

IGOR DE RACHEWILTZ,
Ph.D. (1961), Australian National University, is Adjunct Professor and Research Associate in the School of Culture, History and Language of that university. A leading authority on the mediaeval Mongols and the Yuan Dynasty of China he is the author of numerous publications on Sino-Mongolistics, his major work being the annotated translation of the famous 13th century epic chronicle known as the *Secret History of the Mongols* (Brill, 2004, 2006).

Volume Three of Igor de Rachewiltz's annotated translation of the *Secret History of the Mongols* (Brill 2004, 2006), now regarded as the standard English version of this epic biography of Činggis Qan, is both a complement and a supplement to the first two volumes. On the one hand it revises and updates the work to the end of 2012, and on the other it introduces new interpretations and ideas about both the identity of its anonymous author and the date of its composition. It is, therefore, an indispensable companion volume for all readers and users of the earliest Mongolian literary production which contains, in the words of Arthur Waley, 'some of the most vivid primitive literature that exists anywhere in the world.'

The Secret History of the Mongols has been selected by *Choice* as *Outstanding Academic Title* (2005).

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The Secret History of the Mongols

A MONGOLIAN EPIC CHRONICLE OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY



TRANSLATED WITH A HISTORICAL AND PHILOLOGICAL COMMENTARY BY

IGOR DE RACHEWILTZ

VOLUME 3 (SUPPLEMENT)

BRILL


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The Secret History of the Mongols

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In memory of ***Naka Michiyo***
那珂通世 *(1851-1908)*
primus inter pares

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PREFACE

Une science probe doit se résoudre à beaucoup ignorer. Paul Pelliot

The preparation of the present volume has been prompted by two major considerations:

1. The last decade has witnessed a remarkable growth of interest in Mongolian history, culture and language, and in particular a flurry of publications concerning the major monument of early Mongol literature, viz. the *Secret History of the Mongols* (*Mongqol-un ni'uča tobča'an*). An updating of my 2004 annotated translation of the *Secret History* has thus become necessary.
2. A considerable number of typos, minor errors and omissions have been discovered in the 2004 edition. They have been pointed out by reviewers and through personal communications by readers over the years. I am very grateful to all of them and it is now imperative to correct such errors.

In this supplementary volume I have endeavoured to meet these requirements by dividing the work into two parts: Part One deals with the additions and revisions to the 2004 edition as suggested mostly by post-2002/3 literature on the subject up to the end of 2012, but also by earlier publications unknown to me at the time, as well as by my rethinking of important issues such as the dating and authorship of the *Secret History*. Part Two is simply a list of corrections of typographical and other errors.

The Bibliography contains many new titles, completing—as far as I have been able to—the already extensive bibliography in Vol. 2 of the 2004 edition. However, a good many articles have been left out because they do not add anything new; unfortunately some, possibly more than a few, have also been omitted as I was unable to obtain copies of them. This is regrettable, but I trust that

at least some of these involuntary omissions will be pointed out by future reviewers.

In preparing this volume for publication I have adhered as closely as possible to the format of the first two volumes. In this connection I wish to thank Ms P. Radder of Brill, Leiden, for her vigilant eye and advice, and to Ms H.O. Collins, Ms E.J. Kat, Mr S.Y. Rivers and Mr B. Howarth of Canberra for their indispensable role in the preparation of the manuscript.

As in the case of the 2004 edition, the publication of Vol. 3 would not have been possible without a generous grant from the Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation for International Scholarly Exchange. I wish to express my sincere gratitude to the Foundation for its continuous support. Special thanks also to my friend and colleague Dr Hung Chinfu of Academia Sinica, Taipei, for his invaluable collaboration in checking the Chinese sections of the work. As before, I am most grateful to the Department of Pacific and Asian History in the College of Asia and the Pacific at the Australian National University and its staff for their constant help which has greatly facilitated my research.

Having donated my professional library to the F. Verbiest Institute of Leuven, Belgium, in 2007, work on Vol. 3 could not even have begun without the help of friends and colleagues around the world who, in the last three years, have provided a huge amount of printed material (books, monographs, scholarly articles, newspapers, etc.) for me to read and process, or have checked bibliographical references and verified quotations on my behalf. To all of them I owe an enormous debt of gratitude. In particular I wish to express my warmest thanks to the following (in alphabetical order): R. Ackroyd (Cambridge), B.G. Baumann (Bloomington, Ind.), M. Biran (Jerusalem); Á. Birtalan (Budapest), P.D. Buell (Berlin), E. Chiodo (Bonn), Sh. Choimaa and his students (Ulan Bator), G. Ford (Sydney), R. Fundele (Uppsala), J. Greenbaum (Peking), J. Heyndrickx (Leuven), M. Hope (Canberra), H.-G. Hüttel (Bonn), A.H. Johns (Canberra), D. Kane (Sydney), G. Kara (Bloomington, Ind., Budapest), M. Karashima (Kyoto), J. Kolbas (Oxford, Ohio), L. Koleilat (Canberra),

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For constant support and encouragement—this time even more so than on previous occasions—a very special 'grazie!' to my dear wife Ines.

Igor de Rachewiltz

Canberra, 15 May 2013

ABBREVIATIONS

(These abbreviations supplement those listed in RSH, I, pp. xix-xxiii)

dir.	=	directive
emmo.	=	Eastern Middle Mongolian
mtu.	=	Middle Turkic
na.	=	Naiman
para.	=	paragraph
refl.	=	reflexive
refl.-poss.	=	reflexive-possessive
u.p.	=	unpublished paper
u.w.	=	unseen work
var.	=	variable
vs.	=	versus
wmmo.	=	Western Middle Mongolian

TO THE READER

Please note the following:

1. Minor contributions, incidental comments and the like are cited in the text and footnotes with a reference to the publication in which they appeared—usually a periodical or the proceedings of a conference. However, the original title of the article/contribution is not included in the Bibliography and Abbreviations.
2. Para. and paras. refer only to the paragraph(s) of the individual pages of RSH, not to the § or §§ into which the text of the SH is divided. For the use of the abbreviation SH in the present volume see the Bibliography and Abbreviations, s.v.
3. A number of works, both books and articles, published before 2003 which should have been included in RSH will be found in the Bibliography of the present volume. All the titles in the Bibliography and Abbreviations are new titles, i.e. they are not included in RSH, hence the latter is indispensable for reference purposes.
4. Limits of space and time have made it impossible to discuss many points of detail—grammatical, lexical, etymological, etc. For issues concerning the language of the SH the reader is advised to consult the works of S. Ozawa (GHMBK, GHMBKZ and GHMBKS) and J.C. Street (see *CAJ* 54:2010, 169-187); for lexical and etymological problems, especially with regard to proper and clan or tribal names, as well as titles, he/she should constantly refer to V. Rybatzki's EDMM and PTMD, the latter available on-line at http://ethesis.helsinki.fi/julkaisut/hum/aasia/vk/rybatzki/ Work on the former is nearing completion; page references to it in the present work are only provisional.

5. The deadline for the revision and updating of RSH was 31 December 2012. All the relevant material received, or brought to my attention, or elaborated after that date will be found in the Addenda.

6. My use of the full form of Chinese characters instead of the simplified form in Chinese names and publications is simply for didactic purposes. Nowadays too many persons using only simplified characters are uncertain about the original form, which I think is regrettable. To avoid inconsistency with the first two volumes, the romanization of Chinese adopted in Vol. 3 is also that of Wade-Giles (slightly modified), although this system is now almost universally being replaced in scholarly works by the Chinese Phonetic Alphabet (*pinyin* or *Hanyu-pinyin*).

7. Information on many issues relating to Činggis Qan and the Mongols in the 12th-13th centuries can be obtained from the Internet. However, very often such information is not only unreliable, but frequently outright fallacious and misleading.

NOTES ON THE ILLUSTRATIONS

Plate 1 The opening ceremony for the inauguration of the Government Edition of the *Secret History* by the President of Mongolia, Mr N. Enkhbayar held in the lobby of the Opera and Ballet Theater in Ulan Bator on July 10, 2006. Mr Enkhbayar is standing on the right next to the four cases containing the text of the *Secret History*. Courtesy of Prof. Sh. Choimaa of Ulan Bator.

Plate 2 *Above*, a page from the Government Edition with §§ 141 (end), 142, 143, 144 and 145 (beginning) of the *Secret History*; *below*, engraving with epic scenes illustrating the text. Courtesy of Prof. Sh. Choimaa of Ulan Bator.

Plate 3 Picture showing the area occupied by Činggis Qan's summer camp in the Liu-p'an Mountains—present-day K'ai-ch'eng (Kaicheng) in Ninghsia (Ningxia)—where the conqueror died in August 1227. Photographed by Dr J. Greenbaum of Peking.

