etü, **149+**; *see also* Širgü'etü

Old Üsün (pr.), **120**, **210**, **216+**; given rank of *beki*, **216**; *see also* Üsün
Oldaqar Qorči (pr.), **271**
Olon Dongqayit (cl.), **150**, **170+**, **171+**, **187**; *see also* Dongqayit
Olqunu'ut (cl.; a clan of the Onggirat ~ Qonggirat [RSH 1.325]), **54**, **61**, **62**, **120**; *see also* Onggirat
Onan River (rv.), **1**, **24**, **30**, **32**, **50**, **54**, **56**, **57**, **59**, **72**, **74**, **75**, **81+**, **82**, **84**, **88**, **97**, **106+**, **108**, **116**, **130**, **136**, **144+**, **202**, **211**; *see also* Mother Onan, Onon
Ong Qan (pr.; To'oril Qan of the Kereyit), **96+**, **134+**, **141+**, **142+**, **144**, **150+**, **151+**, **152+**, **157+**, **158**, **159+**, **160+**, **161**, **162+**, **163+**, **164+**, **167+**, **168**, **170+**, **171**, **174+**, **177+**, **178+**, **180**, **181**, **183+**, **184+**, **185+**, **186**, **187**, **188+**, **189+**, **200**, **204**; *also* Ong Qa'an, **150**; *see also* To'oril, To'oril Ong Qan
Ongging Čingsang [Wan-yen Fu-hsing] (pr.; 'Right Chancellor'), **248+**. *Also* Wan-yen Fu-hsing
Ongging Čingsang [Wan-yen Hsiang] (pr.; 'Right Chancellor'), **132+**, **133+**, **134+**. *Also* Wan-yen Hsiang
Onggiran (pr.; cmdr. of 1000), **202**
Onggirat (peo.), **61**, **64+**, **94**, **141+**, **176+**, **177**, **196**, **202** *see also* Olqunu'ut. Also Qonggirat
Ongqoǰit Kereyit (cl.), **187**
Onon (rv.), **129+**; *see also* Onan River
Oqda Bo'ol (pr.; 'slave Oqda'; ancestor of To'oril), **180+**
Oqotur (pr.), **270**
Or Bend of the Qalqa (pl.), **175**, **191**, **192**
Orkhon (rv.): *see* Orqon
Oronar (cl.), **47**, **120**
Oronartai (pr.; cmdr. of 1000), **202**
Orqon (rv.), **105**, **195**; *also* Orqan, **115**. *Also* Orkhon
Orusut (peo.; plural of Orus [= Русъ], 'Russians'), **262**, **270**, **274**, **275**, **277+**. *Also* Rus, Russians
Ossets (peo.): *see* Asut
Otčigin (pr.; Temüge, youngest brother of Temüǰin), **195**, **242+**, **243**, **244**, **245+**, **255**, **281**; *also* Otčigin Noyan, **190**, **195**, **245+**, **257**, **269**, **280**; *see also* Temüge
Otrar (pl.): *see* Udarar
Oxus River: *see* Amui Müren
Oyirat (peo.), **141**, **142**, **144**, **239+**; *see also* Tümen Oyirat

Ögele Čerbi (pr.; younger brother of Bo'orču), **191**, **226+**; *see also* Ögöle
Ögödei (pr.; 3rd son and successor of Činggis Qan; 1186-1241), **214+**, **242**, **243**, **255+**, **258+**, **260+**, **269+**; *also* Ögödei Qa'an (pr.), **198**, **269+**, **270+**, **271**, **272+**, **273**, **274+**, **275**, **278**, **279+**, **280**, **281**; *see also* Öködei. *Note also* RSH 1.624, 3.3-5, 130-33, 136-37, 224, 225

Ögöle (pr.; younger brother of Bo'orču; joint cmdr. of dayguards), **234**; *also* Ögöle Čerbi, **191**, **230**; Ögölei Čerbi, **124**; Ögölen Čerbi, **120**; *see also* Ögele Čerbi
Ökin Barqaq (pr.), **48**, **49**, **139+**, **140**; *see also* Barqaq
Öködei (pr.; 3rd son and successor of Činggis Qan), **172+**, **173+**; *see also* Ögödei
Ölegei Spring (pl.), **128**
Önggür (pr.; son of Mönggetü Kiyan; cmdr. of 1000), **120**, **124**, **202**, **213+**, **252+**; *also* Önggür Baurči/Ba'urči ('steward Önggür' of the Baya'ut), **124**, **213**, **252**
Önggüt (peo.; of Turkic origin; converted to Nestorian Christianity [RSH 2.656]), **182**, **190**, **202**, **239**
Örbei (pr.; a wife of Ambaqai Qan), **70+**, **71**
Örebek Digin (pr.; a leader of the Kirgisut), **239**
Örünggeči (pl.), **260+**; *see also* Ürünggeči. *Also* Gurganj
Ötegen (cl.), **260**

Parwan/Parvān (pl.): *see* Baru'an Plain
Peking (pl.): *see* Chung-tu, J̌ungdu
People of the Forest (peo.), **202**, **207+**, **239+**, **241**; *see also* Kesdim, Kirgisut, Oyirat, Qabqanas, Qori Tumat, Telengüt, Tö'eles, Tö'ölös, Tumat. *Note also* RSH 3.117
'people of the nine tongues' (peo.), **245+**
Prince Tolui (pr.), **272+**; *see also* Tolui

Qa'at Merkit (cl.), **102**, **105**, **106**, **111**
Qa'atai Darmala (pr.; of the Qa'at Merkit), **102**, **105**, **111**, **112**; *see also* Three Merkit, the
Qabiči Ba'atur (pr.), **43**, **45**; *see also* Barim Ši'iratu Qabiči
Qabqanas (peo.), **239**
Qabturqas (cl.), **47**
Qabul Qa'an (pr.), **48+**, **52+**, **53**; *also* Qabul Qan, **139+**, **140**
Qača'uratu Subčit (pl.), **115**
Qači Külük (pr.; 'hero Qači'; 1st son of Menen Tudun), **45**, **46**
Qačin (pr.; 2nd son of Menen Tudun), **45**, **46**
Qačir Usun (rv.; 'Mule Water'), **194**, **195**
Qači'u (pr.; 3rd son of Menen Tudun), **45**, **46**
Qači'un (pr.; 5th son of Menen Tudun), **45**, **46**
Qači'un (pr.; 3rd son of Yisügei Ba'atur; brother of Činggis Qan), **60**, **79**, **99**, **244**; *also* Qači'un Elči, **60**
Qači'un (pr.; chief of the Dörben), **181**; probably = Qači'un Beki, Qaǰi'un Beki
Qači'un Beki (pr), **166+**; *see also* Qaǰi'un Beki. Probably = Qači'un [chief of the Dörben]

Qači'un Toqura'un (pr.; of the J̌alayir), **120**, **124**; *see also* Qaraqai Toqura'un, Qaraldai Toqura'un
Qačula (pr.; 4th son of Menen Tudun), **45**, **46**
Qada (pr.; a general of the Kitat), **251+**, **252+**
Qada (pr.; husband of Qoluiqan, q.v.)
Qada'an (pr.; of the Tarqut; cmdr. of 1000), **202**, **278+**
Qada'an (pr.; dau. of Sorqan Šira; sister of Čimbai and Čila'un), **85**, **146+**, **219**
Qada'an (pr.; 6th son of Qabul Qan), **48**, **51**, **57**
Qada'an Daldurqan (pr.; a steward), **120**, **124**, **174+**
Qada'an Taiši (pr.; son and Ambaqai Qan), **53**
Qadagin (peo.), **131**, **141+**; *see also* Qatagin
Qadai (pr.; cmdr. of nightguards), **278+**; *also* Qadai Güregen (cmdr. of 1000), **202**
Qadaq (pr.; of the J̌irgin), **170**; *also* Qadaq Ba'atur, **185+**
Qadingliq/Qadiqliq Ridge (pl.; tu. Qadïnglïq 'having birch trees'), **177**
Qaidu (pr.; son of Qači Külük), **46**, **47**
Qaidu (pr.; grandson of Ögödei)
Qaǰi'un Beki (pr.), **141**; *see also* Qači'un [chief of the Dörben], Qači'un Beki
Qal (pr.; 2nd son of Toqto'a Beki of the Merkit), **198** (written Qat), **199+**
Qalaqaljit Sands (pl.), **170**, **200**, **208**, **214**
Qaldun Burqan (mt.), **103**, **112**; *also* Qaldun, **103**; *see also* Burqan Qaldun
Qalibai Soltan, the (pr.), **260+**, **270**. *Also* al-Mustanṣir
Qali'udar (pr.; of the J̌e'üriyet), **183+**, **184+**, **185**,
Qalqa River (rv.), **175**, **176**, **191**, **192**; *also* Qalqa, **175**+, **208**. *Also* Khalkha River, Xalxyn Gol
Qan Melik (pr.), **257**+, **264+**. *Also* Amīn al-Mulk, Malik Xān Amīn al-Mulk
Qanglin (peo.; tu. Qanglï), **198**, **262**, **270**, **274**
Qangqai Mountains (mt.), **194**. *Also* Khangai Mountains
Qangqarqan (mt.): *see* Mount Qangqarqan
Qangqas (peo.), **239**
Qara J̌irügen (mt.): *see* Mount Qara J̌irügen
Qara Kidat (peo.), **151**, **152+**, **177**, **198**, **247**; J̌üyin of, **247**, **266**; *also* Qara Kitat, **248**; J̌üyin of, **248**, **266**. *Also* Kitat/Kitan, Qara Kitai. See Western Liao empire in Subject Index
Qara Qada'an (pr.; son of Büri Bulčiru), **40+**
Qara Qorum (pl.; on the east bank of the Orqon River, in heartland of the ancient Turks [tu. 'Black Boulder']; capital of the Mongol Empire in the 13th century), **273**. *Also* Karakorum. *Note also* RSH 2.1004-07, 3.134-35
Qara Se'ül (rv.; 'Black Tail'), **159**, **177**
Qara Tün (pl.): *see* Black Forest by the Tu'ula River

Qaračar (pr.; son of Suqu Sečen of the Barulas; cmdr. of 1000), **120**, **202**, **243**
Qaradal Source (pl.), **197**
Qaraǰi Steppe (pl.), **105**
Qaraldai (pr.; 6th son of Menen Tudun), **45**, **46**
Qaraldai Toqura'un (pr.; brother of Qači'un Toqura'un), **120**, **124**
Qaraqai Toqura'un (pr.; brother of Qači'un Toqura'un), **120**; *see also* Qarqai Toqura'un
Qara'udar (pr.; cmdr. of nightguards), **278+**
Qara'un Gorge (pl.), **150**, **177+**
Qara'un J̌idun (mt.), **183**, **206**
Qarču (pr.), **2**, **3**
Qardakin (peo.), **166**; *see also* Qarta'at
Qargil Šira (pr.; of the Tatar), **214+**
Qarlu'ut (peo.; plural of Qarluq), **198**, **235+**
Qarqai Toqura'un (pr.), **124**; *see also* Qaraqai Toqura'un
Qarta'at (peo.), **166**; *see also* Qardakin
Qasar (pr.; 2nd son of Yisügei Ba'atur by Hö'elün), **60**, **76+**, **77+**, **79**, **90**, **93**, **96**, **99**, **104**, **105+**, **107**, **124**, **130+**, **137**, **161**, **183+**, **184+**, **195**, **242**, **243**, **244+**, **245**, **253+**, **255**; *see also* J̌oči Qasar
Qaši (pr.; a son of Čila'un Qayiči of the J̌alayir), **137**
Qašin (pl.), **150**, **177**, **249+**, **250**; *see also* Tangut; *and* Hsi Hsia kingdom in Subject Index
Qat (pr.); in **198** erroneous writing for Qal
Qatagin (peo.), **42**, **196**; *see also* Qadagin
Qa'uran (pr.; cmdr. of 1000), **202**
Qïpčaq (peo.); *see* Kibčaq/Kibča'ut, Kimča'ut
Qo'aqčin (pr.; old maidservant of Hö'elün), **110**; *see also* Mother Qo'aqčin, Old Qo'aqčin
Qo'as Merkit (cl.), **197**; *see also* U'as Merkit
Qodu (pr.): *see* Qudu, Qutu
Qodun Örčeng (pr.; of the Tayiči'ut), **141**, **144**; *see also* Qoṭon Örčeng
Qoǰin Beki (pr.; or Qočin Begi [RSH 1.597]; eldest dau. of Činggis Qan), **165**
Qoluiqan (pr.; dim. form of the name Qolui; granddau. of Činggis Qan; wife of Qada), **239**
Qonggirat (peo.): *see* Onggirat
Qongqai (pr.), **260+**; *also* Qongqai Qorči, **260**
Qongqortaqai (pr.; cmdr. of company of dayguards), **278**; *also* Qongqortāi, **277+** (*ā* < *aγa*); *and* Qongqortai, **278**
Qongqotan (cl.), **47**, **120**, **244**+, **245**+, **265**; *also plural* Qongqotat, **68**, **72**, **73**, **130**
Qongtaqar (pr.; of the Dolonggir), **260+**; *also* Qongtaqar Qorči, **260**
Qorči (pr.; of the Ba'arin; cmdr. of 1000, 10,000), **120**, **121+**, **202**, **207+**, **241+**; *also* Qorči Noyan, **241+**

Qorčuqui Hill (mt.), **88**
Qori Buqa (pr.), **59**
Qori Qačar (pr; cmdr. of nightguards), **278+**
Qori Sübeči (pr.; a Naiman chief), **188+**, **189**, **194**
Qori Šilemün Taiši (pr.; leader of Ong Qan's bodyguards), **170+**, **171+**; *see also* Quri Šilemün
Qori Tumat (cl.), **8+**, **9+**, **240**; *see also* Tumat
Qoričar Mergen (pr.; 'Qoričar the wise'), **2+**
Qoridai (pr.; of the Qorolas), **141**
Qorijin Qatun (pr.; of the J̌ürkin; a wife of Sorqatu J̌ürki and mother of Sača Beki), **130**, **132+**, **136**
Qorilar (cl.), **9**
Qorilartai Mergen (pr.; of the Qori Tumad), **8+**, **9+**
Qorolas (peo.), **120**, **141+**; *see also* Qorulas
Qorqasun (pr.; cmdr. of 1000), **243**; *see also* Qorqosun
Qorqonaq Valley/Qorqonaq J̌ubur (pl.), **57+**, **104**, **115**, **116**, **117**, **201**, **206**,
Qorqosun (pr.), **202**; *see also* Qorqasun
Qorulas (peo.), **182+**; *see also* Qorolas
Qosivu (pl.; Chinese Ho-hsi-wu), **252**
Qoton Örčeng (pr.), **148**; *see also* Qodun Örčeng
Quba Qaya (mt.), **148**, **151**, **153**
Qubilai (pr.; of the Barulas; cmdr. of 1000; one of the 'four hounds'), **120**, **124**, **153**, **193**, **195**, **202**, **209+**, **235**; *also* Qubilai Noyan, **235+**
Qubilai Qa'an (pr.; son of Tolui and Berüde/Sorqartani Begi; ruled 1260-94)
Učar (pr.; son of Nekün Taiši), **123**, **127+**, **142+**, **153**, **166+**, **174**, **179+**, **180**, **181**, **246**, **255+**; *also* Učar Beki, **122**
Qudu (pr.; son of Toqto'a Beki of the Merkit), **177**, **197**, **198+**, **199+**; *see also* Qutu. *Also* Qodu
Quduqa (pr.; cmdr. of 1000), **143**; *also* Quduqa Beki, **141**, **142**, **144**, **239+**, **241+**
Quduqul Bend (pl.), **149**; *see also* Qutuqul Bend
Qudus (pr.; of the Barulas; brother of Qubilai; cmdr. of 1000), **120**, **202**
Qudus Qalčan (pr.), **191**
Qudu'udar (pr.; of the Tayiči'ut), **148**
Qul Bari (pr.): *see* Qulbari
Qulan (pr.; 5th son of Qabul Qa'an), **48**; *also* Qulan Ba'atur, **51**
Qulan Qatun (pr.; dau. of Dayir Usun of the Merkit), **197+**, **257**
Qulbari (pr.; a younger brother of Ong Qan of the Kereyit), **152**; *also* Qulbari Quri, **177**
Quldaqar Cliff (pl.), **117**
Qum Šinggir (pl.; tu. 'Sand Promontory'), **158**
Qunan (pr.; of the Geniges; cmdr. of 1000, 10,000), **122**, **202**, **210+**, **216**, **243**