Plate 4 Chinese plaque marking the site of K'ai-ch'eng. The text reads: 'Major Site Protected for Historical and Cultural Value at the National Level. FORMER SITE OF KAICHENG. The State Council of the People's Republic of China. Promulgated on June 25, 2001. Established by the People's Government of the Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region.' Photographed and translated by Dr J. Greenbaum of Peking.

Plate 5 Silver coin (*miṣqāl*) minted at Qara Qorum in 1237-38 and found *in situ* in 2004. For a transcription and translation of the text see Heidemann et al. 2006, 94. See below, Pages 986-987 (§ 269), n. 41. Reproduced by permission.

Plate 6 A rare gold *dīnār* of Ögödei Qaγan, as shown by the imperial *tamγa*—the S-shaped symbol next to the word

Allāh on the obverse side. Like the *miṣqāl* of Pl. 5 it contains a word in Uighur script on the bottom line of the reverse. See below, Pages 986-987 (§ 269), n. 41. Courtesy of Dr Terry Lee of Canberra.

Plate 7 Dr Baiying Borjigin (白瑩) of Canberra, a 34th-generation descendant of Činggis Qan, with the author in the grounds of the Australian National University, Canberra. The photo was taken on March 11, 2009. Courtesy of Dr Borjigin.

ILLUSTRATIONS



Plate 1 Inauguration of the Government Edition of the *Secret History*



Plate 2 Page from the Government Edition of the *Secret History* with illustration

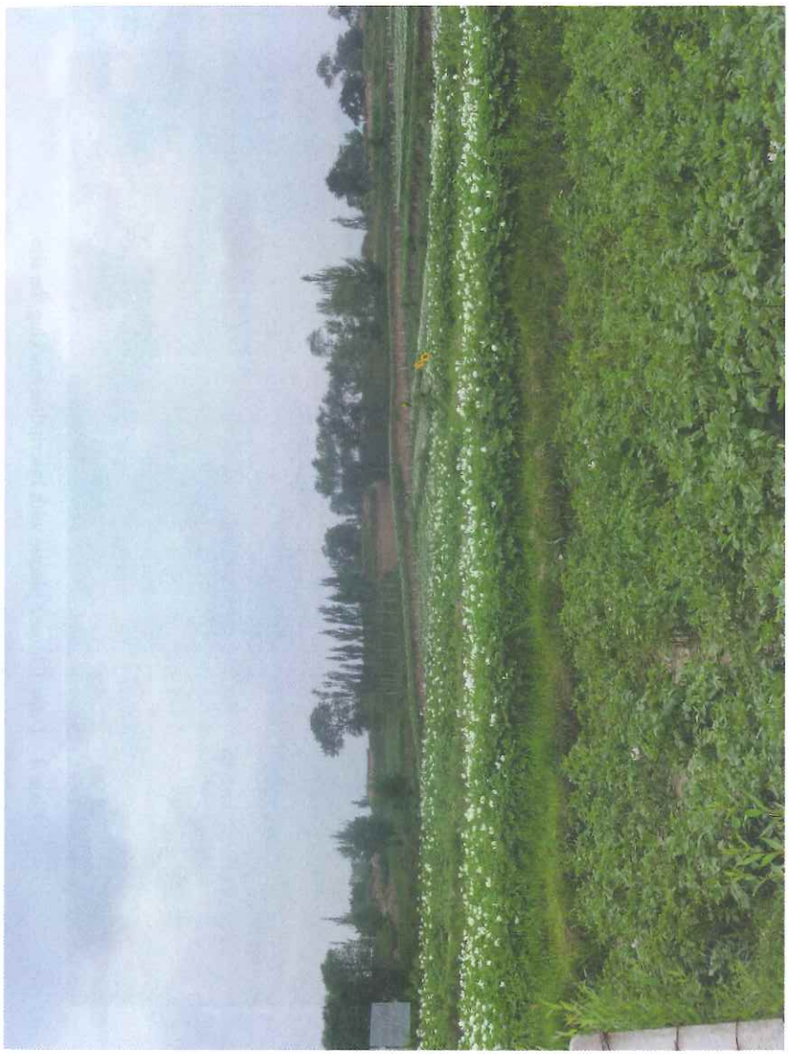


Plate 3 Site of Činggis Qan's last residence at K'ai-ch'eng (Ninghsia)



Plate 4 *Ditto*. Chinese plaque with inscription marking the site



Plate 5 Silver coin (*miṣqāl*) of Ögödei Qayan



Plate 6 Gold coin (*dīnār*) of Ögödei Qaγan

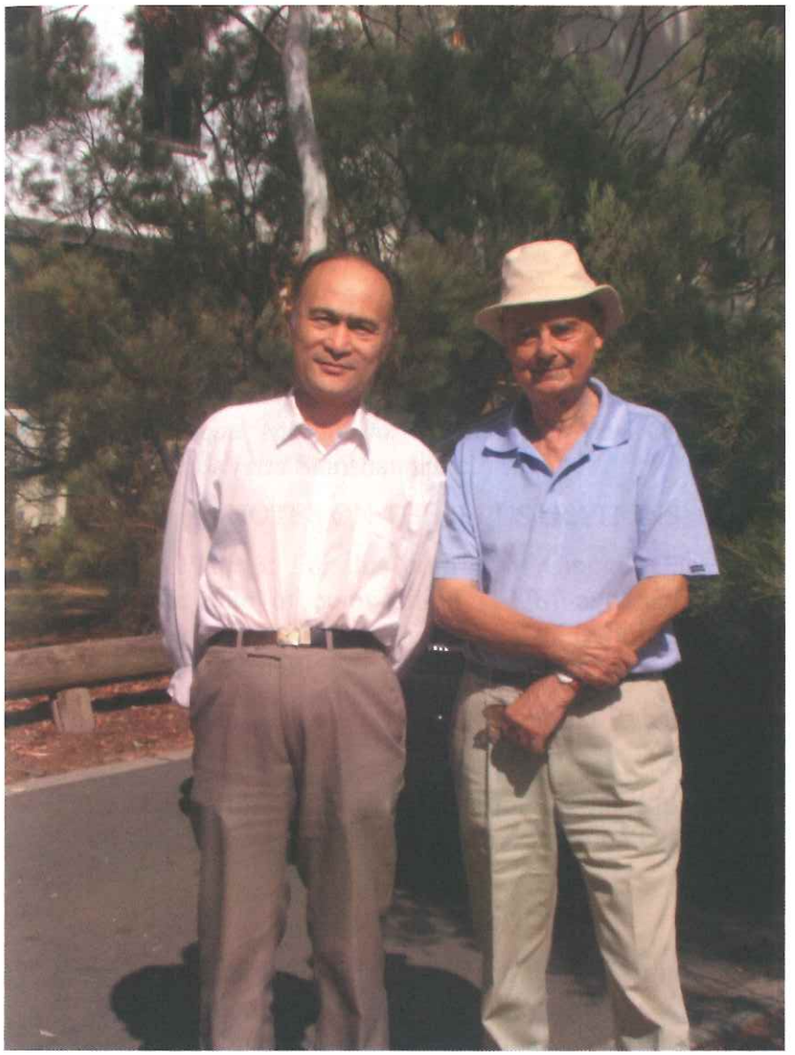


Plate 7 Dr Baiying Borjigin with the author

PART ONE

ADDITIONS AND REVISIONS

(The entries in the Additions and Corrections of the 2004 and 2006 editions of RSH, II, pp. 1343-47, are updated and revised in Part One. For all typos, orthographic and other errors in spelling, transcription, pagination, etc., see Part Two)

CONTENTS

Page vii, line 3: *for* Tables *read* Table

MAPS, TABLE AND ILLUSTRATIONS

Map 1. Mongolia ca. 1200: Some of the place names in this map are given in their Westernized (mostly Russian) form. Thus, *for* Moron *read* Mörön, *for* Undurkhan *read* Öndörkhaan, *for* Sainshanda *read* Sainshand, etc.

NOTES ON THE ILLUSTRATIONS

Page xv, Plate 3: For this portrait of Činggis Qan, its history, possible date of composition (1278) and author—Qubilai's court painter Qoryosun—as well as other portraits of Činggis, see Charleux 2010, esp. pp. 415-419.

Page xvi, Plate 9, line 6: *after* 60 *insert* and Rybatzki 2008, 129, n.2.

Page xvii, Plate 12, For the inscription on the 'Stone of Chingis' cf. also IAP, 161-170, and below, Page 659 (§ 183), second para.

INTRODUCTION

Pages xxix-xxxiv: With regard to the date of composition of the SH and, in particular, to the proposed dates 1228 and 1252 discussed on pp. xxxi-xxxiv and xxx-xxxi respectively, the year 1252 was recently revived by C.P. Atwood in Atwood

2007.[1] The arguments put forth by Atwood in favour of 1252 and against 1228 were refuted in de Rachewiltz 2008. In the latter contribution de Rachewiltz criticized also his own former argument in favour of 1228 showing why 1229 is the most likely candidate for the year of composition. However, up to the present most Mongolists hold to 1228, a date which cannot be completely ruled out, while in China a few still cling to 1240 and in MCWH, 15, we find 'c. 1252'. See below, Page lxxxiii, n. 20. Cf. also below, Pages xxxiv-xl, ad fin.

Pages xxxiv-xl: On the authorship of the SH, while Šigi Qutuqu (ca. 1180-1260), a literate Tatar and adopted son of Činggis Qan, remains the most likely candidate,[2] a new possibility offers itself in light of the succession issue and the internal dissensions at the Mongol court in 1227-29 as discussed in de

[1] See also Atwood 2006, but cf. Atwood 2007, 28 and de Rachewiltz 2008, 178, n. 108, and especially MHW, 217-218. The troubled political situation and the social fragmentation of the Mongols following their expulsion from China in 1368, combined with the bloody internecine quarrels, the wars against the Oirats and the campaigns against the Ming and Korea, plunged Mongolia into its 'Dark Ages' which lasted about two hundred years (from the second half of the 14th to the second half of the 16th c.). During these two centuries of confusion and displacement virtually all historiographical activity ceased and many old texts and valuable documentation were scattered and lost. The spread of Lamaism and the subsequent cultural revival in the late 16th and 17th c. account for the discovery and recovery of 'lost' and forgotten manuscripts (or manuscript copies) of preclassical texts which were then edited and incorporated in the large Buddhist collections, or used to compile the well-known chronicles of the 17th c. See MHW, Part II, Chs. 1 & 2; and, for the history of the period, besides the works of S. Wada 和田清, D. Pokotilov, W. Franke and others, cf. also MTDST, 202-426. The survival of the SH text in Mongolia is purely fortuitous: only one manuscript copy of Lubsangdanǰin's AT, which contains much of the only known Mongol script text of the SH, has survived and so far no 'intermediate' text has been found. From internal evidence it appears that the text of the SH preserved in the AT ms. was simply not available to the contemporary and later Mongol historiographers until the discovery of the latter in 1926. This, I believe, is the real reason for the Mongols' ignorance, rather than 'rejection', of the SH.

[2] For a completely different approach to the problem of authorship based on the assumption that the SH was written in 1252 see Atwood 2007a.

Rachewiltz 2008, 160-161, 174ff. In RSH, xxxv, I suggested that the author was a person closely associated with Činggis Qan's family—probably a member of the family himself (hence the focus on Šigi Qutuqu) in view of his truly 'inside' knowledge of all the domestic details and behaviour in the family yurt. Furthermore, as pointed out by other scholars (cf. On, 2001 ed., 21-22 and nn.), the SH was written in the first person since the author several times uses the pronoun 'our', as well as 'my', which may indeed point to Šigi Qutuqu, or to another son of Činggis Qan. Onon (op. cit., 22) concludes that 'the History was written by a member or members of the Borgijin (*sic*) clan of Chinggis Qahan'. Now, a member of the ruling family who had all to gain from the recitation of Činggis' saga at the 1229 *qurilta* was Činggis' third son Ögödei, who had been designated by Činggis as his successor, but who was opposed by sections of the assembly which supported Tolui's candidature. Could then Ögödei himself be the real author of the SH? We know that Ögödei was literate, having been tutored together with his three brothers by the seal-keeper Tatar Toŋa after 1204. See YS[2] 124, 3048, and below, Page 774 (§ 203). In any event, he could have been assisted in his task by a learned *bičēči* in his entourage. Indeed, I very much favour the idea that Ögödei relied also on information supplied by his own *noköt* and on the reminiscences of tribal elders besides his own recollections. Some of the epico-legendary elements incorporated in the composition were no doubt well-known stories already sung in the *qan*'s *ordo*. Furthermore, the section on his reign in the SH (§§ 269-281), although written by the same author, is decidedly inferior in quality: this obvious—and it is obvious—deterioration in the quality of the text may reflect the steady deterioration of the physical and mental state of Ögödei mainly due to his well-known drinking problem. However, in it we find—and this is very significant—Ögödei using the expression 'my father the Qan (i.e. Činggis Qan)' in § 269, as pointed out by Ratchnevsky (see RSH, 987-988). In § 229 the final passage coming immediately after Činggis Qan's

order concerning the nightguards is a personal comment by the author of the SH, and the same words are put in Ögödei's mouth in § 278. Finally, and above all, the extremely *personal* confession at the very end of the section (§ 281) strengthens the argument in favour of Ögödei's authorship. In my opinion, such an intimate account could only have been written by Ögödei or Tolui, but the latter is excluded because his dramatic end is described in the SH, whereas the SH *does not end with Ögödei's demise* (as we would normally expect), but with his candid judgement of himself, a most fitting conclusion to his own record.[3] Indeed we may regard Ögödei's closing statement in § 281 as his own signature to the story he had just completed, thereby not requiring an authorship's statement. After his death and right into Qubilai's reign bits and pieces were added or removed by another or other hands, a common enough phenomenon with manuscripts, as evident also from a comparison with AT[1].[4] In a personal communication of 14 May 2010, P.D.

[3] Especially poignant is Ögödei's admission that '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'. See the RSH, 217. Among the 'intimate' scenes involving Ögödei, I doubt whether there were other witnesses in the tent besides him, Činggis and Börte in the one vividly narrated in § 243 (35a-37b).

[4] In de Rachewiltz 2008, 175-76 and 176, n. 97, I discussed the two important but very controversial §§ 254 and 255 dealing with Činggis Qan's succession and his choice of Ögödei as the future *qan*. In § 255, however, in reply to Ögödei's concern that one of his own descendants and successors to the throne may be unfit to rule, Činggis points out that if this were to be the case, and even if all of Ögödei's offspring were worthless, there would definitely still be some of Činggis' descendants who would be fit to rule. The whole episode is missing in the AT[1]. In the RSH, 937, I concurred with P. Ratchnevsky (and, before him, with R. Grousset who was the first to express his doubts) that the entire section is a later, *post factum* interpolation, hence spurious. I restated my opinion on the subject in de Rachewiltz 2008, 175-76. I still believe that the section was not in the *Urtext* of 1229, witness its absence in the AT[1], now being of the opinion that in all probability it was inserted later in the manuscript of the *Urtext* by Ögödei himself for, to me, the author of the 'missing' section is the same as the author of the *Urtext*. I shall elaborate this

Buell (Berlin) wrote: 'Makes sense. In fact, this makes the best sense of any authorship proposal yet … . In a way, this has been staring us in the face all the time.' In a further communication (18 February 2011), Buell stated that 'you and I are in total agreement that if he did not play a direct role in writing the SH, Ögödei managed the whole project although the text was tampered with later'. I must emphasize, however, that my tentative conclusion as to the authorship, although plausible and satisfactory to me, remains entirely speculative. It goes without saying that my early views, as expressed in de Rachewiltz 1965 (see, especially, pp. 190, 195-196 and 199) concerning the dating and composition of the SH have been superseded by my most recent studies, viz. de Rachewiltz 2008 and the present work. Unfortunately, the former are still quoted in authoritative publications such as POM (p. 102), an anachronism which I greatly regret. For the composition and authorship of the SH see the evolving ideas of J. Yoshida in MNTSY, Yoshida 2009, 2010 and MOSK, 9-23.

Page xli, first and second paras.: As to the original title of the SH, B. Kempf writes, 'De Rachewiltz states that "Since Činggis Qan never bore the title of *qayan* (first assumed by his son and successor Ögödei), but only that of *qan*, the original opening words must have been *Činggis Qan-u uǰayur*" (p. xli). Some lines earlier he writes that "our epic chronicle did not require a proper title since it was not written to be published as a book, but was compiled solely for the members of the imperial clan" (p. xli). These words of de Rachewiltz are true, but it is also possible that the work originally really did not have a title at all, and that the words **Činggis Qayan-u uǰayur* are later interpolations, as suggested by the fact that the word *qayan* was used. Other evidence could be indirect, cf. the text of the *Altan tobči*, which does not contain these words.' (Kempf 2006, 497-498.) The words *Činggis Qayan-u uǰayur* may be a later interpolation, but this would have nothing to do

theory in a separate paper. I take this opportunity to make the following correction to de Rachewiltz 2008, 170, line 9: *for* 9 May *read* 11 March.

with the use of the term *qayan* instead of *qan* as suggested by Kempf. As I and several other scholars before me have pointed out, the title *qan* was changed to *qayan throughout the work* (with a single exception in § 255 due to an oversight) by later editors, almost certainly in Qubilai's time. Also, the AT^1 cannot be adduced as indirect evidence since the SH account was introduced into Lubsangdanǰin's chronicle as a smooth, uninterrupted continuation of the latter's genealogical narrative which compelled the author (or rather compiler) to rephrase the very beginning of § 1 of the SH to avoid a disruption. Thus, the 'title' of the SH had to go. See ATL, 13; LDAT, 53.