Qunan (pr.; of the Tayiči'ut), **177**
Qurban Telesüt (pl.), **177**. *Also* Qurban Talasut
Qurčaqus (pr.; cmdr. of 1000), **202**; *also* Qurčaqus Buyiruq Qan, **150**, **152**, **167**, **177**. *Also* Cyriacus
Quri Šilemün (pr.), **208**; *see also* Qori Šilemün Taiši
Quril (pr.; cmdr. of 1000), **202**
Qurumši (cl., peo.; = Persian Xvārazmī, ethnicon of Xvārazm), **263+**. *Also* Khwārazmian empire
Qusutu Šitü'en (pl.), **133**
Qutu (pr.; son of Toqto'a Beki of the Merkit), **141**, **142**, **144**, **157**, **162**, **236**; *see also* Qudu. *Also* Qodu
Qutu Moriči (pr.), **124**
Qutula (pr.; 4th son of Qabul Qa'an), **53**, **57**; *also* Qutula Qa'an, **48**, **51**; Qutula Qan (pr.), **122**, **179**, **206**
Qutuqtai (pr.), **157**
Qutuqtu Mönggür (pr.), **48**, **50**; *also* Qutuqtu Möngler, **140**
Qutuqtu Yürki (pr.), **49**; error for Sorqatu Yürki/Jürki
Qutuqu (pr.; foundling; cmdr. of 1000), **252**; *see also* Šigi Qutuqu
Qutuqul Bend (pl.), **149**, **220**; *see also* Quduqul Bend
Qu'určin (pr.), **136**; *also* Qu'určin Qatun, **130**, **132+**
Quyildar (pr.; of the Mangqut; cmdr. of 1000; sworn friend of Činggis Qan), **171+**, **175**, **185+**, **202**, **208**, **209**, **217**; *also* Quyildar Šečen, **171**, **185**

Raral (peo.): *see* Kerel
Rus/Russians (peo.): *see* Orusut

Sa'ari Steppe (pl.), **128**, **161**, **177**, **193+**, **197**, **250**. *Also* Sa'ari Ke'er
Sača (pr.; elder son of Sorqatu Jürki), **136+**, **137**, **179**; *also* Sača Beki, **122**, **123**, **130+**, **133**, **136+**; *see also* Seče Beki
Sali Qača'u (pr.; son of A'uǰam Boro'ul), **2+**
Salǰi'ut (cl.), **42**, **141+**, **196**
Samarkand (pl.): *see* Semisgab, Semisgen
Saqayit (peo.), **122**
Saqšïn (peo.; of the lower Volga): *see* Sasut
Sariq Qun (pl.; tu. 'Yellow Cliff'), **237**
Sartaq (peo.; Muslim; inhabitant of Turkestan [RSH 1.562, 3.93-95]), **182**, **263**; *also plural* Sarta'ul, **152**, **177**, **198**, **254+**, **256**, **257+**, **260**, **263+**, **264**, **265**
Sasut (peo.; plural of Sas, = Saxons [of Transylvania] or [?] Saqšïn of the lower Volga), **262**; *see also* Sesüt
Sayiqan Töde'en (pr.), **167+**
Seče Beki (pr.; elder son of Sorqatu Jürki), **49**; *see also* Sača
Seče Domoq (pr.; of the Jalayir), **120**
Seče'ür (pr.; cmdr. of 1000), **202**
Sečeyiken (pr.): *see* Čečeyigen

Seči'ür (pr.; of the Qorolas), **120**
Selengge (rv.; Selenga River), **105**, **109**, **110**, **115**, **144**, **152**, **162**, **177**, **219+**
Sem Sečüle (pr.; 2nd son of Tumbinai Sečen), **48+**
Sem Soči (pr.; son of Yeke Nidün), **2+**
Semisgab (pl.), **257**, **259+**; error for Semisgen q.v.
Semisgen (pl.), **263**; *see also* Semisgab. *Also* Samarkand
Senggüm (pr.; only son of Ong Qan of the Kereyit; sworn friend of Temüjin), **142+**, **162**, **163**, **164+**, **165+**, **167+**, **168+**, **171+**, **172**, **174+**, **177+**, **181+**, **185**, **188+**, **204**, **208+**; and conspiracy against Činggis Qan, **166-9**; *see also* Nilqa Senggüm. (For origin of this name/title, see RSH 1.589-90, 3.57.)
Senggüm Bilge (pr.; son of Čaraqai Lingqu), **47+**, **52**
Senggür Stream (rv.), **89**, **93**, **94**, **96**, **122**
Sergesüt (peo.), **270**; *also* Serkesüt, **262**. *Also* Čerkes, Circassians
Sesüt (peo.), **270**, **274**; *see also* Sasut
Seüse (pr.; Hsiao-ssu, 'Little Slave'; name given to Altan Qan by Ögödei Qa'an; see RSH 2.1001-02), **273**; *see also* Altan Qan [Ai-tsung]
Shen-tsung [of Hsi Hsia] (pr.; ruled 1211-23). *Also* Burqan Qan, Li Tsun-Hsü
Shih-tsu [of Yüan] (pr.): *see* Qubilai Qa'an
Shou-hsü [of Chin] (pr.): *see* Altan Qan (Ai-tsung)
Sibir (peo.): *see* Šibir
Sisten (pl.; Persian Sīstān), **259**
Solangqas (peo.), **274**. *Also* Koreans
Soltan, the (pr.), **259**, **260**; *see also* J̌alaldin Soltan, Sultan, the. *Also* J̌alāl al-Dīn, Muḥammad Šāh of Khwārazm
Soqatai (pr.; a wife of Ambaqai Qa'an), **70+**, **71**
Soqoq Usun (rv.; tu. 'Cold Water'), **158+**, **177**. *Also* Kobdo River
Soqor (pr.; a messenger), **245+**
Sorqan Šira (pr.; of the Süldüs; cmdr. of 1000), **82+**, **83+**, **84+**, **85**, **86+**, **87**, **146+**, **198**, **202**, **219+**
Sorqaqtani Beki (pr.; wife of Tolui), **186**; *see also* Berüde
Sorqatu Jürki (pr.; son of Ökin Barqaq), **122**, **139**; in **288** wrongly written Qutuqtu Yürki
Söge'en (peo.), **166**
Söndiivu (pl.; Hsüan-te fu), **247**
Sönit (cl.), **47**
Söyiketü Čerbi (pr.; of the Qongqotan; steward; chamberlain), **120**, **124**, **191**; *see also* Süyiketü
Sučigil/ Sujigil (pr.; 2nd wife of Yisügei Ba'atur; mother of Bekter and Belgütei): *see* Mother Sučigil
Suldus (peo.), **82**, **120**, **186**
Sultan, the (pr.), **257**; *see also* J̌alaldin Soltan, Soltan, the. *Also* J̌alāl al-Dīn, Muḥammad Šāh of Khwārazm

Sungari (rv.): *see* Ula
Suqu Sečen (pr.; of the Barulas), **120+**
Sübe'etei (pr.; of the Uriangqat, 1176-1248; younger brother of J̌elme; cmdr. of 1000; one of the 'four hounds'), **120**, **195**, **199+**, **209**, **221**, **257+**, **270**, **274**, **277**; *also* Sübe'etei Ba'adur, **124**; Sübe'etei Ba'atur, **120**, **236**, **262+**, **270+**; *see also* Sübegetei
Sübegei Bo'ol (pr.; 'Slave Sübegei', son of Oqda Bo'ol), **180**
Sübegetei (pr.; ; of the Uriangqat), **209**; *see also* Sübe'etei
Sügegei (pr.; an envoy of Činggis Qan), **126**, **151**, **177**; *also* Sügegei J̌e'ün, **181+**; Sükegei, **124**, **177**; Sükegei J̌e'ün, **120**, **151**, **177**
Sügegen (peo.): *see* Sükeken
Sükeken (peo.), **120**. *Also* Sügegen
Süyiketü (pr.; of the Qongqotan; cmdr. of 1000), **202**; *see also* Söyiketü Čerbi

Šibir (peo.), **239**. *Also* Ibir Sibir, Sibir (RSH. 2.853)
Šidurqu (pr.; name given to Burqan Qan; see RSH 2.976), **267**, **268**; *see also* Burqan, Burqan Qan
Šigi Qutuqu (pr.; foundling; cmdr. of 1000; one of the 'four hounds', and grand judge), **202**, **203+**, **214**, **234**, **242+**, **252+**, **257+**; *also* Šigi Quduqu, **260**; Šigiken Qutuqu, **138**; Šikiken Quduqu, **135**
Šiǰu'udai (pr.; a son of Način Ba'atar), **46**
Šiki'ür (pr.; a steward), **130+**, **136**
Šilginček (pl.), **282**
Šiluqai (pr., cmdr. of 1000), **202**
Šin River (rv.; < Sindh), **257+**, **264**. *Also* Indus
Šinči Bayan (pr.; one of the two 'Lords of [Mt.] Burqan Qaldun'), **9**
Šiqšit (rv.), **239**; *see also* Šisgis
Šira Dektür (pl.; 'Yellow Terrace', = Lung-hu t'ai, some 40 km. NW of Peking), **247**, **272**
Šira Ke'er (pl.; 'Yellow Steppe'), **67**, **252**
Širaqan (pr.), **278**
Širaqul (pr.; cmdr. of 1000), **202**
Širgü'etü (pr.), **149**; *see also* Old Širgõtü
Šisgis (rv.; Šišgid Gol), **144**; *see also* Šiqšit

Ta-ting (fu) (pl.): *see* Beiging
Tai Temür Taiši (pr.; a younger brother of Ong Qan), **177**
Taičar (pr.; younger brother of J̌amuqa), **128+**, **129**, **201**
Taiču (pr.; son of Qutuqtu Yürki), **49**, **122**, **130**, **133**, **136+**, **137**, **179**
Taiču Güregen (pr.; brother of Mother Hö'elün). *Also* Ča'ur Sečen. *See* RSH 2.765
Taiqal (mt.), **198+**
Taki (pr.; of the Suldus), **120**; *see also* Daqai, Taqai
Talasu(t) Steppe (pl.): *see* Qurban Telesüt

Talqun Aral (pl.; 'Talqun Island'), **105**, **115**
Tamača (pr.; son of Batačiqan), **2+**
Tamači (pr.; cmdr. of 1000), **202**
Tamir River (rv.), **195**, **196**
Tana Stream (rv.), **107**
Tanglu (mt.; < Tangnu), **200**
Tangut (peo.): *see* Tang'ut
Tang'ut (peo.), **152+**, **177**, **249+**, **250**, **256+**, **267**, **268+**; *also* Tangqut, **151**; *also plural* Tang'ud-ud, **265+**, **266**. *See* Hsi Hsia kingdom in Subject Index
Taqai (pr.; cmdr. of 1000; envoy to To'oril Qan), **124**, **151**, **177**, **202**, **207**; *also* Taqai Ba'atur, **151**, **186**; *see also* Daqai, Taki
Tarqut (peo.), **120+**, **213**
Tarqutai Kiriltuq (pr.; a chief of the Tayiči'ut), **72**, **79**, **81**, **141**, **149+**, **219**, **220+**; *also* Tarqutai (pr.), **149+**
Tas (peo.), **239**
Tatar (peo.), **53**, **58**, **59+**, **67**, **68**, **132+**, **133+**, **135**, **136**, **138**, **141**, **152**, **153+**, **154+**, **155**, **156+**, **157**, **205**, **214+**; *see also* Alči Tatar, Aruqai Tatar, Ayiri'ut Buiru'ut Tatar, Ča'a'an Tatar, Ča'ān Tatar, Duta'ut Tatar
Ta'ur River (rv.), **253+**
Tayang Qan (pr.; *gür qan* of the Naiman), **166**, **189+**, **190+**, **193**, **194+**, **195+**, **196+**; *also* Tayang, **189**, **194+**; *see also* Torluq Qan
Tayiči'udai (pr.; in charge of horse herds), **120**, **124**
Tayiči'ut (peo.; shared ancestry with the Mongols), **47**, **57**, **72+**, **73+**, **74**, **76**, **77**, **79+**, **80**, **81**, **82+**, **83+**, **86**, **94**, **98**, **119+**, **138**, **141+**, **144+**, **146+**, **148+**, **149**, **177**, **196**, **219+**, **257**
Teb Tenggeri (pr.; middle son of Father Mönglik of the Qongqotat), **244**, **245+**, **246+**; *see also* Kököčü Teb Tenggeri
Telegetü Bayan (pr.; of the 'white' clan of the J̌alayir; grandfather of Muqali; see RSH 1.504), **137**
Telegetü Pass (pl.), **162**, **177**; *see also* Telētü Pass
Telengüt (peo.; plural of Teleng), **207**; *see also* Tenlek
Telētü Pass (pl.), **136**; *see also* Telegetü Pass
Teme'en Steppe (pl.; Teme'en Ke'er), **190**
Temüder (pr.; cmdr. of dayguards), **278**
Temüge (pr.; youngest brother of Temüǰin), **60**, **79**; *also* Temüge Otčigin, **60**, **99**, **245**; *see also* Otčigin
Temüǰin (pr.; eldest son of Yisügei and Hö'elün; husband of Börte; father of J̌oči, Ča'adai, Ögödei, and Tolui; given title Činggis Qan), **59**, **60+**, **61+**, **66+**, **68+**, **69+**, **73+**, **76+**, **77+**, **79+**, **80**, **81+**, **82**, **83**, **84**, **85+**, **87**, **88**, **90+**, **91**, **92**, **93+**, **94+**, **96+**, **97+**, **99+**, **100+**, **101**, **102**, **103+**, **104+**, **105+**, **106+**, **107+**, **108+**, **110+**, **111**, **113**, **115+**, **116+**, **117+**, **118+**, **121+**, **122+**, **123+**, **126**, **127+**, **146+**, **149+**, **152+**, **160**,

164+, **166+**, **167+**, **169+**, **170**, **174**, **177**, **195+**, **244+**; *see also* Činggis Qa'an
Temüjin Üge (pr.; a chief of the Tatars), **59+**
Temülün (pr.; sister of Temüjin), **60+**, **79**, **99**
Tenggelik Stream (rv.), **100**; *see also* Tünggelik
Tenggeri (pr.; a son of Altan Qan), **253**
Tenggis (lk.; 'sea, body of water'), **1** (where probably Lake Baikal); *also* Tenggis Sea (*Tenggis dalai*: metaphorically and generally, 'the ocean'), **199**
Tenlek (peo.), **239**; error for Teleng; *see also* Telengüt
Terge Emel (pr.), **141**, **176**
Tergüne Heights (mt.), **79**
Tersüt (pl.): *see* Dersüt
Three Merkit, the (pr.) **103+**; *see also* Dayir Usun, Qa'atai Darmala, Toqto'a Beki
Three Rivers, **179**; *see also* Kelüren River, Onan, Tu'ula
Tibetans (peo.): *see* Töbödüt
Tobsaqa (pr.; cmdr. of 1000), **202**
Tobuqa (pr.; cmdr. of 1000)
Tolon (pr.; cmdr. of 1000), **202**
Tolui (pr.; youngest son of Činggis Qan), **186**, **214+**, **242**, **243**, **251+**, **255+**, **258**, **259+**, **269+**; *see also* Prince Tolui
Tolun (pr.; of the Qonqotat; cmdr of 1000; chamberlin), **191**, **212**, **213**, **267+**; *also* Tolun Čerbi, **191**, **253**, **265**, **267+**
To'oril (pr.; of the Kereyit), **108+**, **134**; *see also* Ong Qan, To'oril Ong Qan
To'oril (pr.; son of Čaqa'an Qo'a), **218+**; *see also* Narin To'oril
To'oril (pr.; of the Söge'en), **166+**, **180+**, **181**
To'oril Ong Qan (pr.; of the Kereyit), **104+**; *also* To'oril Qan (pr.), **105+**, **106+**, **107+**, **108+**, **110**, **113+**, **115+**, **126+**, **133+**, **134**; *see also* Ong Qan, To'oril
Toqočaq Heights (mt.), **12**
Toqon Temür (pr.; cmdr. of 1000), **202**
Toqto'a (pr.; of the Merkit), **102**, **105+**, **109**, **117+**, **144**, **157+**, **162**, **177+**, **197**, **198+**, **199+**, **236**; *see also* Three Merkit, the; Toqto'a Beki
Toqto'a (pr.; the shaman), **181**
Toqto'a Beki (pr.; of the Merkit), **109+**, **111+**, **141**, **142**, **157**, **177+**, **197**, **198**; *see also* Toqto'a, Three Merkit, the
Toqu (pr.): *see* Tuqu
Toqučar (pr.; identification unclear [RSH 2.940, 1031]), **257+**, **280**
Toqučar (pr.; grandson of Ögödei (RSH 2.1031)
Toqura'ut (cl.), **213**; *see also* Qači'un Toqura'un, Qaraldai Toqura'un, Qaraqai Toqura'un
Torbi Taš (pr.; messenger of Tayang Qan), **190**