Page xlviii, line 15: *for* identifiable. *read* identifiable.[119a] For n. 119a see below, under Page xci.

Page lii, line 17: *for* (Y^1). *Read* (Y^1).[139a] For n. 139a see below, Page xcii.

Page lii, line 19: *after* respectively *add* ; and Y^2 also in KCI, 7-615 and YWSC, 1-306.

Page lvi, after the second para. insert the following new para.: Finally, in 2011 the Mongolian National University, the National Library of Mongolia and the Mongolian Academy of Sciences in Ulan Bator jointly published a facsimile reproduction of the *Altan tobči* manuscript under the editorship of Š. Čoĭmaa.[171a] This facsimile edition reproduces the original text as it is, warts and all, i.e. without the removal of any imperfections, spots and physical damages from the manuscript as was done in AT^1. The volume also contains: 1. a version of AT^1 in Cyrillic (pp. 21-142), 2. a romanized transcription of the text (pp. 145-265), and 3. a complete word-index which includes the correct readings of the incorrect forms in the text, as also given in 2. (pp. 269-577). The facsimile reproduction of the manuscript occupies pp. 581-760.

Page lviii, line 12: *for* 176-208 *read* 254-255

Page lix, line 12 from bottom: *after* Ozawa, *add* Čoĭmaa,

Page lix, add the following para. after the end of Section 5: A serious and complex task—but an essential one—for Mongolists is to make a thorough comparative analysis of the literary

and linguistic material contained in the SH, the various AT and the other Mongol chronicles of the 17th and 18th c. in order to identify the direct and indirect borrowings from the SH. It will thus be possible to establish a clearer relationship between these texts. Attempts in this direction have already been made by Žamcarano, Kozin, Heissig, Ligeti, Bawden, Yoshida, Kämpfe, Atwood and, in particular, Čoĭmaa, but much remains to be done.[189a]

Page lxiii, line 22: *after* armies. *add* [230a]

Page lxv: Concerning the phonetic changes occurring in the Mongolian language in the 13th and 14th c., i.e. in Middle Mongolian, and in particular *ï* > *i* and *q(ï)* > *k(i)*, Kempf 2006, 498, is of the opinion that they may have occurred much earlier than the Middle Mongolian period, and that the letter *Q* before *i* attested in the (contemporary) preclassical texts may have only been 'an orthographic rule, taken from the Turkic Uighurs, in whose language such a differentiation was needed'. In fact, Kempf is not certain whether such changes actually occurred and, if they did, when they took place. He concludes: 'Further, instead of thinking that the values of the consonants mentioned above were uncertain, it is more probable that the reader or/and transcriber was/were uncertain.' This is certainly a 'problème épineux', as Pelliot would have called it. 1. Regarding *ï* > *i*, Poppe was of the opinion that the two vowels converged in Common Mongolian; however, before the 17th c. we still find the form *qilinča* next to *kilinče*, and the back *ï* as well as the syllable *qï* have indeed survived in Mogol. What is certain is that in Preclassical Mongolian of the 14th c. we see a frequent alternation of *qi* and *ki*. For Tumurtogoo, *ï* > *i* in Proto-Mongolian. At the other end of the spectrum is Pelliot who, followed by other French Mongolists, believed that Mongolian still had *ï* in 1240 and regularly transcribed it so in back-vocalic words—an assumption which is no longer accepted. Other scholars are divided in opinion and there is a vast literature on the subject with interesting contributions by Japanese scholars. In any event, in the 'Phags-pa script

(introduced in 1269) there is no special sign for *ï*, but there are instances of *qi* in documents written in that script alternating with *k'i*, which is the regular transcription of that syllable. The same phenomenon is attested in the MA where we find both *qï* and *γï*.[5] 2. In Middle Mongolian there is no voiced deep-velar γ, but this consonant is—erratically, to be sure—noted in Preclassical Mongolian. Pelliot, Ligeti and many others always read *q* where we would expect γ, whereas Mostaert, Cleaves and others carefully distinguish *q* and γ in their transcriptions of the SH. According to Poppe, in Middle Mongolian the deep-velar γ did exist; however, it was rather voiceless (but weak), hence it was transcribed with the letter or character for *q* and was consequently treated as a strong consonant.[6] There is likewise an extensive literature on this subject in many languages. For Mostaert's treatment of the question cf. 'Quelques problèmes', 237-239.

Page lxxi, in the authors' list insert: 1925-26 Wang Kuo-wei's collations (unpublished)[252a]

Page lxxii, after 2001 (line 2) add the following entries to the authors' list:

2001 Šongqor: in preclassical Uighur script and phonetic transcription[270a]
2002 Šongqor: reprint of 2001
2005 Ardaǰab[270b]
2005 Choi Ki-ho, B. Sumiyabaatar: in Uighur script[270c]
2006 Čoĭmaa: in Cyrillic[270d]
2006 Čoĭmaa: in preclassical Uighur script (printed but unpublished)[270e]
2011 Čoĭmaa: revised edition of 2006 in Cyrillic[270f]

Page lxxiii, line 3 from bottom: *for* 1948 *read* 1941

Page lxxiv, insert the following entries in the translators' list:

1985 J.M. Alvarez Florez: Spanish[315a]
1997 Choi Ki-ho, Nam Sang-gŭng, Pak Won-gil: Korean; Part 1 only[332] (This replaces the 1997 Pak Won-gil entry.)

5 See IMCS, 33, 132.
6 See ibid., 147.

1998 P. Kahn: 2nd edition of 1984[333a]
2001 A.V. Melyokhin, G.B. Yaroslavcev: Russian[337a]
2003 K.D. Bižek, B. Ėnxdalaĭ: Tuvan[337b]
2004 D. Cėrėnsodnom et al., m. M. U. s.[337c]
2004 G. Tumurchuluun: Spanish[337d]
2004 L. Ligeti: rev. reprint of 1962[337e]
2004 Yu Won-su: Korean[337f]
2004 I. de Rachewiltz: English [337g]
2005 Ardaǰab: Chinese[337h]
2005 Γomboǰab, Asqan: Chinese[337i]
2005 M. Taube: new edition of 1989[337j]
2005 Pozdneev (ex Palladiĭ): reprint of 1880[k]
2006 D. Pürėvdorž: Mongolian[337l]
2006 Pak Won-gil, Kim Ki-sun, Choi Hyung-won: Korean[337m]
2006 Sechin Jagchid: reprint of 1979[337n]
2006 N. Dorjgotov, Z. Erendo: English[337o]
2007 Yü Dajun: reprint of 2001[337p]
2007 Mansang: reprint of 1985
2009 D. Cėrėnsodnom et al.: reprint in Cyrillic of 2004[337c]
2010 Ardaǰab: m. M. U. s.[337q]
2010 Hsiao Ch'i-ch'ing: Chinese, partial[337r]

Page lxxv, line 18: *after* indispensable. *add* [344a]

Page lxxvi, last para.: With regard to Eldengtei and Oyundalai's edition (El-Oy) of 1980, a massive work and highly praised at the time—Eldengtei, a native Dagur, being one of Inner Mongolia's leading Mongolists—it is an incomplete work, possibly owing to Eldengtei's death in 1981. The revised text of the SH corrects many mistakes found in the Chinese phonetic transcription of the *SPTK* edition; however, the revision does not extend to the interlinear translation and the sectional summary. Owing to the recopying of the text by hand some miswritings have also crept in. Nevertheless, this work, reprinted in 2007 (in two volumes and unchanged), has the merit of being the first critical edition of its kind and has served as basis for Ardaǰab's critical edition in Ar[1], 523-728. Unfortunately the latter, being set in print horizontally and without

any break, is likewise inconvenient to use and cannot replace Y^2 for reference purposes. Following in the footsteps of Eldengtei, Oyundalai and Ardaǰab (and, before them, of Ch'en Yüan [YPSIYYTK], K. Shiratori and, of course, the pioneers Pelliot and Haenisch in their respective transcriptions of Y), B. Ulaan has recently published her own collation of the full text of the SH. This is the result of several years' meticulous and painstaking comparison of all the available manuscripts, some of them hitherto unknown (see Ulaan 2010b), and printed editions. This is an important contribution to the textual criticism of the SH insofar as Ulaan's collation is a much more complete and reliable reconstruction of the Chinese text, including the interlinear glosses, than those of her predecessors. In her beautifully produced book (Ul), Ulaan has reproduced Y^2 making corrections to the text marginally and in the text itself; at the end of each chapter she has listed, page by page, all the variant readings. There is no need, therefore, to use it in conjunction with Y^2 for reference purposes. Her edition is a *sine qua non* for all future investigations of the SH.

Page lxxviii, second para.: With regard to the syntax of Pre-classical and Middle Mongolian see now the valuable contribution of M.N. Orlovskaya in OGYDMT, 179-280, which opens the way, as it were, to a full-scale investigation of the subject.