Torluq Qan (pr.), **190**; *also* Torluq Tayang (pr.), **189**; *see also* Tayang Qan
Toroqoljin Bayan (pr.; son of Borjigidai Mergen), **3**; *also* Toroqoljin, **3**
Toruqan (pr.): *see* Turuqan
Töbödüt (peo.; plural of *töböt before noqot 'Tibetan dogs'), **260**
Tödege (pr.), **219**; *see also* Tödöge
Tödö'en (pr.; 7th son of Qabul Qa'an), **51**; *also* Tödö'en Otčigin, **48**
Tödö'en (pr.; messenger of Senggüm), **181+**
Tödö'en Barula (cl.), **46**
Tödö'en Girte (pr.; a chief of the Tayiči'ut), **72+**
Tödöge (pr.), **146**; *see also* Tödege
Tö'eles (peo.), **239**; *see also* Tö'ölös
Tögei (pr.; a wife of Toqto'a Beki's son Qudu), **198**
Tögüs Beki (pr.; eldest son of Toqto'a Beki), **157**
Tö'ölös (peo.), **207**; *see also* Tö'eles
Töregene (pr.): *see* Döregene
Törölči (pr.; elder brother of Inalči), **239**
Tubas (peo.; plural of Tuba), **239**. *Also* Black Forest Tatars
Tumat (peo.), **240+**, **241+** ; *see also* Qori Tumat
Tumbinai Sečen (pr.; son of Bai Šingqor Doqšin), **47**, **48**; *also* Tumbinai, **180**
Tung-ching (pl.): *see* Dungčang
Tunggon Pass (pl.; T'ung-kuan), **251**
Tungquidai (pr.; cmdr. of 1000), **202**
Tuqas (peo.), **239**
Tuqu (pr.; 3rd son of Qasar), **183**. *Also* Toqu
Turuqan (pr.), **212**. *Also* Toruqan (RSH 2.797-98)
Tusaqa (pr.), **165**
Tu'ula River (rv.), **96**, **104**, **115**, **164**, **177+**; *also* Tūla River, **264**
Tübegen (cl.), **208**; *see also* Tümen Tübegen
Tüge (pr.; eldest son of Čila'un Qayiči; cmdr. of 1000), **202**, **225**; *see also* Tüngge
Tüge Maqa (pr.), **141**
Tügü'üdei (pr.; son of J̌adaradai), **40+**
Tülkin Če'üt (mt.), **190**
Tümelün (pr.; youngest dau. of Činggis Qan; wife of Čigü)
Tümen Kirgisut (peo.), **239**; *see also* Kirgisut
Tümen Oyirat (cl.), **239+**
Tümen Tübegen (cl.), **150**, **170+**, **171+**; *also* Tümen Tübe'en, **187**; *see also* Tübegen
Tüngge (pr.), **137**; *see also* Tüge
Tüngge Stream (rv.), **177+**; a problematic reference (see RSH 1.635)
Tünggelik (rv.), **107**; *also* Tünggelik Qoroqan ('Tünggelik Stream'), **5**, **28**, **30**, **32**, **35**; *see also* Tenggelik Stream
Tüyideger (pr.; cmdr. of 1000), **202**

U'as Merkit (cl.), **102**, **105**, **109**, **111**, **117**, **197**; *see also* Merkit
Ubčiq (cl.), **160**
Udan (pl.), **263**. *Also* Khotan
Udarar (pl.), **257**; *also* Udirar, **258**; Udurar, **259+** . *Also* Otrar
Udutai (pr.; cmdr. of 1000)
Uduyit Merkit (cl.), **102**, **105**, **106**, **111**, **114**, **199**; *see also* Merkit
Uighur (peo.): *see* Ui'ur
Ui'ur (peo.; the Uighur), **198** (where wrongly written as ethnicon Ui'urtai); *also* Ui'ut (plural of Ui'ur), **152+**, **177**, **238**. *Also* Uighur, Uyiqut
Ui'urtai (pr.), **279**
Ula (rv.; *ula* is 'river' in Jurchen), **253**. *Also* Sungari (RSH 2.921)
Ulǰa (rv.), **132**, **133+**
Ulqui Šilügelǰit (rv.), **153**, **173**
Uluq Taq (mt.; tu. 'big mountain'), **144**, **158**, **177**
Uncle J̌ürčedei (pr.), **171**; *see also* J̌ürčedei
Uquna (pr.; envoy of Činggis Qan), **254+**
Ural (rv.): *see* J̌ayaq
Uraq Čöl Bend of the Kelüren (pl.), **94**
Uraqai (pl.), **267+**
Urgenč (pl.): *see* Örünggeči. *Also* Gurganj
Uriangqai (peo.), **9**, **12**, **97**, **183**; *see also* Adangqan Uriangqai, Uriangqan
Uriangqan (peo.), **120**; *see also* Uriangqai
Uriyang (pl.; erroneous writing for *Yarqand/Yarkend; tu. Yarkänd), **263**. *Also* Yarkand
Ursut (peo.), **239**
Urši'un River (rv.), **53**
Uru'udai (pr.; a son of Način Ba'atar), **46**
Uru'ut (peo.), **46**, **130+**, **170+**, **171+**, **175**, **176**, **195**, **208+**, **209**
Utkiya (pl.), **142**
Uyiqut (peo.; plural of *Uyiqur), **151**; *see also* Ui'ur. *Also* Uighur

Üčügen Barula (pr.; 'Small Barula'), **46**
Ülengüt Turas (pl.), **144**. *Also* Hüle'üt Turas (RSH 1.527)
Ünǰin (cl.), **122**
Örünggeči (pl.), **258+**, **263+**; *see also* Örünggeči. *Also* Gurganj
Örünggü River (rv.), **158+**, **177**
Üsün (pr.), **216**; *see also* Old Üsün

Volga (rv.): *see* Adil, Eǰil, Idil
Vuǰiu (pl.; northernmost outpost of the Chin, at Hsing-ho ch'eng [Qara Balγasun]), **247**, **248**. *Also* Fu-chou
Vuqanu (pr.), **253+**,

Wan-yen Fu-hsing (pr.): *see* Ongging Čingsang [Wan-yen Fu-hsing]
Wan-yen Hsiang (pr.): s*ee* Ongging Čingsang [Wan-yen Hsiang]

Xalxyn Gol (rv.): *see* Khalkha River

Yadir (pr.), **170**
Yalawači (pr.; administrator, formerly merchant), **263+**. *Also* Maḥmūd Yalavač of Urgenč (RSH 2.962, 3.122)
Yalbaq (pr.; cmdr. of nightguards), **278+**
Yarkand (pl.): *see* Uriyang
Yedi Inal (pr.; chief of the Kirgisut), **239**
Yedi Tubluq (pr.; a chief of Buyiruq Qan of the Naiman), **158**
Yegei Qongtaqar (pr.; son of Kököčü Kirsa'an), **180+**; *see also* J̌egei Qongdaqor
Yegü (pr.; eldest son of J̌oči Qasar), **183**, **269**, **280**. *Also* Yekü
Yeke Barula (pr.; 'Big Barula'), **46**
Yeke Čeren [son of Qulan Ba'atur] (pr.), **51**, **169+**; *see also* Čeren
Yeke Čeren [Tatar chief] (pr.), **154+**, **155**, **156**
Yeke Čiledü (pr.), **54**, **111**; *see also* Čiledü
Yeke Ne'ürin (pr.; cmdr. of nightguards), **225**
Yeke Nidün (pr.; son of Sali Qača'u), **2+**
Yekü (pr.): *see* Yegü (RSH 2.659)
Yesügei (pr.): *see* Yisügei
Yesügen (pr.): *see* Yisügen Qatun
Yesüngge (pr.): *see* Yisüngge
Yisüder Qorči (pr.; cmdr. of garrison), **274**
Yisügei (pr.; 3rd son of Bartan Ba'atur; husband of Hö'elün; father of Temüǰin), **56**, **66**, **69**; *also* Yisügei Ba'atur, **50**, **54**, **56**, **59**, **60+**, **61**, **62**, **66**, **67+**, **69**, **70**, **111**, **130**, **140**, **164**; Yisügei the Kiyan, **67**; Yisügei Qan, **96**, **105**, **150+**, **177+**; Yisügei Qa'an, **150**
Yisügen Qatun (pr.), **155+**, **156**
Yisüi (pr.), **155**, **156**, **254**; *also* Yisüi Qatun, **155+**, **156+**, **254**, **265+**, **268**
Yisün Te'e (pr.; son of J̌elme; cmdr. of 1000 quiverbearers), **225+**, **230**, **234**; *also* Yisün Tö'e, **278**,
Yisüngge (pr.; 2nd son of J̌oči Qasar; nephew of Činggis Qan; a noted archer [RSH 3.105-06]), **183**, **269**
Yuqunan (pr.; tu.-mo. form of Syrian 'Johannes'; envoy of Alaquš Digit Quri), **190+**
Yuruqan (pr.; cmdr. of 1000), **202**
Yürki (cl.), **49**; *see also* J̌ürkin

* * *

2. SUBJECTS

This index is based on that in RSH 2.1246-314, which should be consulted for additional details on these and many other entries. The following abbreviations are used here: ČQ = Činggis Qan, cmdr. = commander.

abduction: of Börte, **98-103**, **101**, **102**, **104**, **105**, **111**, **254**; of Hö'elün, **54-6**, **102**, **111**; of mother of Belgütei, **101**, **112**; of Ong Qan by Tatars, **152**, of Ong Qan by the Merkit, **152**; of women, **38**

administration, civil and military: organization of, **124-5**, **191-2**, **202-34**

administration, military: confirmation of ČQ's regulations by Ögödei, **278**; formation of right and left wings and units of ten thousand, **104**; reorganization of army: by ČQ, **191-2**; by Ögödei, **278**

adoption: of *idu'ut* of Ui'ut by ČQ, **238**; of ČQ by Ong Qan, **164**, **177**; (cf. also **167**, **181**, **183**, **200**, **204**); *see also* foundlings

affection: of Börte for Ča'adai, **254**; between ČQ and Ong Qan, **164**, **165**; ČQ's loss of for Ong Qan and Senggüm, **165**, **166**; Ong Qan's for Senggüm, **167**

agreements: binding quality of, **108**; not to be broken, **126**; in old days between ČQ and Sača Beki and Taiču, **136**; of Senggüm, Ong Qan et al. to seize ČQ, **168**; *see also* alliances; promises; word

alcoholism: *see* drunkenness

alliances: between J̌amuqa and other tribes, **129**, **141**; between Chin dynasty and ČQ against Tatars, **133**; between J̌amuqa and other Mongols and the Naiman, **194**; between the Naiman and the Merkit, **198**; between Qan Melik and J̌alaldin Soltan against ČQ, **257**; *see also* agreements, marriage; oaths

anda and *anda*-ship: *see* sworn friends

anger: of Büri and Güyük at Batu, **275**; of ČQ, **240**, **244**, **246**, **260**; of spirits of the Kitat lands, **272**; of Mother Hö'elün, **244**; of Ögödei at Güyük, Harqasun and Büri, **276**, **277**; fury of J̌ürkin, **139**; fury of Mother Hö'elün, **244**

animals, wild (for others, see individual entries), **123**, **164**, **179**, **187 199**, **279**, **281**; asses (onagers), **188**, **199**, **265**, **267;** brach, **78**; ducks, **200**; ermine, **103**; field-mice, **89**; geese, **27**; jackal, **78**, lion, **78**; marmot, **89**, **90**, **199**; panther, **78**; squirrel, **9**, **182**; stag, **199**; tiger, **78**; weasel, **103**; *see also* birds; falconry; fish; hawking; hunting; sable; snakes; wolves

appointments: of envoys, **124**

appointments by ČQ/Ögödei: *see* RSH 2.1248

archery: practice, **116**; skill in, **139**, **244**

army, **260**; of Boroqul, **240**; of ČQ, **183**, **195**, **247**, **248**; of Dörbei Doqšin, **240**; enlistment to of eldest sons, **270**; garrison, **276**; great, of ČQ, **146**; the Guard and, **226**; horses, **199**, **195, 224**; of Ong Qan, **133**, **141**, **170**; provisioning of, **199**; of Tayang Qan, **194**; of Yisügei, **150**; *see also* left wing, right wing
arraying troops: ČQ, **163**, **177**, **195**; ČQ and Ong Qan, **159**; Güčülük Qan and Toqto'a, **198**; Kökse'ü Sabraq, **159**, **177**; of Ong Qan, **170**; Yisügei, **177**
arrows, **77**, **79**, **87**, **91**, **106**, **112, 116**, **124**, **147**, **163**, **169**, **171**, **172**, **173**, **174**, **177**, **195**, **198**, **199**, **208**, **214**, **244**, **254**; arrow-sharpening/notching knife, **80**, **178**; arrow-shafts, parable of, **19**, **22**; *for special types of arrowheads see* RSH 1.366, 466, 537, 2.713-14, 731-32
assembly: of the colophon, **282**; and election of Ögödei as *qan*, **269** great, and re-election of ČQ as *qan*, **202**; of Mongols and Tayiči'ut to elect Qutula as *qan*, **57**
autumn: (read spring): of the Year of the Hen (1225), **264**; of the Year of the Dog (1202), **153**, **177**; of the Year of the Dog (1226), **265**; of the Year of the Rat (1204), **197**
ayil (group of tents belonging to one family), **81**, **84**, **112**

banquet: *see* feasts
bastard offspring, **254**
battue: *see* hunting
beauty: of Alan Qo'a, **7**; of daughters/granddaughters of Onggirat, **64-5**, **176**; of Hö'elün, **54**; of lady, **75**; of Tumat girls, **241**; of women and girls, **121**, **123**, **179**, **197**
betrothal: of ČQ and Börte, **66**; of daughter of Ambaqai Qa'an, **53**; feast, **168**, **204**; future son-in-law left with future father-in-law, **66**, **155**; of Jirgin girl servants, **185**; *see also* wife-to-be
beverages: *see* drink
billygoats: gelded, **264**
birds: buzzard, **111**, **200**; crane, **111**; crow, **111**, **124**, **200**, **210**; duck, **27**, **31,** (mandarin) **78**, **200**; falcon, **195**, **249**, **260**, **266**; flock of, **245**, **254**; geese, **27**, **31**, **111**; gerfalcon, **63**, **78**, **199, 239**; grouse, **25**; hawks, **25-9**, **31**; lark, **77**, **160**; skylark, **160**; sparrow, **85**; sparrow-hawk, **85**; swan, **111**; *see also* falconry; hawking
birth: afterbirth, **78**, **244**; birth cord, **244**; of ČQ, **59**, **97**, **211**; Heaven and, **21**; heavenly yellow man and birth of Alan Qo'a's sons, **21**; high/higher, **201**; images of, **78**, **244**, **254**; magic and, **174**, **189**; outside marriage, **17**
birthplace: of ČQ, **59**, **97**, **211**
bit (of horse's bridle), **199**
blizzard, **108**
blood, **194**; black, **254**; clogging wound, **145**, **173**, **214**; clot, **59**, **78**; and birth of ČQ, **59**; clotting, **145**, **173**, **214**; ČQ and Jamuqa of kindred,

105; drinking camel's, **151**, **152**, **177**; execution without shedding, **201**; shedding, **178**; spitting, **145**; sucking from wound, **145**, **173**, **214**
body: big of Barulatai, **46**; cleaning, **254**; of ČQ, **245**; in pain, **265**, **267**; disappearance of Kököčü Teb Tenggeri's, 2**46**; Ong Qan and Senggüm, **188**; Qasar and companions, **183**; Sača Beki and Taiču, **136**; Širgü'etü and his sons, **149**; Toqto'a and Dayir Usun, **109**; Toqto'a Beki and his sons, **197**, **198**; examination of, **197**; must have head, **33**
body parts: afterbirth, **78**, **244**; back/backbone, **194**, **245**; birth cord, **244**; bosom/breasts, **244**, **245**; **275**, **276**; buttocks, **277**; cheeks, **123**, **171**, **174**, **179**, **194**, **197**, **208**; ears, **254**; ears to hear, and eyes to see **138**, **203**, **252**; eyes, **62**, **66**, **77**, **82**, **114**, **145**, **149**, **194**, **254**: single, in forehead, **4**; face, **62**, **66**, **82**, **149**, **152**, **201**: spitting in, **152**; feet, **254 275**, **279**, **281**; finger, **178**; fists, **227**, **278**; hands, **279**, **281**: washing of, **189**; head(s): **33**, **111**, **123**, **254**: destroyed, **189**, **198**, **229**, **255**, **278**, **280**; heart, **69**, **75**, **84**, **104**, **105**, **125**, **173**, **178**, **181**, **194**, **199**, **200**, **201**, **205**, **219**, **230**, **240**, **254**, **260**, **265**, **267**, **277**; heels, **254**, **255**, **275**; kidneys, **96**, **104**; lungs, **13**, **139**; nails (of finger), **276**; neck, wounded, **145**, **173**, **214**, **254**; nose, **280**; ribs, **12**, **127**; rump, of horse, **184**; sinews, **183**; skin: black, **195**, **200**, **201**; stomach, **137**, **145**, **195**, **214**; kicking pit of, **137**; teeth/fangs, of snake: **164**, **177**; tendons, **137**; thigh, **163**, **177**; throat, **149**: and choking, **213**; tripe, **124**; vein, in neck, **145**, **173**; womb, **21**, **22**, **78**, **121**, **244**, **254**; *see also* liver; spine
book: *see* writing
booty: *see* plundering
bowls and vessels: golden, of Ong Qan, **187**; golden and silver, **267**; nightguards and, **232**, **278**; stewards and, **229**
bows, **87**, **91**, **190**, **195**, **234**, **279**; bowstring, **106, 116**
bride: accompaniment of by father, **53**; family of, **65**
bridegroom: custom of leaving with family of bride, **66**; family of, **65**; of Yisüi Qatun, **155**, **156**
bridles, **199**, **229**, **278**; *see also* bit
brothers (= cousins): of J̌amuqa, **160**; *see also* younger brother
Buddhism: *see* RSH 1.xxv, 282; 2.785
Buddhist images: **267**
bull: black, **106**; hide of covering a drum, **106**; red, **240**
burial: decapitation when not possible, **198**; in elevated places, **201**; execution without, **188** (of Kököčü), **136** (of Sača Beki and Taiču); of J̌amuqa, **201**; killing of Büri Bökö/Itürgen without, **140**, **184**; with quiver and bow, **190**; of Quyildar, **175**
butchering: ox, **214**

calf: horns of, **116**; wheel-tied, **194**
camels, **64**, **78**, **152**, **182**, **249**, **250**, **264**, **265**, **266**, **267**; Bactrian, **274**; black, **64**; drinking blood of, **151**, **152**, **177**; foal, **78**; pulling carts, **64**;

white, **244**; *see also* dromedaries
campaigns, **233**, **254**; in Khorasan by Tolui, **259**; in Korea, **274**; raid in north Caucasia by Sübe'etei (and Jebe), **262**; Western (against Muḥammad Šāh of Khwārazm), **254-64**; *see also* battles in RSH 2.1250-51
campaigns against: Baqtat and the Qalibai Soltan by Čormaqan, **260**, **270**, **274**; Buyiruq Qan and the Naiman by ČQ and Ong Qan, **158**, **159**, **177**; cities Aru, Maru and Abtu by Dörbei, **261**; cities Meket, Menkermen Keyibe and others by Sübe'etei, **270**; ČQ and Ong Qan by Jamuqa and allies, **141-4**; ČQ by Jamuqa, **129**, **201**; Güčülük of the Naiman by Jebe, **202**, **237** Jurchen/Chin [Kitat], **247-8**, **249**, **250**, **251**, **252**; Jurchen/Chin [Kitat and Jürčet] by Qasar, **253**; Jurchen/Chin [Kitat] by Ögödei, **271**, **272**; Jamuqa and his allies, **141-4**; the Jaqut by Ögödei, **281**; the Jürčet and the Solangqas by Jalayirtai Qorči, **274**; Jürkin, **132**, **136**; Kereyit, **185**; the Kibčaq, **275**; the Merkit by ČQ, Ong Qan and Jamuqa to rescue Börte, **104-13**; the Merkit by ČQ in 1204, **197**; the Merkit by Sübe'etei, **199**, **236**; northern India and Kashmir by Oqotur, **274**; Ong Qan and the Kereyit, **185**; the People of the Forest by Joči, **239**; the Qanglin, Kibča'ut and Bajigit by Batu, Büri, Güyük, Möngke and other princes, **274**; Qarlu'ut by Qubilai, **235**; sons of Toqto'a Beki by Sübe'etei, **199**, **236**; Tangut Hsi Hsia, **249**, **250**, **265-8**; Tatars, **157**; Tatars by ČQ, Ong Qan and Ongging Čingsang, **132-3**; Tatars by ČQ and Ong Qan, **136**; Tatars by Jurchen/Chin, **132-3**; Tatars by Qutula and Qada'an Taiši, **58-9**; Tatars by Yisügei, **59**; Tatars in Year of the Dog (1202), **153**; Tayang Qan and the Naiman, **189-96**; Toqto'a Beki and the Merkit, **177**, **197**; Toqto'a Beki and the Merkit by Ong Qan, **157**; the Tumat by Boroqul, **240**; the Tumat by Dörbei, **240**
camps: *see* RSH 2.1255-56; *and for* circular camps, RSH 2.1259
cangue, **81**, **84**, **85**, **112**, **146**
capture (of places): of Beiging by Qasar, **253**; of cities of Iru, Isebür etc. by Tolui, **259**; of Čabčiyal Pass by Jebe, **247**, **248**; of Dungging by Jebe, **247**, **248**; of Gurganj, **260**; of Otrar, **259** of Örünggeči by Joči, Ča'adai and Ögödei, **260**; *see also* campaigns against
'caragana' marching-order, **195**
carriages, **64**
carts, **55**, **56**, **85**, **86**, **100**, **118**, **145**, **149**, **232**, **233**, **280**; axle-carts, **124**; axletree of, **101**; black covered, **6**, **244**; felt-covered, **6**, **244**; closed, **101**; iron, **199**, **236**; large, **64**; linchpin of, **154**, **156**, **214**; line of, **245**; lock-carts, **115**, **124**; pulled by camels/bulls, **64, 195**; and sheep, **124**; two-wheeled, **177**; *see also* shafts; tent-carts
celebrations: at election of Qutula as *qan*, **57**; *see also* dancing; feasts
children, **72**, **74**; adopted, **119**, **135**; of ČQ, **242**; as gift, **97**, **114**, **119**, **135**, **137**; given into service, **15-16**; of Hö'elün, **135**; role of father in deciding fate of, **15-16**; *see also* orphaned children

Chin dynasty: alliance of ČQ with against Tatars, **133**; *see also* Jurchens, Jürčet in the Name Index
Christianity: *see* Nestorian Christianity/Christians *in* RSH 2.1285
cities, **247**, **270**; resident commissioners in, **263**; scouts and garrison troops in, **281**; Kitat, **272**, **273**; laws and customs of, **263**; of Qan Melik, **257**; of the Sarta'ul, **260**; three, **151**; *see also* towns; *and see details in* RSH 2.1304-5 (subjugation; submission)
civil administration: establishment of by ČQ, **124-5**
clans: defecting from Jamuqa to ČQ, **120-2**; questions as to which a person belongs to, **15**, **20**, **38**, **156**; *see also* genealogy; kinship; *and* individual clans, '(cl.)', in the Name Index
cliffs, **26**, **78**, **79**, **164**, **179**
cloth: brocades, **238**, **274**; damasks, **238**, **274**; *naq*-fabrics, **274**; satin, **234**, **238**, **248**, **249**, **250**, **252**, **260**, **265**, **279**; silk, **238**, **248**; ; weaving, **249**; woollen, **184**, **265**; *see also* felt; sable
clothing, **145**; blood-stained, from enemy, **195**; confiscation of, **229**, **278**; gold-embroidered, **188**; of Mongols, **189**; robbery of, **136**
clothing, items of: cap, sable, **114**; cloak, **95**, **205**; dress, **114, 216**; pants, **145**; robe, **254**; shirt, **55**; skirts, **74**, **174**, **254**, **266**; swaddling clothes, **97**, **211**; waistcoat, **135**; *see also* coats; hat
clouds, **238**
coats: collar of, **33**; crimson, **238**; kidskin, **152**; lapel of, **201**; red, **146**; sable, **96**; sheepskin, **112**; *see also* Red Coats
cold, **207**, **213**, **230**
colts, **149**
cmdrs. of a hundred, **191**, **224**, **225**, **270**, **280**; outside cmdrs., **228**, **278**
cmdrs. of a thousand:**191**, **202**, **203**, **209**, **212**, **213**, **221**, **222**, **223**, **224**, **269**, **270**, **278**, **280**; of dayguards, **226**; of Kirgisüt, **239**; list of ninety-five (eighty-eight), **202**; of nightguards, **225**; of quiverbearers, **225**; outside cmdrs., **228**
cmdrs. of companies, **229**, **278**; of dayguards, **227**, **278**; of nightguards, **278**; of quiverbearers, **225**, **278**
cmdrs. of dayguards, **191**, **226**
cmdrs. of nightguards, **225**
cmdrs. of ten, **191**, **224**, **225**, **270**, **280**; of Kirgisüt, **239**; outside cmdrs., **228**, **278**
cmdrs. of ten thousand, **121**, **205**, **206**, **207**, **210**, **220**, **224**, **269**, **270**, **280**
cmdrs., **253**, **277**; and princes, **265**; of peoples given to ČQ's family, **243**
companions: Bo'orču, of ČQ, **90**, **92**, **93**, **95**, **205**; of ČQ, **201**; Boroqul and the other foundlings, **214**; Jaqa Gambu, **150**; Jebe, **147**; Jelme, **211**; luck/good fortune of, **125**; Mulqalqu, **223**; senior ones who left Jamuqa, **125**; ČQ, of Ong Qan and Jamuqa, **113**; ČQ and Jamuqa, **200**, **201**; Father Mönglik and ČQ, **245**; of Jamuqa, **200**, **201**; Jamuqa on Ong Qan as, **170**; of Ong Qan, **179**; of Ögödei, **277**; of Qasar, **183**; of recruits to guards, **224**; of Tenggeri, **253**

concubines, **43**, **121**; Merkit women made, **112**
containers: bags (leather) for kumis, **132**; buckets/pails: covered, **145**; leather, **87**, **90**, **93**, **205**, **254**; casket, birch-bark, **178**; cauldrons, **129**, **277**; piss-pot, **203;** pitchers, for kumis, **130**, **213**, **232**, **245**, **278**; vessels, **187**, **232**, **267**, **278**; *see also* bowls
cooking: *see* food
cousins: *see* brothers
cowherds, **232**, **234**
cows: fallow, **121**; milking of, **189**
crimes: exemption from punishment for up to nine, **203**, **205**, **211**, **214**, **219**; *see also* law, punishment; *and* RSH 3.112-13
customs, **71**; and laws of cities, **263**; sharing of prey, **13**; *see also* drinking; great norm; law; proverbial sayings

dancing: around the Leafy Tree at election of Qutula as *qan*, **57**, **206**
daughters-in-law: of Gürbesü, **189**; of Mongols to be servants of Naiman, **189**; of Ong Qan, **177**; rites pertaining to, **189**
dayguards, **245**; duties of, **192**, **229**, **234**, **278**; great, **230**; handed over to Ögödei, **269**; Kitat, **253**; organization of, **191**, **224**, **225**, **226**, **227**; recruitment to, **191**; reserve, **278**; and security of Palace, **234**; service, **278**; seventy, **191**, **192**, **224**; *see also* roster
death, **245**, **254**; depth of water and, **277**; life and, **195**; meeting, **208**; without shedding blood, **137**, **201**, **245**
death of: Boroqul, **240**; Ča'adai, 1242 (RSH 2.864); Iluqu Burqan, **267+**, **268**; Jamuqa, **201**; Kököčü Teb Tenggeri, **245**, **246**; Ong Qan, **188**, **189**; Ögödei, 1241 (RSH 1.624); Quyildar, **175**; Tayang Qan, **196**; Tolui, **272**; Temüjin/ČQ, **268**; Yisügei, **67-8**
death-companion, **149**
decrees: on apportionment of subject peoples to ČQ's kin, **242**; on booty after battle at Dalan Nemürges, **153**; of Eternal Heaven on ruler, **244**; that field matters be decided in field, domestic matters in tent, **277**; that Ögödei be ČQ's successor, **269**; *see also* law; orders of ČQ
deer, **12**, **13**, **14**, **16**, **103**
destiny, **195**; of blue-grey wolf, **1**; decreed/ordained by Heaven and Earth, **194**, **248**, **281**; ordained by Heaven, **201**
destruction: of the Altan Qan [Hsüan-tsung], **251**; of ancestors of the Mongols, **266**; of cities and towns of the Kitat, **272**; of cities of Sisten and Čuqčeren by Tolui, **259**; of city of Dörmegei, **267**; of city of Meget, **274**, **275**; of Ča'ān Tatar, Alči Tatar, Duta'ut Tatar and Aruqai Tatar, **153**; of enemy people, **244**; of the Jaqut, **281**; of the Jürkin, **139**; of Jüyin and Jürčet troops, **248**; of the Kereyit, **187**; of Kitat troops, **251**; of land and waters of the Kitat, **272**; of the Merkit, **104**, **113**, **200**, **236**; of the Naiman, **200**, **237**; of people of Toqto'a Beki, **105**; of the Tang'ut, **266**, **268**; of the Tatars, **154**; of the Tayiči'ut, **148**; of troops of Jalaldin Soltan and Qan Melik, **257**

dew, **195**
disloyalty, treachery: of J̌amuqa, **201**; of J̌amuqa's companions, **200**; similes for, **164**
disobedience: admonition against, **203**; of Altan, Qučar and Dāritai, **153**
doe: boots made from forelegs of, **114**
dogs, **255**; barking of as bad omen, **189**; ČQ afraid of as a child, **66**; fight of, **194**; *Qasar*, **78**; used figuratively, **260**; woman with face of, **188**; yellow, **21**
domestic matters: to be decided in tent, field matters in field, **277**
door, **165**, **167**, **245**, **246**; of closed cart, **101**; closed to Burqan Qan, **267**; felt, **77**, **137**; frame, **105**, **109**; left-hand, **112**; near inside of, **214**; opened by Heaven, **208**; of Palace, **229**, **232**, **278**; place beside, **165**; place facing, **165**; right-hand, **112**; sacred frame of, **105**, **109**; slaves of, **137**, **180**, **211**; top of, **21**; wooden, **203**; *see also* threshold
dowry, **43**; servants as, **43**, **208**
dragon-snake, **78**, **195**; *see* RSH 2.715-18
drink: for feasts, **279**; libation, **103**; nightguards and, **232**, **278**; preparation of, **85**; sacrificial, **70**; thirst, **145**, **254**
drink, types of: ewes' milk, **87**, **93**; kumis, **28**, **31**, **85**, **130**, **132**, **145**, **213**, **232**, **245**, **278**; soup/broth, **192**, **214**, **229**, **279**, **280**; *see also* milk, wine
drinking: in company, **156**; customs, **130**; drunkenness (of Ögödei, Tolui), **281**, **272**; stewards and, **124**, **130**; *see also* wine
dromedaries: Arabian, **274**; *see also* camels
drunkenness: of Ögödei, **281**; of Tolui, **272**
dwellings: in circle, **90**; grass huts, **24**, **28**; with walls of pounded earth, **203**; with wooden doors, **203**; *see also ayil*; palace; tents

earth: brown, **245**; crusty, **254**; pounded walls made from, **203**, **249**, **265**, **281**; resting feet and hands on, **279**, **281**
elk, **103**, **255**
enemies: admission of hostile actions by, **147**; J̌ürkin, **136**; Kitat, **247**; mortal, **133**, **149**, **199**, **210**; Ong Qan and his allies, **170**, **173**; peoples, **244**, **260**, **270**; poisonous words of, **267**
entrails: of deer, **12** divination by inspection of, **272**
envoys: from Alaquš Digit Quri to ČQ, **190**; appointment of, **124**; from ČQ to Burqan Qan, **256**, **265**; from ČQ to J̌au Gon, **251** from ČQ to the Sarta'ul, **254**; from Güčülük Qan to Tayang Qan, **194**; from *idu'ut* of the Ui'ut to ČQ, **238**; interference with by the Altan Qan, **251**; to J̌amuqa, **127**; to Naiman, **160**; from Ong Qan, **184**; to Ong Qan, **126**, **133**, **151**, **177**; from Ong Qan to ČQ, **163**; from Tayang Qan to Alaquš Digit Quri, **190**; killing of Uquna and other envoys, **254**
epithets: *see* RSH 1.236, 2.1267 for many terms like *ba'atur* 'valliant...', *bayan* '...the rich', *üǰin...* 'lady', etc. used with proper names