Page lxxix, replace the first para. with the following: V. Rybatzki of Helsinki University is at present (2012) compiling a dictionary of Middle Mongolian which is well advanced and may be completed within the next few years. An important contribution towards a similar goal is the recent work by G. Kara on Sonom Gara's *Erdeni-yin sang* which is 'a part of a future preclassical Mongol dictionary covering the Uygur script Mongol monuments of the thirteenth to the early fifteenth centuries. It was planned by Ligeti as a part of a Middle Mongol dictionary embracing all Middle Mongol words in Uygur, 'Phags pa, Arabic and other alphabetic scripts and those in Chinese characters'.[362]

Page lxxxi, line 15 from bottom: *after* alike. *add* The numerous points of divergence, great and small, in interpretation and the different renderings resulting from them are well illustrated in C. Tümėndėmbėrėl's book.[370a] Such differences in understanding and interpretation are inevitable even when the meaning of the original text is clear and unambiguous. Cf., e.g., the translations of Mencius by J. Legge and D.C. Lau.

Page lxxxiii, n. 3: *before* See *insert* In over twenty languages.

Page lxxxiii, n. 20, line 6: *add* And, more recently, Ardaǰab. See Ar^1, 522; Ar^2, 284. Cf. also Šo, 35-37, and Го-Аs, 279.

Page lxxxiv, n. 29: *after* 157. *add* Yü's dating was revived by Atwood 2007, but his argument has been criticized in de Rachewiltz 2008.

Page lxxxiv, n. 36, line 4: *after* On, 173 *add* (cf. the 2001 ed., 21).

Page lxxxvi, n. 62, line 3: *add* Cf. Erdemtü in UÜGI, 373-378.

Page lxxxvi, n. 66, line 2: *add* Cf. also Tugutov 2009.

Page lxxxvii, n. 84: *add* See now also Ulaan 2012 for an updated account of the vicissitudes of the Chinese text.

Page lxxxvii, n. 87: *after* 1994 *add* ; MNTMSB, 121-129. On the genealogy of Činggis' royal clan and the compilation of later chronicles in Mongolia *as a substitute* for mere genealogies see Morikawa 2007.

Page lxxxvii, n. 88: *add* As for the original title of the work, cf. EADS, 123, where '*Činggis qaχan-nu uǰa'ur*' can only refer to the *revised* title (under Qubilai) when 'Činggis Qan' was changed into 'Činggis Qaγan'. See below, n. 95.

Page lxxxvii, n. 92: *add* With regard to the lost *Tobčiyan*, also called *Yeke Tobčiyan* (*The Great* [= *Imperial*] *History*) see Bira 1964, 72ff., and M. Yamamoto in *NAGK* 20: 2005, 131-133.

Page lxxxviii, n. 103: *add* See below, n. 109.

Page lxxxix, n. 109, line 9: *after* LCSH, 4 *add* ; and, more recently, Tumurtogoo 2009.

Page lxxxix, n. 109, line 7 from bottom: *after* 40-52; *add* MNTMSB, 145-162.

Page xc, n. 114, line 9: *after* (7.1.1); *insert* KIYG (which includes an excellent photo-reproduction of the text); KIYGRBS;

Page xci, n. 119, last line: *after* 87. *add* As for the division of the SH into chapters and sections/paragraphs cf. D. Bayarsaïxan in MNTTS, 237-242.

Page xci, insert n. 119a: With regard to the investigation of all instances where the Chinese interlinear gloss is missing in the text, see the recent article by B. Ulaan (Ulaan 2010a) and the earlier studies cited therein, as well as Ul, passim. See also above, Page lxxvi, last para.

Page xcii, n. 138: *after* lxiii. *add* For an updated investigation of this copy see Ulaan 2012a.

Page xcii, insert n. 139a: For a detailed critical comparison between Y^1 and Y^2 see Kuribayashi 2007.

Page xcii, n. 142, lines 6-7: *for* Wang Shih-to … 836a) *read* Wang Shih-chung 汪士鐘 (fl. 1800), the well-known Ch'ing bibliophile

Page xciii, n. 148, line 9: *after* 2002. *add* On 12 February 2011, N. Yakhontova informed me that the manuscript has now been moved from the Chinese collection to the Mongolian one while retaining its original call number.

Page xciii, add to n. 151: For some useful information on the manuscript copies of the SH in the Chinese National Library in Peking see Ulaan 2010b. Cf. also Ulaan 2012.

Page xcv, add to n. 167: The second revised edition of 1999 (AT^5), much improved in every sense (text arrangement, commentary, etc.), is a very important contribution. Two additional versions of the AT in Cyrillic (AT^6, AT^7) have appeared in 2006 and 2009 respectively. They too are scholarly works and complement each other. The former version is closer to AT^1, the latter has a rich commentary. AT^1, AT^5, AT^6 and AT^7 should be used together *and* in conjunction with the other works by Š. Čoĭmaa on the SH and the AT, especially MNTLAT. The AT still has much to yield.

Page xcv, insert n. 171a: AT^8. This splendid volume, for which special parchment-style paper has been used, was inscribed by

UNESCO on the Memory of the World International Register on 25 May 2011. It is the first in a series of similar facsimile reproductions of unique or very rare manuscripts of historical works held in Mongolian libraries, several volumes of which have already appeared.

Page xcvi, n. 173: For further references see below, Page xcvii, n. 189a.

Page xcvi, n. 174: *after* 1982b *add* and MNTMSB, 273-296 on Činggis' *bilig*s and *suryal*s.

Page xcvi, add to n. 176: See also the two more recent important contributions by Yoshida in MNTSY, 306-341 and 342-360.

Page xcvi, n. 180: *after* Čoĭmaa 2002 *add* , MNTMSB, 297-318.

Page xcvii, add to n. 187: The question of 'intermediate versions' between the *Činggis Qayan-u uǰayur* and the SH text preserved in AT^1, i.e. ATL, has resurfaced in recent years owing to fortuitous circumstances. In 2006, a young scholar called Mongγolküü (Chinese name Mengkufu 蒙古夫) of the Inner Mongolian University identified two manuscript fragments from Olon Süme published by W. Heissig in 1976 in his MHOS, 552 (OS IV/126-127) as belonging to an unknown 16th or early 17th c. work, possibly a chronicle. The fragments in question contain, in fact, a partial version of § 80 of the SH but is at variance with the corresponding text of the same passage in the SH as well as in AT^1. The first fragment reads: *γarsu kemen morin-iyan kötelǰü: ayisuqui-dur morin inu mültü(n?) (?qočorčuγ)u qariǰu üǰebes(ü) (kö)müldürgelegsen olang-laγsabar mültüreǰü qočorǰiqu qariǰ(u) (d)otoraγan sedkir(ün).* Cf. SH, ll. 1733-1736; ATL, 45 (§ 80). The second fragment reads: *(...) boltuγai: kömüld(ürge) ker mültürekü bülüge: kemen tengri minu idqan aquyu či ke(men) sedkiǰü γurba qonoba: basa γarsu kemeǰü ayisuqui (...) (?siγui-yi)n amasara.* Cf. SH, ll. 1736-1738; ATL, 45 (§ 80). The second event concerns the discovery in Tibet in 1999 of two separate leaves from another unknown manuscript chronicle by students of Prof. Chao Hua-shan 晁華山 of Peking University. In 2009, through the intermediary of Prof. Junast, copies of these two

leaves were given to Prof. Borǰigiǰin Ulaan of CASS who examined them, published a photo-reproduction and two articles in which she discusses the contents of the leaves as well as those of the Olon Süme fragments. In her articles Ulaan transcribes the text of the former and compares it with the corresponding passages in §§ 90, 119 and 120 of the SH and in AT[1]. The texts of the two leaves are closer to the AT[1], containing also words that occur in the SH but are absent from AT[1]. Clearly, as in the case of the Olon Süme fragments, we are dealing with texts that are not *directly* related to either the SH or the AT[1], but represent intermediate versions which are chronologically somewhat earlier than AT[1]. See Ulaan 2009a and Ulaan 2010 (where the transcription of the text of the two leaves has been revised). As is known, odd passages from the SH and variants of stories about Činggis Qan told in the SH are found in other Mongolian chronicles of the 17th c. such as the AT (anon.) and ANT. The fragmentary texts described above are also late productions and, strictly speaking, were not even discovered on Mongol territory. The statement in de Rachewiltz 2008, 178, n. 108, that in my opinion 'the Mongol text of the *Secret History* was "lost" in Mongolia until the 17th century' should then be rephrased as 'until further evidence comes to light, the Mongol text of the *Secret History* was "lost" in Mongolia until the late 16th-early 17th centuries'.