Eternal Heaven, **172**, **187**, **199**, **208**, **224**, **240**, **244**, **256**, **265+**, **267**, **275**; *see also* Heaven
etügen ~ ötögen: *see* Heaven and Earth, Mother Earth
ewes: milk of, **87**, **93**
execution: of Sača Beki and Taiču, **136**; for breach of law by Toqučar, **257**; for breach of law on care of army mounts, **199**; of Burqan Qan, **268**; of Čaqa'an U'a, **129**; of Činōs princes, **129**; of Doqolqu Čerbi, **281**; and duties of judge, **203**; of guards for breaches of the law, **227**, **278**; of Jamuqa, **201**; of Jaqa Gambu, **208**; by kicking in pit of stomach, **137**; of Kököčü, **188**; for laying hands on lord/*qan*, **149**, **200**; of male Tatars, **154**, **156**; of Megüjin Se'ültü, **133**, **134**; of Merkit rebels, **198**; of People of the Forest for acting without Qorči's agreement, **207**; reason for, **201**; of Sača Beki and Taiču, **136**, **137** of Toqto'a's sons ordered by ČQ, **199**; for unauthorized entry into Palace, **229**, **278**; without shedding blood, **137**, **201**; of Yisüi Qatun's husband, **156**; *see also* linchpin
exile: for evasion of recuitment to guards, **224**; of Güyük and Harqasun, **276**; for failure of member of Guard to take turns of duty, **227**, **278**
eyesight: long-range, of Du'a Soqor, **4**

falconry, **54**, **189**, **249**; nightguards and, **232**, **233**, **278**; *see also* hawking
fallow doe: wife of blue-grey wolf, **1**
families: groups of related, **156**
family fire: youngest son as custodian of, see *otčigin*
family: of Alči, **226**; of Boroqul, **241**; of Bo'orču, **226**; of the bride, **65**; of the bridegroom, **65**; ČQ and Jamuqa of the one, **105**; of Ilügei, **226**; of Jürčedei, **226**; of Muqali, **226**; of Ögödei: boastful talk against, **276**; and offering of a substitute from, **272**; rejection of members of, **23-4**; Dobun Mergen by the sons of Du'a Soqor, **11**; Hö'elün and children, **70-5**; Je'üredei, **44**; seniority in, **46**
father: and accompaniment of daughter to bridegroom's house, **53**; of Altan, **179**; of Bo'orču, **90**, **92**, **95**, **205**; of Ča'adai, **254**; of Čimbai and Čila'un, **85**, **146**; ČQ, **269**, **272**; of ČQ, **73**, **96**, **104**, **105**, **163**, **164**, **177**, **242**; of Ibaqa Beki, **208**; of Masqut, **263**; of Muqali, **206**; of Narin To'oril, **218**; of Ong Qan, **150**, **152**, **167**, **177**; of Ögödei, **255**, **270**, **271**, **277**, **278**, **279**, **281**; of Qulan Qatun, **197**; of Qutu and Čila'un, **162**, **177**; role of in deciding fate of children, **15-16**; of Senggüm, **167**; Tarqutai Kiriltuq, **149**; of Tayang Qan, **194**; of Tolun Čerbi, **212**; *see also* adoption; *and see* Father Mönglik in the Name Index
favour shown: to Arqai Qasar by ČQ, **191**; to Arslan Qan by ČQ, **235**; to Bo'orču and Muqali by ČQ, **266**; to Father Mönglik by ČQ, **204**; to *idu'ut* of Ui'ut by ČQ, **238**; to Jaqa Gambu by ČQ, **186**; to Jebe and Sübe'etei by ČQ, **257**; to Joči by ČQ, **239**; to Jürčedei by ČQ, **208**; to Naya'a by ČQ, **149**, **197**; to Ong Qan by ČQ and his father, **164**, **177**;

to Qadaq Ba'atur by ČQ, **185**; to Qongqai Qorči, Qongtaqar Qorči and Čormaqan Qorči by ČQ, **260**; to Qorči by ČQ, **207**; to Qubilai by ČQ, **209**; to Quduqa Beki by ČQ, **239**; to Qulan Qatun by ČQ, **197**; to Quyildar's descendants by ČQ, **185**; to Šigi Qutuqu by ČQ, **203**, **252**; to Tolui and Čügü Gürigen by ČQ, **251**; to wife of Kököčü (Senggüm's equerry) by ČQ, **188**

favourable time: decreed by Heaven and Earth, **194**, **248**

feasts, **50**, **67**, **81**, **240**; betrothal, **168**, **204**; at election of Qutula as *qan*, **57**; in the forest by the Onan, **50**, **130-1**, **136**; levies to provide for, **279**; of Ong Qan, **184**, **185**; parting, **275**; at renewal of friendship between ČQ and J̌amuqa, **117**

felt: cart covered with, **6**, **244**; cloak, **205**; covering, **124**; door, **77**, **137**; rug, white, **189**; walls of tents, **202**, **203**, **230**; wind-break, **124**

female offspring: rewarded, **215**

fences, **281**

feud: between ČQ and J̌amuqa, **127**, **200**, **201**; between ČQ and the J̌ürkin, **131-2**; between Tatars and ČQ's family, **67-8**, **132-4**; *see also* revenge

field matters: decree that they be decided in field, **277**

fires: lit as ruse, **193**; *see also* hearth

fish, **75**, **199**; dace, **76;** fingerlings, **75** ; grayling, **75**; pike, **78**; salmon, **75**; sturgeon, **272**; trout, **272**

fishermen, **109**

fishing, **75**, **76**; equipment, **75**, **199**

flocks: of birds, **245**, **254**; of sheep, **195**, **279**, **280**

foals, **195**; foaling, **117**

fog, **213**

food: child exchanged for, **15-16**; distribution of, **213**, **232**; gathering of, **74-5**; leftovers, **234**; nightguards and, **232**, **278**; not to be digested, **201**; as offering, **272**; porridge, **46**; preparation of, **12**, **19**, **85**, **87**, **169**, **200**, **232**; rules and customs regarding, **71**; sacrificial, **70**, **71**; seniority in preparation of, **46**; sharing of, **13**, **70-1**; washing hands, **189**; *see also* containers; drink; feasts; hunting; meals

food, types of: butter (of affection), **254**; curds, **145**; egg (rotten), **276**; fat, **255**; hides (eating of), **183**; human flesh, **195**, **251**; sinews, **183**; *see also* fish; meat; milk; plants

fortifications: *see* palisade/stockade

foundlings, **138**, **214**; Boroqul, **137**, **138**, **214**; Güčü, **114**, **138**, **214**; Kököčü, **119**, **138**, **214**; Šigi Qutuqu, **135**, **138**, **203**, **214**

'four hounds', **195**, **209**

'four steeds', **163**, **177**, **209**; and rescue of Ong Qan's people, **163**, **177**; and rescue of Senggüm's wife and people, **163**, **177**

fratricide: murder of Bekter, **77**, **78**

freeman: Badai and Kišiliq, **51**, **187**, **219**; master of, **51**; Sorqan Šira made, **219**; *see also* service

friends: grown tired of, **118**, **179**; lack of, **76**, **77**
friendship: Bo'orču on, **92**; ČQ and Bo'orču, **92**, **93**, **95**, **125**; ČQ and Jelme, **125**; oath of, **141**; of Ögödei, Boroqul and Bo'orču, **172**; *see also* alliances, companions; sworn friends
fruit: bird cherries, **74**; crab apples, **74**

game: *see* animals; hunting
games: *see* knucklebones; archery; wrestling
garrisons: army, **276**, **274**; establishment of, **273**, **281**; troops, **274**
geldings, **170**, **172**, **177**, **229**, **234**, **239**, **248**, **254**, **267**, **272**, **278**; to be used as post horses, **280**; care of, **199**; of dayguards, **192**; fat, **190**, **194**; fattening of, **181**, **193**; fine, **3**; with fine croups, **123**, **179**, **197**; gold-saddled black, **184**; lean, **190**, **193**, **194**; light-bay, **77**, **90**, **205**; men in charge of, **124**, **131**; rump of, **194**; seventy-three, **201**; two, **169**; white, **216**, **239**
genealogy/lineage: of ČQ, **1-60**; of Jamuqa, **40**; of Tayiči'ut, **148**; *see also* kinship; offspring of offspring; relatives
gifts: birth, **97**, **211**; boys and girls as, **267**; from Burqan Qan to ČQ, **267**; child as, **97**, **114**, **119**, **135**, **137**; daughter as, **197**; exchange of by sworn friends, **116**, **117**; from *idu'ut* of the Ui'ut, **238**; to Joči and ČQ, **239**; reciprocation of, **96**; of Tang'ut people to Yisüi Qatun, **268**; wedding, **96**; *see also* tribute
girls: fate of, **64-5**, **66**; as gift to ČQ, **267**; taken by Ögödei from Temüge, **281**; 30 requested by Qorči, **121**, **207**, **241**; of Tumat, **241**
goats: milking, **151**, **152**, **177**; billy-goats, gelded, **264**; *see also* kids
good fortune: of Heaven, **74**; of Ögödei, **275**; of sworn friend of ČQ, **200**; *see also* supernatural
gorges, **111**
government: of ČQ's people after his death, **245**, **254**, **272**; by ČQ's successor, **255**; of Ögodei, **270**, **278**, **279**, **280**, **281** of Ong Qan's people, **164**; of the people by the *qan*, **179**; of Tumat by woman, Botoqui Tarqun, **240**; *see also* great norm
grain: land-tax, **279**; pounding of, **152**; grainkeepers, **279**, **280**; grain-stores, plundered, **177**; *see also* storehouses
grass: fresh, **255**; for horses, **177**
grazing grounds, **219**, **255**, **279**, **281**; *see also* pasture
great norm/principle (*yeke yosu/töre* [~ *törö*]): principle of mutual obligations between lord and subject, **178**, **197**, **208**, **220**, **252**, **281**; *see* RSH 2.791
Guard, the: command of, **278**; ČQ's successors and, **231**; disciplining of, **227**, **278**; duties of, **226**; organization of, **191**, **224**, **226**, **227**; recruitment to, **224**, **225**; standing of, **228**, **278**; turn of duty of, **227**
guards: of ČQ handed over to Ögödei, **269**, **270**; at door of ČQ's tent, **192**; duties of confirmed by Ögödei, **278**; of golden threshold, **137**; on internal duty, **270**; of land-tax grain storehouses, **279**; *see also* roster

halter, **56**; golden, **254**, **256**; halter strap, **103**
harness/harnessing, **64**, **99**, **100**, **121**, **244**, **245**, **280**
hat, **145**, **244**; losing, **245**; removal of, **103**, **244**; tall, **74**, **254**; 'teachings of the hat', **255**
hawking, **27**, **28**, **31**; *see also* falconry
hearth: ashes, **87**, **112**, **146**, **148**, **265**; destruction of Bekter's, **77**; fire of, **242**; fireplace, **245**. *See also otčigin*
Heaven, **21**, **44**, **74**, **80+**, **143**, **145**, **167+**, **179**, **197**, **201**, **207**, **246**, **268+**; ascension of ČQ to, **268**; and bearing children, **21**; Buyiruq Qan and Quduqa not loved by, **143**; decree of, **244**; and destiny ordained by, **1**, **201**; door opened and reins loosened for ČQ, **208**; good fortune of, **74** intervention of in career of ČQ, **80**; judgement of, **265**; and *J̌ügeli* sacrifice, **43**; love of, **143**, **167**, **246**; offering to, **44**; prayer to before campaign, **240**; prophecy fulfilled by, **207**; protection of, **145**, **179**, **187**, **199**, **203**, **256**, **265**; and the sons of Alan Qo'a, **21**; strength and power from, **199**, **224**; strength increased by, **267**; strength of, **275**; subjugation sanctioned by, **265**; warning from, **80**; will of, **197**; *see also* destiny; Eternal Heaven; Heaven Above; Mighty Heaven. *And cf.* RSH 1.224-27
Heaven Above, **1**, **177**, **199**
Heaven and Earth, **113**, **121**, **125**, **163**, **194**, **208**, **224**, **248**, **260+**; destiny decreed/(pre)ordained by, **194**, **248**, **281**; favourable time decreed by, **194**, **248**; protection of, **125**, **163**, **177**; strength/power increased by, **113**, **125**, **208**, **224**, **260**
heavenly signs, **121**, **206**, **244**; *see also* supernatural
herds, **168**, **190**; of horses, **124**, **153**, **201**, **205**; plundered, **177**
hills, **55**, **56**, **77**, **90**
horns: cow, **121**; excrescence on forehead of horse, **117**; ox, **121**, **214**
horse-herders, **118**, **234**; Badai, **169**, **219**; Čigidei, **170**; Kišiliq, **169**, **219**; Qutu, **124**; of milch mares, **279**, **280;** Yadir, **170**
horses, **174**, **184**; of army, **199, 224**; Bo'orču's shot, **172**; carrying goods, **248**; ČQ's fall from, **265**; dung of, **174**; equipment for, **91** (*see also specific entries*); fattening of, **168**; hair of, used for snare, **25**; Itürgen's shot in rump, **184**; J̌osotu Boro, **265**; mare's milk, **85**, **90**; Merkit, **169**; nine, **77**, **99**; as pledge, **66**; post, **280**; reserve, **195**; Senggüm's shot in thigh, **163**, **177**; shooting of ČQ's, **147**; spare, **247**; of various colours and descriptions, **24+**, **25+**, **90+**, **91**, **95**, **106+**, **117**, **147**, **152**, **169**, **177**, **193**, **205+**, **255**, **273**; tether, **110**, **131**; Western (Arab), **274**; whip, **76**, **77**, **78**, **125**, **195**, **255**; white Merkit, **169**; wild, **199**; *see also* colts; geldings; herds; mares; pack-horses; stallions
Hsi Hsia kingdom: campaigns against, **249**, **250**, **265-8**; marriage alliances with ČQ, **249**; settled way of life of, **249**, **265**; submission of, **249**, **250**
hunting, **9**, **26**, **109**, **115**, **123**, **164**, **175**, **179**, **187, 219**, **255**, **265**; battue,

123, **179**, **187**, **219**; **199**; grounds, fencing in of, **281**; nightguards and, **232**, **233**, **278**; *see also* animals; birds; fish; implements; sable

implements: adze, **240;** awl, **195**; axe, **214**, **240**; bellows (smith's), **97**, **211**; cangue, **81**, **84**, **85**, **112**, **146**; chains, iron, **195**; chisel, **195**, **240**; cup, **179**, **188**; knives, **149**, **214**, **154**: for arrows, **80**, **178;** ladle, **277**; lasso, **199**; mortar, **152**; needle, **75**, **195**; pole-lasso, **91**; saw, **240**; seine, **75**; snare, **25**; steel (to strike fire), **87**; stick, pointed, of spruce, **74**; string: piece of, **280**; thread, **137**; whips, **76**, **77**, **78**, **125**, **195**, **255**; *see also* arrows; bows; bridles; containers; halter; harness; nets; quivers; saddles; spears; swords; weapons; wheels

jealousy, **164**: of chamberlains for nightguards, **233**; J̌amuqa's of ČQ, **179**; Senggüm's of ČQ, **181**; Tayiči'ut kinsmen's of ČQ, **94**, **82**, **219**
judge(s): Belgütei as, **154**; Šigi Qutuqu as, **203**, **234**
judging: by Eternal Heaven, **265**; of falsehood, **154**, **203**; of litigations, **154**; of theft, **154**, **203**
judicial system: *see* judge(s); judging; law; punishment
Jurchen/Chin dynasty: *see* Chin dynasty

ǰam: *see* post-relay system
ǰasaq: *see* law; *see also the entry* in RSH's Index of Grammar &Lexis, 2.1325; and RSH 3.95-97, 112-13

kids: hoof of, **277**; muzzling, **151**, **152**, **177**; skin of , **152**, **195**
kinship system: *see* clans; epithets; genealogy; *also* RSH 1.249-50
kinship terms: *see* kinship system; offspring of offspring; relatives. *And see* RSH entries such as 'sons: of...' [2.1302-3], 'mother: of...' [2.1284], 'great-great-grandfather: of ČQ' [2.1273]; *also entries for specific Mongol terms in* RSH's Index of Grammar &Lexis
Kiyat Borǰigin lineage: and split with the Tayiči'ut, **70-5**
knucklebones, **59**; copper, **116**; roebuck, **116**

'lake' battle-formation, **195**
lamb, **87**, **93**, **169**; dried meat of, **19**; herders of, **118**
land and waters of the Kitat, spirits of, **272**
land tax: grain, **279**
lasso, **199**; pole-lasso, **91**
law: breach of and compliance with, **252**; breach of by Toqučar, **257**; breaches of by guards, **227**, **278**; on care of army mounts, **199**; and customs of cities, **263**; on immediate conveyance of *qan*'s property to *qan*, **197**; and lighting camp fires on Sa'ari Steppe, **193**; on limited/controlled hunting, **199**; records: of decision in judicial matters, **203**; *see also* great norm
left wing, **104**, **198**, **253**; error for right, **198**; ten thousand of, thousand of (*see under* units)

levies: of camels by Burqan Qan, **249**; of mare's milk for feasts, **279**; of sheep to support poor and needy, **279**, **280**; of sheep to support *qan*, **279**, **280**; to supplement troops and mounts, **224**; to support post-station system, **280**; *see also* taxation
levirate: and Čaraqai Lingqu, **47**; in relation to Alan Qo'a, **18**
lice, **103**, **201**
linchpin of cart, **124**; measurement against (to avoid executing children), **154**, **156**, **214**
liver: cut out, **137**; gall in, **139**; pain in, **105**; rotten, **152**; term for close relatives, **105**, **275** n.; torn to pieces, **113**
livestock: acquisition of by robbery, **39**; Ong Qan's captured, **162**, **177**; sharing of, **23**; Tatar, **132**
loot: *see* plundering
love: and Börte, **254**; of ČQ for Qulan Qatun, **197**; Heaven's, **143**, **167**, **246**; of sworn friends ČQ and J̌amuqa, **116**, **117**, **118**; Yisügen Qatun and, **155**; *see also* affection, friendship
loyalty: of Naya'a to ČQ, **197**; oaths of to ČQ, **123**, **178**; of Önggür to ČQ, **213**; of Qorči to ČQ, **207**; to rightful lord, **185**

magic: *see* rain; sacrifices; supernatural
main body of the army (*qol*), **170**, **195**, **247**
manoeuvres/tactics: arraying troops, **159**, **163**, **177**, **195**, **198**, **170**; 'chisel' combat **195**; decoy manoeuvre, **240**; encirclement, **195**; fighting a dog's fight, **194**; 'lake' battle-formation, **195**; random shooting of arrows, **198**; regrouping troops, **173**; retreat, **195**; storming, **247**; Tayang Qan's at Mt. Qangqarqan, **194**; turning about, wheeling, **170**; withdrawal, **248, 253**
mares: foaling, **117**; let loose, **145**; levy of, **280**; milch mares, **279**, **280**; milkers, **279**; milking, **90**, **145**, **205**, **279**; sacrifice of, **141**; of various colours and descriptions, **55**, **87**, **90**, **117**, **205**
marriage: of Barquǰin Qo'a to Qorilartai Mergen, **8**; and custom of father accompanying bride to bridegroom's home, **53**, **94**; and custom of leaving bridegroom with family of bride, **66**, **155**; of ČQ and Börte, **94**; of ČQ and Yisügen and Yisüi, **155**; of ČQ to Gürbesü, **196**; of ČQ to Ibaka Beki, **186**, **208**; of Dobun Mergen and Alan Qo'a, **9**; of Huǰa'ur Üǰin and Toqto'a, **177**; and political power, **64**; principle wife, **155**; wedding gifts for father/mother of bride, **96**; *see also* betrothal; concubines; dowry; levirate
marriage alliances: with Oyirat, **239**; with the Önggüt, **239**; with People of the Forest, **239**; proposal of with Ong Qan, **165**, **168**; with Qarluq Turks, **235**; with Tangut Hsi Hsia, **249**; with the Uighurs, **238**
meals: of ČQ, **268**; noon, **170**; sacrificial, **70**; supper, **254**
meat: black, **167**; of deer, **13**, **15**; of lamb, **19**, **87**, **93**; parts of animal consumed, **13**, **15**, **16**; sacrificial, **43**, **70**; uncut, **232**, **278**; of wild sheep, **200**

men: made, **214**; 'our', **132**, **142**, **171**, **185**
mice, **111**
Mighty Heaven, **113**; *see also* Heaven
milk, **169**; of ewes, **87**, **93**; (metaph.) of the heart, **254**; mare's, **85**, **87**, **93**; white, **167**
milking: cows, **189**; goats, **151**, **152**, **177**; mares, **90**, **145**, **205**; sheep, **189**
month of the Roebuck, **282**
moon: sun and, **189**
mother: of Bekter, **60**; of Belgünütei and Bügünütei, **18**, **20**; of Belgünütei, Bügünütei and their half-brothers, **22**, **23**; of Belgütei, **60**, **101**, **112**; of Börte, **94**; of Ča'adai, **254**; of ČQ, **76**, **78**, **83**, **85**, **87**, **96**, **118**, **203**, **214**, **242**, **243**; of ČQ and his brothers, **74**, **75**, **76**, **78**, **242**, **244**; of Jamuqa, **201**; noble, **74**, **76**, **78**; of Ong Qan, **152**; of Qabiči Ba'atur, **43**; of Qulan Qatun, **197**; Tayang Qan, **189**, **194**, **196**; title, of respected women, and rivers, the earth, the sun: *see* Mother Alan, and similar entries in the Name Index
Mother Earth, **113**, **255**
Mother Sun, **238**
mothers and children, **72**, **74**; mothers and the older/younger brothers, **79**
mountains, **147**, **240**, **247**, **266**, **276**; shelter of, **208**; *see also* hills; ridges
mules: pack, **274**; riding, **274**
murder: of Bekter, **77**, **78**; of his brothers by Ong Qan, **150**, **177**, **181**; of Mongol envoys to the Sarta'ul, **254**
Muslims: *see* Sarta'ul; *also* Sartaq in the Name Index

name giving: the Altan Qan [Ai-tsung] given the name Seüse, **273**; Ba'aridai, **41**; Burqan Qan changed to Šidurqu, **267-8**; clan names Adargin, Barulas, Buda'at, **46**; Jajiradai, **40**; Jebe, **147**, **257**; Jürkin, **139**; Noyagidai, **46**; Ong Qan, **134**; Temüjin, **59**; Temüjin called Činggis Qa'an (Qan), **123**; *see also* epithets
nets: casting, **199**; dragnets, **75**, **199**; hunting, **234**
nightguards: companies of, **278**; duties of, **192**, **229**, **232-4**, **278** ; eighty, **191**, **192**, **224**; elder, **230**; and going on campaigns without participation of *qan*, **233**, **278**,; handed over to Ögödei, **269**; number of, **229**, **278**; and judicial matters, **234**; and movement in the vicinity of Palace, **229**; organization of, **191**, **224**, **225**; passes, **229**; powers of, **229**; praise for, **230**; and quivers, **225**; recruitment to, **225**;); and security of Palace, **229**, **230**, **232**, **278**; *see* also Guard; roster
norm: *see* great norm

oaths, **108**; against ČQ by sons of Toqto'a, **199**; of friendship, **141**; of loyalty, **123**; of loyalty to ČQ by Ong Qan, **178**; pricking of finger and, **178**; of Quyildar, **208**; of Sača Beki and Taiču, **136**; as sworn friends, **116-17**; *see also* alliances; pledges; promises; word

oboq: *see* clans
occupations (long- or short-term, non-governmental): beggar, **214**; carpenter, **223**; concubine, **43**, **112**, **121**; cowherd, **232**, **234**; door-keeper, **192**, **232**, **278**; grainkeeper, **279**, **280**; groom, **192**; herder of milch mares, **279**, **280**; lamb-herd, **118**; shamans and soothsayers, **272**; shepherds, **118**, **124**, **152**, **222**, **234**; smith, **97**; *see also* servants; slaves; stewards/cooks
offerings: to ancestors, **70**; burnt, **161**, **177**; cattle, **272**; food, **272**; gold, **272**; to Heaven, **44**; to Ong qan's head, **189**; people as, **272**; silver, **272**; substitute (of Tolui for Ögödei), **272**; *see also* rites; sacrifices
offspring of offspring, **204**; of Badai and Kišiliq, **187**; of ČQ, **103**, **187**, **201**, **203**, **208**, **231**; of Father Mönglik, **204**; of the Merkit, **112**; mothers and fathers down to of the Tang'ut, **268**; of Muqali, **206**; of Narin To'oril, **218**; of Quyildar, **185**, **217**; of Sorqan Šira, **219**; of the Tayiči'ut, **148**; of those laying hands on rightful lord, **149**, **200**; *see also* kinship terms; relatives
old age: Ong Qan and, **164**, **167**
orders of ČQ; of Ögödei: *see lengthy listings in* RSH 2.1286-87
orphaned children, **272**; bounty granted to, **185**, **217**, **218**; of Quyildar: care of, **171**; of Tolui: care of, **272**
otčigin: 'yongest son', custodian of the family 'fire', i.e., the hearth, yurt, and by extension the family domain or apanage (RSH 1.288)
otter: dress from skins of, **114**
oxen, **100**, **101**, **177**, **255**, **280**; drum covered with hide of, **106**; hornless and fallow, **121**; hornless black, **214**; red [bull], **240**

pack-horses, **172;** pack-mules, **274;** pack-saddles, **172**
Palace: in Black Forest (Tu'ula River), **264**; at Dolo'an Boldaq of Köde'e Aral (Kelüren River), **282**; female attendants of, **232**; front of, **234**; Great [= Qa'an's] Palaces, **272**; left side of, **234**, **278**; moving and stationary, **233**; movable, of Burqan Qan, **267**; nightguards and administration of, **233**; Palace tent: *see* tents; rear of, **234**; right side of, **234**, **278**; security of, **229**, **230**, **232**, **278**; supervision of, **234**; unauthorized entry into, **229**, **278**; *see also* tents
palisade/stockade: **79**, **88**; built by Tatars, **133**
passes (mountain), **199**, **240**, **247**, **254**
pasture, **151**, **170**, **279**; *see* also grazing grounds; plants
paternity: doubtful, **17-18**, **20-1**, **44**, **254**; *see also* Bodončar, Buqatu Salji, Buqu Qatagi, Je'üredei, and Joči in the Name Index
patrols/patrolmen: ČQ's, **193**, **195**; Naiman, **188**, **193**, **194**, **195**; 'our', **158**, **193**, **195**; observation posts, **142**; sent out by Buyiruq Qan, **158**; sent out by ČQ, **158**, **170**; sent out by ČQ and Ong Qan, **142**; Tumat, **240**; *see also* reconnoitring
peninsulas, **141**
plains: *see* steppes

plants: 'caragana' [marching order], **195**; feather-grass, **249**; grass, **177**, **255**, **281**; great burnet, **74**; saltwort, **105**; sedge, **105**; silverweed, roots of, **74**; wild garlic, **74**; wild leek, **75**; wild lily, **74**; wild onion, **74**, **75**; *see also* trees
pledges: of betrothal, **66**; by Ong Qan and his brothers, **152**; by Senggüm and others to seize ČQ, **169**; *see also* oaths; word
plundering: of the Altan Qan [Ai-tsung], **273**; of Batkesen, **257**; of camp of Naratu Šitü'en, **135**; enemy people, **179**; of family and people of Ong Qan, **162**, **163**; of family and people of Toqto'a Beki, **157**; by J̌amuqa of own supporters, **144**; of grainstores, **177**; of the J̌ürkin, **136**; of the Kitat, **272**; of the Merkit, **109**, **177**, **198**; of Olon Dongqayit, **187**; of the Orusut, **274**, **275**; of peasants of Qan Melik, **257**; of people of Toqto'a Beki, **109**; of people of Aša Gambu, **265**; of people on border of the Hindus by Bala, **264**; of possessions of Dayir Usun, **117**; of possessions of Toqto'a Beki, **117**; of the Tang'ut, **265**, **266**, **268**; of the Tatars, **134**, **153**, **154**, **156**; of the Tayiči'ut, **148**; of the Tumat, **240**; of wives and children of Toqto'a Beki, **109**; *see also* abduction; robbery
poison: given to Yisügei Ba'atur by the Tatar, **67**; perhaps also **281**
post-relay system (horses, relay stations, etc.): **279-81**
prayer: to Burqan Qaldun, **103**; to Eternal Heaven, **240**; Syriac, *Abui babui*, **174**
principle of loyalty and mutual obligation; *see* great norm; services
promises: of Burqan Qan to ČQ, **249**, **256**, **265**; between Ong Qan and ČQ, **164**, **177**; of Ong Qan to ČQ, **104**; of Yisügen Qatun to ČQ, **155**; *see also* agreements; oaths; word
protection: given by Büri Bökö, **131**; of Heaven and Earth, **125**, **163**, **177**; of Heaven/Heaven Above, **145**, **179**, **187**, **199**, **203**, **256**, **265**
proverbial sayings/old sayings/ancient words, **33**, **55**, **56**, **66**, **78**, **118**, **147**, **164**, **177**, **255**, **260**, **277**; mocking, **256**, **265**; not to be forgotten, **201**; about requiting wrong, **58**, **154**, **214**, **254**; on sworn friendships, **117**
punishment: *see lengthy entry in* RSH 2.1292

Qaǰaru Inerü sacrifice, **70**; *see also* sacrifices
Qasar [Khazar] dog, **78**
quagmires, **102**
quda (term): of Yisügei, **62**, **63**, **65**, **66**, **69**
quivers, **105**, **190**, **194**, **195**, **225**, **229**, **234**, **279**; awarding of to various men, **124**, **187**, **219**; of birch-bark, **230**; of dayguards, **278**; night-guards and, **225**; striking, **194**; taking away, **189**, **190**; of willow, **230**

rafts, **105**, **109**;
rain, **108**, **205**, **214**, **230**; rainstorm conjured up by magic, **143**
rats, **111**, **124**, **255**

rebuke: of Güyük by Ögödei, **277**; of Önggür and Arqai Qasar by ČQ, **252**; words of reproach, J̌amuqa and Ong Qan, **108**
reciprocity: *see* great norm
reconnoitring, **38**, **183**, **185**, **193**, **208**; establishment of scouts, **273**, **281**
recruitment, **191**, **192**; criteria for, of guards, **191**, **224**; of dayguards, **191**; evasion of, **224**; to guards, **224**, **225**; of nightguards, **191**, **225**; of quiverbearers, **225**; requirements of recruits to guards, **224**
Red Circle, day of, **81**, **118**; in Year of the Rat (1204), **193**
Red Coats, **251**
relatives: of Hö'elün, **61**; male, Alan Qo'a without, **18**; by marriage, *see also* kinship terms; offspring of offspring; *quda*
revelling and feasting: on renewal of friendship of ČQ and J̌amuqa, **117**
revenge, **113**; on Burqan Qan by ČQ, **267**; on ČQ by the Merkit, **102**, **111**; on the Merkit by Belgütei, **112**; on the Merkit/Sarta'ul by ČQ, **105**, **199**, **254**; saying about taking, **58**, **154**, **214**, **254**; on Tatars for destruction of ancestors, **154**, **214**; on Tatars for slaying of Ambaqai Qa'an, **53**, **58**; on Tayiči'ut by ČQ, **76**, **77**, **78**; *see also* RSH 1.540-43
reward for services: Alčidai, **242**; Badai, **187**, **219**; Belgütei, **242**; Boroqul, **214**; Bo'orču, **205**; Bo'orču and Muqali, **266**; Ča'adai, **242**; Čila'un, **219**; Čimbai, **219**; Doqolqu Čerbi, **124**; Hö'elün, **242**; J̌elme, **211**; J̌etei, **124**; J̌oči, **242**; J̌ürčedei, **208**; Kišiliq, **187**, **219**; Ögödei, **242**; Ögölen Čerbi, **124**; Önggür, **213**; Qači'un Toqura'un, **124**; Qasar, **242**; Qorči, **121**, **207**, **241**; Quyildar, **185**; Sorqan Šira, **219**; Šigi Qutuqu, **203**; Taqai, **186**; Tolui, **242**; Tolun, **267**; *see also* great norm
ridges, **56**, **146**, **147**; at Altan Qorqan, **259**; of Qara'un J̌idun, **183**; *see also* hills; mountains
right wing, **104**, **105**, **198**, **239**, **258**; Burqan Qan as ČQ's, **249**, **256**, **265**; of Naiman-Önggüt army, **190**
rites: pertaining to daughters-in-law, **189**; *see also* offerings; sacrifices
ritual: consecration of standards, **106**; dancing around the Leafy Tree, **57**; meal of *Qaǰaru Inerü*, **70**; oath and exchange of gifts of sworn friendship, **116**, **117**; prostration and libation to sacred mountain, **103**
rivers, **76**, **199**, **245**, **254**, **255**; spirits of land and, **272**; *see also* streams; *and* Mother Onan in the Name Index
robbery, **39**; of clothes, **136** of the eight horses, **90**; of goods of J̌ungdu by Qada, **252**; of horses, **188**, **205**, **245**; of horses, Čoči (J̌oči) Darmala and Taičar from each other, **201**; of horses of J̌oči Darmala, **128**; judging, **154**, **203**; of livestock, **39**; of Ong Qan's people, **177**; of tether, **131**; *see also* plundering
roebuck: knucklebone, **116**; month of the, **282**
roster: of dayguards, **191**, **192**, **224**, **227**, **229**, **278**; of guards, **278** of nightguards, **191**, **192**, **224**, **229**, **278**; of officials, **192**; of quiverbearers, **229**, **278**; of stewards, **229**