Page xcvii, insert n. 189a: See Žamc.[1] and Žamc.[2]; Ko; FKM, I; ATL; MCAT; MNTSY (esp. 259-93); ANT; Atwood 2006; Atwood 2007; MNTLAT; Čoĭmaa 2002, 2003, 2004, 2004a, 2006; MNTMSB, 1-23. In Čoĭmaa 2006 we have examples of passages in the SH with lacunae that can be filled by the AT[1] version, as previously attempted by Damdinsürèn in Da[1]. Cf. MNTMSB, 297-318.

Page xcvii, add to n. 192: For an assessment of Činggis Qan's personality and its characteristic traits, besides ČK[1] and ČK[2], see Lattimore 1963b (most perceptive and very readable); MNTMSB, 227-255 (for a German translation see Čojmaa 2007); ČX; and Munxcècèg 2006. See also the short and sober

evaluation by Y. Irinčin reprinted in IMSBČ, 881-885 (in Chinese). By contrast, cf. the 13th c. image of Činggis Qan in Europe as described in Giessauf 2007. Cf. also Halperin 2009. In recent years there has been a glut of popular, semi-popular and more serious books on Činggis Qan, mostly written by non-Mongolists. Among the popular ones, J. Weatherford's book (GKMMW) of 2004 has pride of place having first been published in Mongolia, where Weatherford obtained an honorary doctorate from the Chinggis Khan College in Ulan Bator. The English edition was on the New York Times' best-sellers list for hardbacks and paperbacks. Unfortunately, it contains serious errors of fact and interpretation, as reviewers have been at pains to point out. The most serious of the non-specialist studies is J. Man's very readable volume (GKLDR), updated and re-issued in 2011. By the same author we also have LSGK—a handy sketch of the conqueror's strategies of success. The general reader can likewise find much of interest in M. Biran's CHKH (2007). For a brief survey of the role and influence of Činggis Qan's image in modern and contemporary Mongolia and China (Inner Mongolia), on Mongolian identity, and Western views on Činggis' influence, see Campi 2006. A. Campi's paper may be profitably read in conjunction with de Rachewiltz 1994 and EADS, 121-145. For a selective bibliography on Činggis Qan in Western languages 1900-2006, see ČSNZ. For a wide-ranging, illustrated survey of biographies of Činggis Qan and sundry evaluations of his role in world history, together with extracts from a great variety of sources (the text being, however, only in Chinese), see the latest edition of CNFYTIJ. It should be pointed out that this otherwise impressive 'anthology' of biographies emphasizes solely the conqueror's positive achievements, ignoring the havoc and destruction wrought on millions of people by his military campaigns. Nevertheless, Mr. Balǰinima and his colleagues must be congratulated for bringing together such a wealth of useful material and information. As for the conqueror's legacy, the empire and its ramifications, trade, external relations and

culture, many general surveys as well as specialized monographs and articles have appeared in recent years. For some pertinent remarks see W.-C. Tsai's instructive review of MCWH in the H-War website (September, 2012); GKME, Parts III-V, and 299-311.

Page xcvii, add to n. 193: For Bira's outstanding contribution to the study of Mongolian historiography and to Mongolistics in general see C. Išdorž in MSÖ, 3-22. A novel approach to the sociocultural and ideological contents of the SH is found in MNTEYYS.

Page xcvii, add to n. 194: With regard to the vexing problem of the historical sources used by the author of the SH cf. Atwood 2007a, Yoshida 2009 and, above, my remarks on the authorship (Pages xxxiv-xl). If, as I now think, Ögödei is the likely original author of the SH or, at any rate, of the 'SH project', he no doubt made use of all the sources at his disposal—oral, mainly, but also written—besides his own recollections. At the assumed time of compilation (1228-29) many of the key *dramatis personae* were still alive, and people like Šigi Qutuqu and Sübe'etei Ba'atur would have been invaluable informants. The fact that the former had been keeping written records since 1206, and that a court Secretariat with scribes (*bičēčis*) must have existed by the time Činggis began his campaigns against China and the West (1211-18) would confirm the existence of a body of documents that could be tapped into by members of Činggis' family.

Page xcviii, add to n. 198: For a descriptive analysis of the SH as a historical-literary composition see MNTTBU. Cf. also MNTSi.

Page xcviii, n. 199, line 4: *after* Paris. *add* See de Rachewiltz 2004, Pelliot & Hambis 2004.

Page xcviii, n. 199, lines 5-8: *after* SH. *delete the rest of the note and substitute with* The most comprehensive study of proper names in the SH so far is PTMD. See below, Page 237 (§ 2). On the problem of identifying place names mentioned in the SH, cf. de Rachewiltz 2002; Bazargür & Ėnxbayar 2006; Bavuu 2010, as well as Bazargür 2012. A useful recent contribution to the subject is MNTOZS. However, Pėrlėė's fundamental work (Pėrlėė[1,2]) is still indispensable. For Ž. Luvsandorž's recent studies see below, Page 272 (§ 28).

Page xcviii, add to n. 200: For various assessments of Činggis Qan's character in his dealings with his companions and subordinates see the studies cited above, Page xcvii, n. 192.

Page xcviii, add to n. 202: Cf. also L.L. Abaeva in MNTTS, 76-81.

Page xcviii, insert n. 203a: On the military legislation and the military character of the SH in general cf. G. Myagmarsambuu and O.Yu. Cyrenova in MNTTS, 145-152 and 243-247 respectively. For the *jasaq* see below, Page 568.

Page xcviii, add to n. 204: A major contribution to the ethnological study of the SH and the early Mongols are the articles by K. Uray-Kőhalmi which embrace also all the neighbouring cultures in the 'Altaic' *oikoumenē*. For the latest contribution see Uray-Kőhalmi 2009. In Mongolia, after the pioneering studies of G. Gaadamba on the SH as our primary source on the culture of the early Mongols, numerous perceptive investigations of the various aspects of the subject have appeared since the 1990s. Among the most recent ones A. Punsag's MNTDYZS deserves special mention.

Page xcviii, n. 206, lines 5ff., after SH. **to read now as follows**: Until recently Rašīd al-Dīn's *History of the Mongols* was available only in the original Persian and in Russian translation (SL^1 and SL^2), except for the sections from Ögödei to Qubilai translated into English by J.A. Boyle (*Successors*). The subsequent full English translation of the *History* by W.M. Thackston (RFJT), a smooth and readable version with notes is not very reliable however. See de Rachewiltz 2008, 164, n. 51. Therefore, it should constantly be checked against SL^2. For this reason, in the present work I have generally refrained from using it and have not altered the numerous references to Rašīd al-Dīn's work in RSH. On the relationship between the SH and Rašīd al-Dīn's accounts of the same events, besides HCG

('Introduction' et passim) and Hung 1951, 474ff., cf. de Rachewiltz 2004 and de Rachewiltz 2008, 18 and nn. 18, 19; Ts'ai MP 2009. I doubt whether in his chronicle J̌uvainī hints indirectly at the existence of the SH 'by making reference to its stories', as claimed in Kahn 2004, 389, since, as an outsider, he would have had no direct access to that document. However, he may have known of its existence as no doubt many of the stories circulating at court were probably common knowledge by 1250. As for the problem of the often conflicting chronology of events related in the SH, the YS and Rašīd al-Dīn's work, see especially Yoshida 1986 and MNTSY, 4-5, 8-10 et passim; MOSK, 44-64. For an updated version of Yoshida's views expressed in his earlier publications, also with regard to the sources used in the compilation of the SH, see Yoshida 2010 and MOSK, 9-23. For the SH and the *Däftär-i Čingiz nämä* see C. Battulga in MNTTS, 172-179.

Page xcix, add to n. 208: For Činggis Qan in the oral and written tradition of the Mongols see now Cendina 2004 and Sampildendev 2005. Cf. also Cendina 2005.

Page xcix, add to n. 209: For the different transcriptions used by various editors and translators of the SH in their reconstructions of the 'original' text see Tömörtogoo 2007.

Page xcix, add to n. 218: For a word of Sanskrit origin (*namančila-* 'to make amends, repent' < skr. *namas* 'bow, salutation') in the SH, § 245, see MNTMSB, 182-187. Cf. Les., 563a; EDMM, s.v.

Page c, add to n. 227: On these end-rhymed sayings see Čoĭmaa 2007. Cf. also Kara 2001 for more examples.

Page c, add to n. 228: *Soylama* is, of course, Turkish *söyleme*.

Page c, add to n. 233: For more recent contributions see Michalove 2004 on vowel harmony as a poetic device in the SH, and especially Čoĭmaa in MNTMSB, 1-23 and 173-181, on the role of the SH in the formation of Mongolian poetry. See also Kara 2001 on versification and rhyme-types in Mongolian poetry. Cf. Bürinbeki 2004. The subject, which was first seriously investigated by N. Poppe and J.R. Krueger in

HEKM and PPET, deserves a full systematic treatment which would also take into account the numerous contributions by Mongolian and Inner Mongolian scholars of the last two decades.