rulers, **21**, **74**; Ambaqai Qa'an, **52**; ČQ, **248**; Qabul Qa'an, **52**; of ČQ's people, **180**; decree of Eternal Heaven on, **244**; impossibility of there being two, **189**; queen Gürbesü, **189**; suitability of Tayang Qan as, **189**; wife suitable for, **155**

sable: black, **239**; catchers, **109**; coat, **96**, **104**; hunting of, **9**, 249; swaddling clothes, **97**, **211**; trade in, **182**; waistcoat lined with, **135**
sacrifices: to Burqan Qaldun, **103**; to the dead, **161**, **177**; *J̌ügeli*, **43**; to Ong Qan's head, **189**; of stallion and mare, **141**; to standards, **106**, **193**; of Tolui for Ögödei, **272**; *see also under* offerings; *Qaǰaru Inerü*; rites
saddles, **80**, **87**, **97**, **199**, **229**, **245**, **254**, **278**; flaps, **105**; girth, **80**; gold, **184**; poor, **193**; strap, **158**; *see also under* pack-horses
Sarta'ul: murder of Mongol envoys to, **254**; revenge on by ČQ, **254**; subjugation and submission of, **260**, **263**, **265**
scouts: *see* reconnoitring
sea, **245**; coast, **253**; *see also* Tenggis in the Name Index
servants: of Bodončar and his brothers, **39**; in camp of ČQ, **198**; of ČQ, **100**; of Dobun Mergen, **16**; as dowry, **43**, **208**; of Hö'elün, **98**; of Ibaqa Beki, **208**; J̌irgin boys, **185**; J̌irgin girls, **185**; of Naiman, Mongol daughters, **189**; of Ong Qan given to Badai and Kišiliq, **187**; 'our', **198**; of Quyildar's kin, J̌irgin to be, **185**; retainers, **123**, **146**, **219**; seizing master, **200**; sons and daughters of the J̌üyin, **266**; of Toroqoljin Bayan, **3**
service: child sold/given into, **15-16**, **97**; *see also* freeman; servants; slaves
services: of Boroqul et al. to Hö'elün, **214**; of Boroqul to ČQ, **214**; of ČQ and Ong Qan to Altan Qan [Chang-tsung], **134**; of Father Mönglik to ČQ, **204**; of J̌amuqa to ČQ, **200**; of J̌elme to ČQ, **145**; of J̌ürčedei to ČQ, **208**; offers of, **149**, **185**, **220**; principle of loyalty in providing, **281**; principle of rewarding, **208**; of Quyildar to ČQ, **185**; of Sorqan Šira and his sons to ČQ, **146**; of Šigi Qutuqu to ČQ, **203**
settled peoples: distinguished from nomadic, **203**; Tangut Hsi Hsia, **249**, **265**
shafts, of cart: **56**, **200**, **214**; second of two, **177**, **186**, **214**; under tent, **121**
shamans, **181**, **272**; and soothsayers, **272**; *see also* ritual; super-natural
sheep, **100**, **195**, **280**; brown, **124**; Degei in charge of, **124**; droppings, **111**; ewes, milk of, **87**, **93**; sheep-fold, **124**; levies of, **279**; milking of, **189**; pied, **124**; Sartaq, **181**; shearing, **100**; sheep-pen, **195**; trading, **182**; wethers, **124**, **182**, **272**, **280**; wild, **200**; and wolves, **195**
shelter: for Čilger Bökö, **111**; of elm twigs, **103**; of feather-grass, **249**; in high places, **190**; for horse-herders, **118**; J̌ürčedei as for ČQ, **208**; for sparrow, **85**; Sübe'etei and Büǰek as for Güyük, **277**; Sübe'etei as, for ČQ, **124**; tree as, **174**

shepherds, **118**, **124**, **152**, **222**, **234**
sickness: epidemics in north China, **248**; of ČQ (fever), **265**; and failure of guard to take turn of duty, **227**, **278**; of Ögödei, **272**; spirits and, **146**, **272**; *see also* sacrifices; wounds
sky: starry, **254**
slander, **164**, **177**; Adarkidai and, **46**; of ČQ by J̌amuqa, **160**, **166**; of ČQ by Senggüm, **167**; of Qasar by Kököčü Teb Tenggeri, **244**, **246**
slaves, **180**, **232**, **273**; of the door/threshold, **137**, **180**, **211**; given to family of Boroqul, **241**; Gü'ün U'a offers his sons as, **137**; Merkit women made, **112**; personal, **137**, **269**; seizing master, **200**; Tatars to be made, **154**; *see also* servants
snakes, **102**; fangs of, **164**, **177**; *see also* dragon-snake
sons (= grandson): of Ča'adai, **270**
spears, **72**, **170**, **195**; nightguards and, **232**, **278**; steel, **106**
spine: Büri Bökö's broken, **140**; Old Čaraqa speared in, **72**; Taičar shot in, **128**
spirits (lords, rulers): of land and rivers, **272**
spitting: of blood, **145**, **152**
spring (season), **19**, **27**, **70**, **116**, **168**; of Year of the Hen (1225), **264**; of Year of the Ox (1205), **198**; of Year of the Pig (1203), **166**
stallions: sacrifice of, **141**
standards: black and multicoloured, **170**; of ČQ, **193**; of J̌amuqa, **106**; long, **106**; nightguards and, **232**, **278**; war, **181**; white with nine tails, **202**; Yisügei's, held by Hö'elün, **73**
stars, **193**, **194**
starvation: of Kitat troops, **251**
steppes, **56**, **123**, **179**, **195**, **205**
stewards/cooks, **130**, **136**, **192**, **208**, **213**, **252**; appointment of, **124**; and distribution of food, **213**; and drinking, **124**, **130**; duties of, **229**; of Ibaqa Beki, **208**; roster of (*see under* roster)
storehouses: for land-tax grain, **279**
streams, **56**; *see also* rivers
strength/power: of Eternal Heaven, **275**; increased by Eternal Heaven, **199**; increased by Heaven and Earth, **113**, **125**, **208**, **224**, **260**
strongholds: Taiqal, **198**
succession: to Ambaqai Qa'an, **53**, **57**; collateral, **52**; by nomination, **57**; to Ong Qan, **164**, **167**; to Qabul Qan, **52**; by will, **52**
succession to ČQ, **245**, **254-5**; Ögödei and, **255**, **269**, **272**
successors: of ČQ, **245**; and Badai and Kišiliq, **187**; and the Guard, **231**; Ögödei declared, **255**, **269**, **272**; of people under Ong Qan, **152;** and place of Ibaqa Beki, **208**; and register of decisions on judicial matters, **203**; threat to, **245**; of Ong Qan, **164**, **167**; of Ögödei, **255**
summer, **177**; ČQ spends at ridge of Altan Qorqan, **259**; ČQ spends on Časutu Mountain, **266**; ČQ spends on river Erdiš, **264**; Red Circle day, **81**, **118**, **193**; summer quarters of the Soltan, **259**

supernatural/spiritual/occult matters: divination, **272**; dreams, **63**, **201**, **219**; events, **21**; magic/spells: **143**, **174**, **189**, **272**; omens/portents/signs/prophecies: **80**, **121**, **189**, **201**, **206**, **207**, **244**; shamans/soothsayers, **181**, **272**; spirits of land and rivers, **272**; submission to superior power, **103**
surprise attack: of ČQ on Ong Qan, **185**, **208**; of Dörbei Doqšin on Tumat, **240**; of Tumat on Boroqul, **240**
swords, **50**, **131**, **170**, **195**, **270**; awarded to Qubilai, Čilgütei, Qarqai Toqura'un and Qasar, **124**; execution by, **136**; hilted, **106**
sworn friends, **117**; ČQ and J̌amuqa, **105**, **106**, **110**, **113**, **116-17**, **118**, **125**, **127**, **160**, **166**, **170**, **179**, **181**, **195**, **196**, **200**, **201**; ČQ and Quyildar, **171**, **208**, **217**; ČQ and Senggüm, **181**, **204**; and exchange of gifts and oaths of, **116-17**; Yisügei and Ong Qan, **96**, **104**, **150**, **151**, **164**, **177**; *see also* friendship

tactics: *see* manoeuvres/tactics
tails: of horse, **24**, **26**, **76**, **77**, **78**, **90**, **117**, **125**, **129**, **152**, **177**; nine, of standard, **202**; of Sartaq sheep, **181**; wooden, **275**
taxation: of Baqtat people, **274**; raising of to provide for Ong Qan, **151**, **152**, **177**; reform of by Ögödei, **279**; *see also* land tax; levies
tenggeri: *see* Heaven
tent-carts, **121**, **124**; of the Palace, **232**, **233**, **234**, **278**
tents, **56**, **68**, **73**, **78**, **84**, **85**, **86**, **90**, **100**, **124**, **177**, **203**, **242**, **246**; back/rear of, **165**, **169**, **229**, **278**; of ČQ, **93**, **169**, **245**, **267**; centre of the tent, **213**; domestics and servants in, **124**; eastern side, **214**; of Father Mönglik, **168**, **204**; for feast, **275**; felt-girt, **230**; felt-walled, **202**, **203**, **230**; golden of Ong Qan, **152**, **184**, **185**, **187**; great council in single, **154**; grey, **245**; guarding of ČQ's, **192**; hierarchy of places within, **165**; of Hö'elün, **98**, **138**, **214**; latticed, **230**; of Naqu Bayan, **93**, **205**; Palace, **230**, **232**, **278**; palatial, **123**, **177**, **190**; place of honour in, **165;** pulled by ox, **121**; rock the size of, **80**; serving inside, **224**; smoke-hole of, **21**, **105**, **109**, **240**, **246**; of the Tang'ut, **265**, **266**; of Tayang Qan, **193**; of thin woollen cloth, **184**, **265**, **266**; of Toqto'a, **105**; of Toqto'a Beki, **109**; travel-tents, **169**; vented, **230**; of Yeke Čeren, **169**
textiles: *see* cloth
thirst, **254**; from wound, **145**
thorns: in inner lapel of coat, **201**; in mouth, **77**
threshold, **245**; golden, **137**; royal, **203**, slaves of, **137**, **180**, **211**
Tibetan dogs: used figuratively, **260**
tools: *see* implements
torture: questioning of Naya'a, **197**
towns, **247**, **258**; border, **253**; of Qan Melik, **257**; Kitat, **272**; subjugated, **253**; with walls of pounded earth, **203**, **249**, **265**; *see also* cities
tracking, **56**, **88**, **90**, **101**, **103**, **172**, **183**; red bull, **240**

transport: *see* camels; carriages; carts; horses; rafts
trapping: of hawks, **25**
trees: aspen, **115;** birch, casket/quiver made from, **178**, **230**; chopped, hewn and sawn, **240**; cypress, **245**; elm, **103**; fir, bows made from, **116**; juniper, tip of arrow, **116;** old, **245**, **254**; peach, bark of wild, **106**; pine, **245**; spruce, **74**, **115**; willow, **103,** quivers made from, **230**; *see also* fruit
tribute: paid by Tang'ut to ČQ, **249**; paid by the Altan Qan [Hsüan-tsung] to ČQ, **248**
troops: *see* army; Guard; units of a thousand; units of ten thousand; *see also* RSH 2.1308

units of a thousand, **191**, **192**, **202**, **203**, **209**, **221**, **222**, **223**, **224**, **225**, **231**; Baya'ut, **213**; of dayguards, **226**; formed from unregistered households, **222**; Ikires, **202**; and levy of mare's milk, **279**; and levy of sheep for support of the *qan* and the poor, **280**; and levy to support post-station system, **280**; Mongol, **202**; of nightguards, **226**; Onggirat, **202**; Önggüt, **202**; post-station masters and post-horse keepers from, **279**; of quiverbearers, **225**, **226**; selection of campmasters from, **279**
units of ten thousand, **104**, **105**, **106**, **107**, **108**, **129**, **224**; of the centre, **220**; of the left wing, **206**, **220**; of nightguards, quiverbearers and dayguards, **224**; of Qorči, **207**; of the right wing, **205**, **220**; and the thirteen camps, **129**; *see also* cmdrs.

valleys, **56**, **247**
vengeance: *see* revenge
virginity test: on Qulan Qatun, **197**

walls, brick: **279**
warnings: of Ambaqai, **53**; Badai and Kišiliq warn ČQ, **169**, **170**; Belgütei warns ČQ about rupture with the Jürkin, **131**, **132**; Börte warns ČQ, **245**; Čigidei and Yadir warn ČQ, **170**; Father Mönglik warns ČQ, **168**; from Heaven, **80**; Jamuqa warns ČQ, **170**, **200**
war(s) and warfare: *see* campaigns against; manoeuvres/tactics
washing hands, **189**
water, **272**; depth of and death, **277**; mixed with curds, **145**; provision of by digging of wells, **279**, **281**; river, **238**; searching for, **188**
watering (animals), **183**, **208**; of wethers, **182**
weapons, **234**, **240**, **254**, **279**; *see* arrows; bows; spears; swords
wells: digging of, **279**, **281**
Western Campaign: *see under* campaigns
wet, **207**, **213**; *see also* rain
wheels: calf tied to, **194**; of cart, **177**
widows: of Ambaqai, **70**, **71**; Hö'elün as, **74**; of Tolui, **272**; of Yisügei, **68**

wife-to-be: of ČQ, **66**; of Yeke Čiledü, **54**; *see also* bride
wine, ceremonial: **154**; drunk at parting feast, **275**; drunk at sacrifice to Ong Qan's head, **189**; permission to drink, **187**, **219**
wisdom, traditional: *see* proverbial sayings
wives: of Ambaqai Qa'an, **70**; attitude towards, **155**; of blue-grey wolf, **1**; of Bodončar, **43**, **121**; of Borǰigidai Mergen, **3**; of Boroqul, **214**; of Bo'orču and Muqali, **266**; confiscation of, **123**; Čaraqai Lingqu, **47**; of ČQ, **96**, **104**, **105**, **155**, **186**, **196**, **208**, **257**, **265**; of Daiduqul Soqor, **240**; of Dei Sečen, **94**; of Dobun Mergen, **9**; of Inanča Bilge Qan, **189**; of J̌amuqa, **201**; of J̌ürčedei, **208**; of Kököčü, **188**; many: of Čiduqul Bökö, **41**; of the Merkit (made concubines and slaves), **112**; of Način Ba'atur, **46**; principal, **155**; of Qorči, **241**; of Qorilartai Mergen, **8**; of Qutu, **198**; secondary, **130**; of Senggüm, **162**, **163**, **177**; thirty: request of Qorči for, **121**, **207**; of Tolui, **186**; of Toqto'a Beki, **157**; of Toroqoljin Bayan, **3**; unfaithful, **188**; of Yeke Čeren, **169**; of Yisügei, second, **60**; *see also* betrothal; widows; wife-to-be
wives and children: of Qada'an Daldurqan, **174**; of Qasar, left with Ong qan, **183**; of Quyildar, **185**; of Sorqan Šira, **146**; of Sügegei Je'ün, **181**; of Toqto'a, **105**; of Toqto'a Beki, plundered, **109**
wolves, **26**, **78**, **210**; blue-grey wolf, **1**; and sheep, **195**
womb: of Alan Qo'a, **21**, **22**; of Börte, **254**; of captured wife of Bodončar, **121**; of Hö'elün, **78**, **244**; water, **121**
women: as booty, **198**; attendants of the Palace, **232;** Botoqui Tarqun given to Quduqa Beki, **241**; danger to from soldiers, **197**; distribution of captured, **207**; with dog's face, **188**; as dowry, **41**; fate of as prisoners, **112**; governing Tumat, **240**; merit of acknowledged in the saving of Tolui, **214**; old, **275**; pregnant, **38**, **40**, **194**1; for the *qan*, **123**, **197**; role of, **118**, **138**, **169**, **189**, **214**, **244**, **245**; splendid, **115**; taken by Qorči, **207**; Tayang Qan like, **194**; thirty, requested by Qorči, **121**, **207**, **241**; without principle, **281**
word, keeping of: by Altan and Qučar, **127**, **255**; by Burqan Qan to ČQ, **249**, **268**; by J̌oči and Ča'adai, **255**; by Sača Beki and Taiču, **136**; by Altan, Qučar and Sača Beki, **123**; by ČQ and Muqali, **206**; by ČQ and Ong Qan, **164**; by ČQ to Father Mönglik, **246**; by Senggüm and others to seize ČQ, **169**; poisonous, **267**; remiss in one's, **108**, **255**; of a woman without principle, **281**; *see also* agreements; promises; 'yes'
wounded: standing guard over, **171**, **172**, **174**
wounds: cauterized, **173** (*cf.* RSH 1.528-29); of ČQ, **145**; of Ögödei, **173**, **214**; of Senggüm, **171**, **174**, **208**; of Quyildar, **175**
wrestling, **254**; Belgütei and, **131**; Belgütei and Büri Bökö, **140**; Temüge and Kököčü Teb Tenggeri, **245**
writing: book, **282**; blue-script register of judicial decisions in book with white paper, **203**