Page ci, add to n. 236: On the couplets (*xolboo*) in the SH and a comparison with those quoted in AT[1] and the *Asarayči neretü-yin teüke* (cf. ANT, ANT[1], ANT[2] and ANT[3] [with Mongol text in facsimile]), see Čoĭmaa 2007. Cf. also MNTMSB, 1-23. On the phraseology of the SH and related linguistic problems see Manlažav 2004/05; Čoĭmaa 2010 and 2012.

Page ci, add to n. 238: For a more recent investigation of metaphors in the SH see Lubsangdorji 2006, 2007 and 2010, Luvsandorž 2007 and 2008. Another version of Luvsandorž's study appeared in OUMĖIX, IX/3, 74-99. Luvsandorž's interpretations are often very personal and must be used with extreme caution, especially with regard to etymology.

Page ci, add to n. 239: For an important contribution to the subject of Mongolian mythology and folklore concerning historical figures, in particular the *qan*s of the Činggisid line, see Birtalan 2005.

Page ci, n. 246, line 11: *after* 148. *add* The lithograph has been published in photo-reproduction by B. Sumiyabaatar (Sum'-yaabaatar) in Ulan Bator in 2005 under the original Russian title, adding a largely philological introduction (pp. I-XVII).

Page cii, n. 246: *after* MVR, 82 *add* ; and B. Sum'yaabaatar in OUMĖIX, IX/3, 193-198.

Page cii, insert n. 252a: For Wang's unpublished collations of the SH text kept in the Chinese National Library in Peking, and their evaluation, see Ulaan 2009 and 2010b. Cf. above, Page lxxvi, last para. For a brief survey of the ms. copies and printed editions of the SH available in China see B. Temürbayana in OUMĖIX, VIII/3, 194-198.

Page cii, add to n. 263: For further elucidations see UÜGI, 343-345. Bayar's text in Uighur script was reproduced in excellent calligraphy and a sumptuous edition (in one box) in 2010 by Mr. Pao Chin-shan 包金山, an artist-calligrapher resident in the

Ordos, I.M. See MKPS; cf. *CC* 19:2011.2, 66-67. This work is not available commercially, i.e. through a bookstore, but only privately from Mr. Pao.

Page ciii, add to n. 267: This introduction deals mainly with the textual history of the SH and all the problems associated with the transcription and reconstruction of the original text in Uighur script. It has been reprinted without alterations in IMSBČ, 275-340, 713-746. It should be translated into English with an updating of the bibliography. For a short summary of the history, contents and value of the SH, cf. also ibid., 694-699.

Page ciii, insert n. 270a: See Šo. The text in preclassical *uyiγurǰin* has an interlinear transcription using a novel and rather unusual romanization. See, e.g., the following on p. 5: 'tergen-u', 'güm̆un-e', 'böğesu', 'değu-yuğen', 'güruḇesu' and, on p. 7, 'köḇud' for 'köbegüd'!

Page ciii, insert n. 270b: See Ar[1]. 729-819. Ardaǰab's Latin transcription is rather clumsy insofar as the transliteration of certain Chinese syllables, and combinations of syllables in round brackets, is followed by the (reconstructed) transcription in square brackets, e.g. '(ha)[Qa]han', (ho)[Qo]'a', with letters omitted in the Chinese transcription of the text by oversight or scribal errors also being inserted within square brackets, e.g. 'O[d]čigin', 'Qutu[q]tu'. The corresponding text in modern *uyiγurǰin* is found in El-Ar. Cf. below, Page cviii, n. 337o.

Page ciii, insert n. 270c: Choi Ki-ho, B. Sumiyabaatar, comp., *Ch'oech'o Monggol Wioljinja-ro chŏnsahan Monggol Pisa: Mongγol-un Niγuča Tobčiyan: Mongγol üsüg-ün angqan-u yaliγ. Mongolyn Nuuc Tovčoon: Mongol üsgiĭn anxny galig*, Seoul, 2005. The main text (313 pages) consists of the reproduction of a hand-written transcription of the Chinese text of the SH into *uyiγurǰin* by a J̌aryal. The manuscript was found in 2003 by a young researcher named A. Alimaa in the Oral Literature collection of the Institute of Language and Literature of the Mongolian Academy of Sciences (p.c. of Yu Won-su).

Page ciii, insert n. 270d: See Čo. This is vol. 1 of the 30-volume collection entitled *Mongolyn tüüxėn survalž bičgiĭn cuvral* or *Mongolian Historical Source Material Series* (Ulan Bator, 2006), providing the original sources in Cyrillic and often also in *uyiγurǰin*. Čo contains essential explanatory notes at the end of each section or paragraph. This edition is not a transliteration of the (reconstructed) Mongolian original, but a word by word transcription of the SH edited by Čoĭmaa following the orthographic and grammatical rules of modern Khalkha in Cyrillic script. Thus the beginning of § 1 (p. 13) reads: *Čingis xaany uzuur. Dėėr tėngėrėės zayaat törsön Börtė čono ažguu.*

Page ciii, insert n. 270e: This text, prepared under the supervision of Š. Čoĭmaa of the Mongolian National University, may be referred to as the Government Edition (GE) of the SH since it was printed in a single exemplar, especially commissioned by the Mongolian government, to be 'enshrined', as it were, at Parliament House in Ulan Bator as a National Treasure. The inauguration ceremony took place at Parliament House on 16 July 2006. See Pl. 1. GE is a fine artistic edition in rich traditional Mongol style with illustrations depicting epic scenes from the book. The calligraphic style used in the preparation of the printed plates is modelled on the preclassical *uyiγurǰin* text of the 1312 Peking blockprint of Śāntideva's *Bodhicaryāvatāra* edited and with a commentary by Čosgi Odsir (see Cleaves 1954); all the orthographic features of the latter have been faithfully reproduced in the present edition. The chief artist of the project was Mr. T. Turtogtokh with the calligraphic expertise of Mr. O. Jamiyansuren. The text was printed by silk printing in London (p.c. of Mr. Jamiyansuren). The publication of a photo-reproduction of GE is now being considered and will, hopefully, be realized in the near future. As for the text edition (see Pl. 2), a cursory examination of the photocopies of two pages out of four kindly supplied by Prof. Čoĭmaa has revealed the following: 1. *essentially* the text of the GE is the same as those in preclassical *uyiγurǰin* published by S. Ozawa and Y. Irinčin in Oz[1] and Ir respectively; 2. in a number of

cases, however, the readings of individual words and suffixes differ from Oz[1] and/or Ir, e.g. § 3: GE *gergeyitü*, Oz[1], Ir *gergei-tü*; GE *qooa*, Ir *qoγa*; GE *Duva*, Ir *Duua*; GE *bülege*, Oz[1] *bülüge*; § 6: GE *ölǰigede*, Oz[1], Ir *ölǰige-de*; § 8: GE *qooa-ača*, Oz[1] *qooa-ča*, Ir *qoγa-ča*; § 9: GE *qaǰar-turiyan*, Oz[1], Ir *qaǰar-tur-iyan*; GE *oboγ-tu*, Oz[1] *oboγtu*; § 11: GE *gegeǰü*, Ir *geǰü*; § 12, GE *edür*, Oz[1], Ir *üdür*; 3. a few unusual forms have also been noted: § 1, line 3: *aǰiγi* for *aǰiγai*; § 144, line 4: *öber-yegen* for *öber-iyen*; § 144 line 7: *ǰüg* for *ǰug* (= *ǰ̣ug*, w.f. of *ǰüg*).

Page ciii, insert n. 270f: See Čo[1]. This new pocket edition of Čo in Cyrillic is a thoroughly revised version with additional notes in the text and useful appendices on translation, Damdinsürèn's in particular. So far it is the best and handiest edition in Mongolian. It may indeed be regarded as the Mongol counterpart of Oz[2].

Page ciii, n. 272: *after* Shi *add* , and to a lesser extent also to Šo and Ar[1].

Page ciii, add to n. 273: Kahn 2004, 391 (end), has confused Palladiĭ's Russian translation of the Chinese summarized version of the SH (Pa) with Palladiĭ's ms. transcription and translation of the entire SH text of which only the first chapter was published by Pozdneev in 1880.

Page ciii, add to n. 274: For the fundamental contribution of M. Naka to the investigation of the SH see Nakami 2007.

Page ciii, n. 277, line 3 from bottom: *for* See Cleaves *read* See Ha. Cf. Cleaves

Page civ, add to n. 284: For a detailed analysis of the characteristic features of Damdinsürèn's translation see Čoĭmaa & Zayaabaatar 2008 (cf. *AMo* 7 [291]: 2007, 137-148).

Page cv, n. 303, first line: *after* Ko, *insert* entitled *Storia segreta dei mongoli*,

Page cv, n. 310 to read now as follows: See HH. A revised reprint of Haenisch's translation of 1941 with poetic passages reset in verse form, a somewhat different transcription of proper names and other minor changes, no preface, introduction or bibliography, but a 'Nachwort' (pp. 279-288). It includes also a translation by W. Heissig and N. Poppe of several Mongolian epic pieces (pp. 179-278). See below, Page 239 (§ 3), last para., ad fin.