Year of the Dog: *1202*, **153**, **157**; *1214*, **251**; *1226*, **265**

Year of the Dragon: *1208*
Year of the Hare: *1207*, **239**; *1219*, **257**; *1231*, **272**
Year of the Hen: *1201*, **141**; *1225*, **264**
Year of the Horse: *1210*
Year of the Ox: *1205*, **198**, **199**; *1217*; *1229*
Year of the Pig: *1203*, **166**; *1215*; *1227*, **268**; *1323*
Year of the Rat: *1204*, **193**, **197**; *1216*; *1228*, **269**; *1240*; *1252*; *1264*; *1324*; and composition of SH, **282**
Year of the Sheep: *1211*, **247**, **250**
Year of the Snake: *1209*; *1233*
Year of the Tiger: *1206*, **202**; *1218*
'yes': friend of the word, **255**; remiss in one's, **108**; *see also* oaths; word
younger brother: = cousin, **120**, **124**; = nephew, **272**
younger brothers, **166**; behaviour towards elder brothers, **76**; of Buqu Qatagi, **30**; of children of Hö'elün, **135**; of cmdrs. of a hundred, **191**; of cmdrs. of a thousand, **191**; of Ča'adai, **269**; of Čiledü, **111**; of ČQ, **76**, **79**, **83**, **85**, **87**, **93**, **201**, **203**, **242**, **245**, **254**, **257**; of Degei, **124**; of Du'a Soqor, **5**, **6**; of Hö'elün's children, **203**; J̌amuqa, **105**; J̌amuqa without, **201**; late-born, **203**; of Ong Qan, **107**, **151**, **152**, **164**, **177**, **186**; of ordinary people, **191**; of Qurčaqus Buyiruq Qan, **150**; reason for calling To'oril, **180**; of soldiers, **101**; of Tarqutai Kiriltuq, **149**; term used figuratively, **68**; title of J̌amuqa, **104**, **108**, **170**; title of To'oril, **180**; of Tolui, **272**; of Toqto'a Beki, **111**; of Yisügei Ba'atur, **54**, **56**, **242**

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LITERATURE AND ABBREVIATIONS

The enormous literature on the *Secret History* is well documented in the second and third volumes of de Rachewiltz's work of 2004-2013. The listing below is quite different, including just (a) items earlier mentioned in the present work, and (b-c) some additional items of possible interest to those for whom this shortened version of the first de Rachewiltz volume is primarily intended. Any reader with special interests is encouraged to go to the original volumes (RSH 2.1088-1194 and 3.151-186) in search of further titles.

In the list here, underlining marks an abbreviation as the one used in RSH; any other abbreviation is the one used above.

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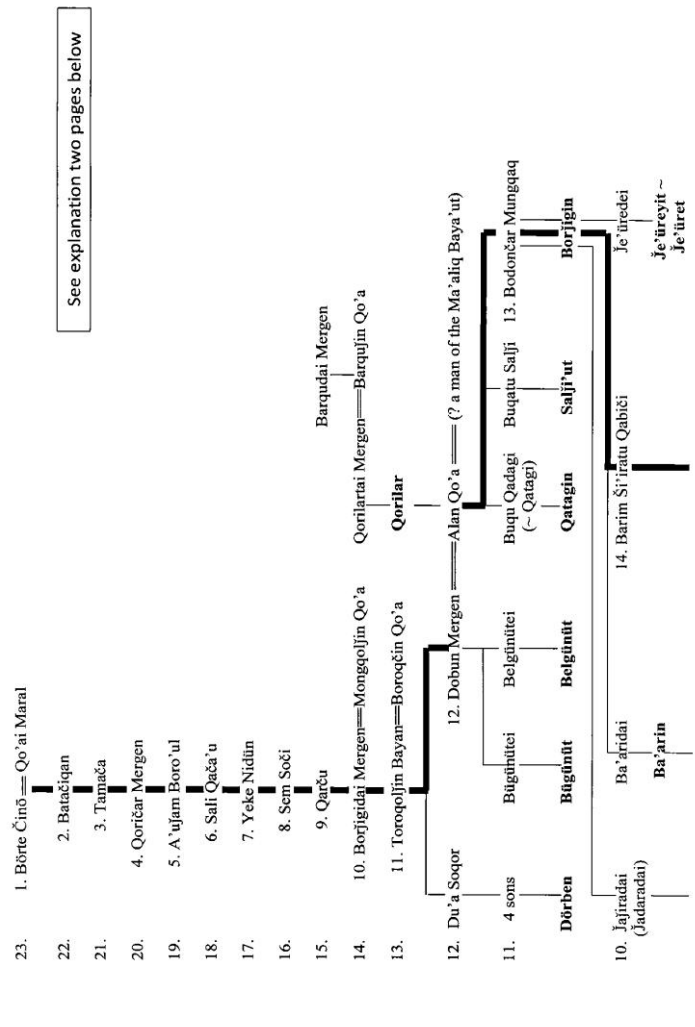
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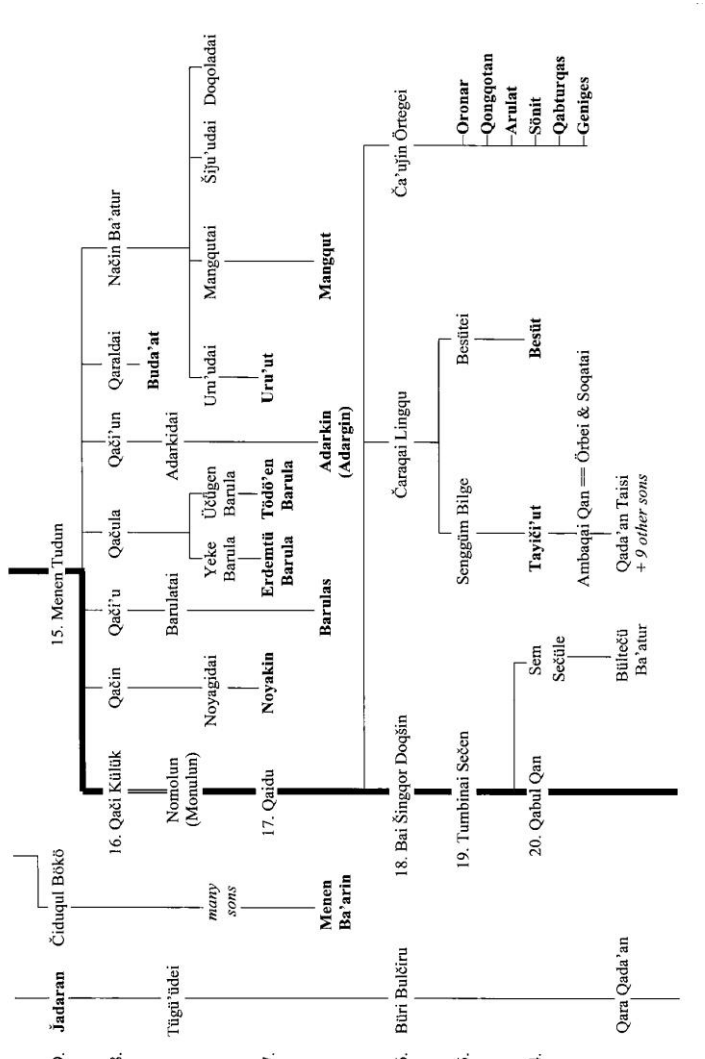
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* * *


See explanation two pages below
23. 1. Börte Činō = Qo'ai Maral
22. 2. Batačiqan
21. 3. Tamača
20. 4. Qoričar Mergen
19. 5. A'uǰam Boro'ul
18. 6. Salǰi Qača'u
17. 7. Yeke Nidün
16. 8. Sem Soči
15. 9. Qarču
14. 10. Borǰigidai Mergen = Mongqolǰin Qo'a
13. 11. Toroqolǰin Bayan = Boroqčin Qo'a
12. Du'a Soqor
11. 4 sons
Dörben
10. J̌aǰiradai (J̌adaradai)
12. Dobun Mergen
Bügünütei
Bügünüt
Ba'aridai
Ba'arin
Belgünütei
Belgünüt
Barqudai Mergen
Qorilartai Mergen = Barquǰin Qo'a
Qorilar
= Alan Qo'a = (? a man of the Ma'aliq Baya'ut)
Buqu Qadagi (~ Qatagi)
Qatagin
14. Barim Šiʿirtatu Qabiči
Buqatu Salǰi
Salǰi'ut
13. Bodončar Mungqaq
Borǰigin
Je'üredei
Je'üreyit ~ Je'üret


9. J̌adaran
Čiduqul Bökö
15. Menen Tudun
8.
16. Qači Külük
Qačin
Qači'u
Qačula
Qači'un
Qaraldai
Način Ba'atur
Buda'at
Tügü'üdei
Nomolun (Monulun)
Barulatai
Adarkidai
Uru'udai
Mangqutai
Šiǰu'udai
Doqoladai
many sons
Noyagidai
Yeke Barula
Üčügen Barula
7.
17. Qaidu
Noyakin
Erdemtü Barula
Tödö'en Barula
Uru'ut
Menen Ba'arin
Barulas
Adarkin (Adargin)
Mangqut
6.
Büri Bulčiru
18. Bai Šingqor Doqšin
Čaraqai Lingqu
Ča'uǰin Örtegei
5.
19. Tumbinai Sečen
Senggüm Bilge
Besütei
Oronar
Qonggotan
Arulat
4.
20. Qabul Qan
Sem
Sečüle
Tayičí'ut
Besüt
Sönit
Qabturqas
Geniges
Ambaqai Qan = Örbei & Soqatai
Qara Qada'an
Bülečü Ba'atur
Qada'an Taisi
+ 9 other sons

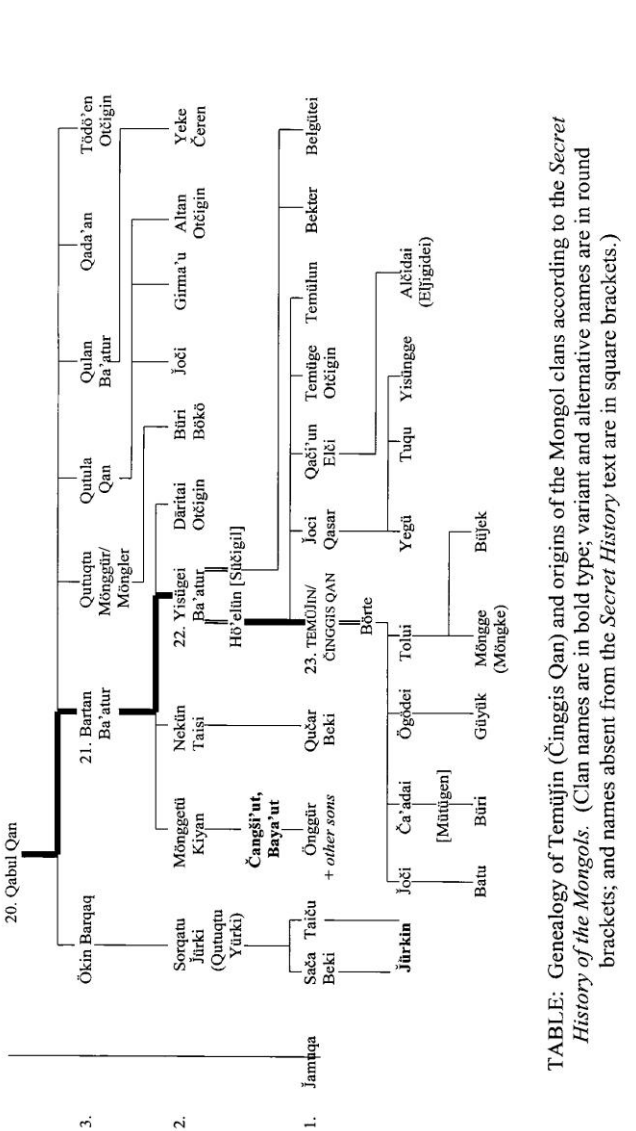
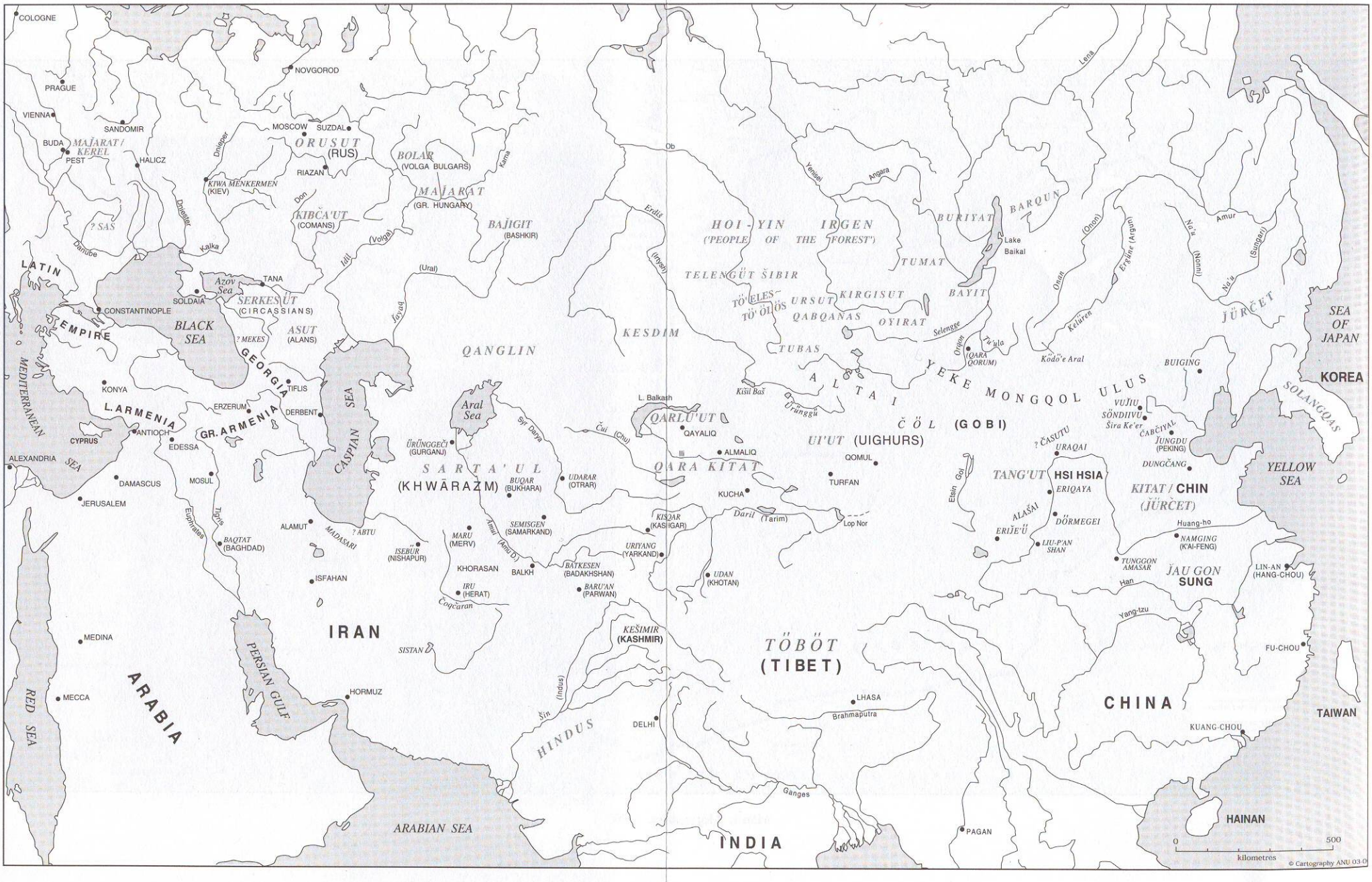


TABLE: Genealogy of Temüjin (Činggis Qan) and origins of the Mongol clans according to the *Secret History of the Mongols*. (Clan names are in bold type; variant and alternative names are in round brackets; and names absent from the *Secret History* text are in square brackets.)



Map 1. Mongolia ca. 1200.



Map 2. Eurasia ca. AD 1210.