Page cv, add to n. 311: For Bayar's numerous contributions to research on the textual history, authorship, transliteration and grammar of the SH see UÜGI where they all have been reprinted.

Page cvii, insert n. 315a: J.M. Alvarez Flores, tr., *El Libro Secreto de los Mongoles*, Barcelona, 1985 (u.w.). See Pürèvžav 2007, 32-33.

Page cvii, replace n. 332 with the following: Choi Ki-ho, Nam Sang-gŭng, Pak Won-gil (altern. readings: Kee Ho Choi, Sang Geung Nam, Won Kil Park–I.R.), trs, *Monggol Pisa, Yokju (1)*, Seoul, 1997. The work consists of a Korean translation and the partial reproduction of the Chinese text in El-Oy (pp. 1-103) of 1980 (p.c. of Yu Won-su).

Page cvii, insert n. 333a: See SHM. The second edition was published by Cheng & Tsui, Boston. Cf. Kahn 2004, 397. A paperback edition of SHM appeared in 2005.

Page cviii, insert n. 337a: A.V. Melyokhin, G.B. Yaroslavcev, trs, *Sokrovennoe skazanie mongolov*, Doneck, 2001 (u.w.). See Pürèvžav 2007, 34, 35.

Page cviii, insert n. 337b: K. D. Bižek, B. Ènxdalaĭ, trs, *Mooldun čažyt töögüzü*, Novosibirsk, 2003 (u.w.). See Pürèvžav 2007, 34, 35.

Page cviii, insert n. 337c: See Če[1]. This is an interesting and rather intriguing text prepared by a team of eminent Mongol scholars under the general editorship of D. Cèrènsodnom (w.f. Čeringsodnam), a great authority in the field and well-known author of Če. Among others the team includes scholars like Š. Bira, Š. Čoĭmaa, D. Tumurtogoo and B. Sumiyabaatar. Subtitled *Songyomal eke*, lit. *Selected Text*, which should be understood as 'Selective Interpretation of the Original Text', it can only be described as a 'composite version' of the SH in modern *uyiyurǰin*, drawing heavily on previous translations,

such as Da[1], Če and others. The text is interspersed with short parenthetical additions and glosses in place of regular notes. It is a work addressed to the educated layman; unfortunately, it lacks a basic commentary, indispensable in a work of this kind, especially to justify the often radical departures from the transmitted text, some of which appear untenable. This composite version has one advantage over Cėrėnsodnom's richly annotated version of 1993 in that it provides a convenient venue for the revision and re-interpretation of a number of passages of the SH in light of recent (and not so recent) investigations. Cf., for instance, the Ce and Ce[1] versions of SH §§ 1 and 104. It must also be acknowledged that the old epic chronicle as presented in Ce[1] is among the most readable and elegant in style of those now available in the old script. A paperback edition in Cyrillic was published by 'Bolor Sudar' of the 'Mönxiĭn Üsėg Grupp' in 2009 (n.p.).

Page cviii, insert n. 337d: G. Tumurchuluun, tr., *Gengis Khan. Historia Secreta de los Mongoles*, Habana, 2004 (u.w.). See Pürėvžav 2007, 33, 37.

Page cviii, insert n. 337e: See LiK. A reprint of Li (1962) by Osiris Kiadó of Budapest, this edition contains an afterword with an updating of research on the SH and revisions of Ligeti's translation by G. Kara (pp. 179-182); and, also by Kara, a new bibliography (pp. 197-200) with a useful chronological table (p. 201). The publication of the second edition was arranged by Á. Birtalan to whom credit is due.

Page cviii, insert n. 337f: Yu Won-su (altern. reading: Wonsoo Yu–I.R.), tr., *Monggol Pisa*, Seoul, 2004. It contains a Korean translation as well as the romanized text of the SH, with a few notes and reference material.

Page cviii, insert n. 337g: See RSH. A revised and vastly enlarged version of Ra, completed in 2002-2003.

Page cviii, insert n. 337h: See Ar[1]. Ardaǰab's Chinese translation is accompanied by the text of the Chinese sectional summary of the SH and an extensive, largely philological, commentary (pp. 1-522). Ar[1] contains also the full text of the SH in the original Chinese transcription, duly revised (on the basis of El-Oy) and accompanied by the Chinese glosses (pp. 523-728), a romanized transcription of the text (pp. 729-819; see above, Page ciii, n. 270b), as well as an index of proper and geographical names (pp. 820-870). There is no bibliography. Ardaǰab's reconstruction of the original text in *uyiγurǰin* had appeared in El-Ar, also with an extensive commentary by both authors (father and son) which is still very useful today, complementing as it does the one in Ar[1]. Ar[1] is an impressive work and must be regarded as Prof. Ardaǰab's *maximum opus*.

Page cviii, insert n. 337i: See Го-Ас. This is a popular work, the translation in modern Chinese being presented as a continuous narrative with marginal notes. It is profusely illustrated, wherein lies its chief attraction. It still gives 1240 for the date of compilation of the SH. For an evaluation of this work see S. Odqunbayar in UÜGI, 379-384.

Page cviii, insert n. 337j: M. Taube, *Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen. Herkunft, Leben und Aufstieg Dschingis Khans*, Verlag C.H. Beck, München, 2005. Except for some minor changes, the text and contents of this edition are the same as in Ta. For a review of the work see V. Rybatzki in *OLZ* 102: 2007, 376-380.

Page cviii, insert n. 337k: See above, Page ci, n. 246, line 11.

Page cviii, insert n. 337l: See Pü. The author has enriched his version in Cyrillic script with an ample commentary using mainly Mongolian and Russian works.

Page cviii, insert n. 337m: Pak Won-gil, Kim Ki-sun, Choi Hyung-won, trs., *Monggol Pisa-ui chonghapjok yong'gu*, Seoul, 2006. This work contains both a Korean translation and a romanized transcription of the SH text, as well as an essay on Mongol military tactics and additional reference material (p.c. of Yu Won-su).

Page cviii, insert n. 337n: See Ja. The reprint is unchanged (p.c. of Hung Chinfu).

Page cviii, insert n. 337o: See Do-Er. This work deserves special attention since it may be regarded as the Mongolian 'official'

English version of the SH in view of the fact that the translation project was entrusted to the Ministry of Education as part of the celebrations for the 800th anniversary of the establishment of the Mongol Empire (see Do-Er, 7-8, 237). The translators' team consisted of N. Dorjgotov and Z. Erendo, with the assistance of T. Dashtseden, D. Tumurtogoo and Sh. Choimaa (I use the spelling of their names as given in the book) of the Mongolian National University. The translators made extensive use of previous English versions and produced a rather free and flowing rendering of the original with occasional oddities in the choice and use of English words and expressions. E.g., what is the 'golden palatial panteon' in § 187? And what can one make of the words 'be the companion of the thill of my cart' in § 186? Unfortunately, they did not add a commentary or any explanatory notes however brief, the absence of which greatly reduces the intelligibility and understanding of a very difficult text. Also, by departing from other scholarly and generally accepted translations, and ignoring the existing commentaries, the translators at times fall into serious errors of interpretation. E.g., in § 104 Temüǰin asks To'oril Ong Qan to help him rescue his young bride Börte who had been abducted by Merkit tribesmen in a revenge raid—a common occurrence in the steppe. The term used by Temüǰin for 'wife' is *eme kö'ü*, lit. 'wife-son', a compound or binom (fr. *mot-couple*) meaning simply 'wife', still used with this meaning in the Ordos dialect of Inner Mongolia (see *DO*, 233a). Dorjgotov and Erendo took the expression literally and translated (p. 47) 'my wife and son', disregarding the fact that Temüǰin and Börte had no children yet. Thus, Do-Er may only be read to gain a general idea of the work and the story it relates, but can in no way be used as a substitute for the more accurate, critical and duly annotated translations already available in English.

Page cviii, insert n. 337p: See Yü. The reprint is unchanged (p.c. of B. Ulaan).

Page cviii, insert n. 337q: See Ar^2. A smooth translation in *uyiγurǰin* for the general reader with basic notes following each section or paragraph, rendering into modern Mongolian the somewhat revised Chinese translation of Ar^1. It has a short preface dated 8.8.2007. There are no bibliographical references, and many notes require updating and revising.

Page cviii, insert n. 337r: See Hsiao. This small book (145 pages) gives translations into modern Chinese (with non-simplified characters) of only 55 selected paragraphs of the SH. Together with its concise historical and cultural introduction, and the beautiful illustrations by Meng Sung-lin, it offers the reader one of the best bird's eye surveys of the life and times of Činggis Qan, and of the Mongols and their history in the world's context. An English translation would be most welcome. While Hsiao is probably the best of the 'popular' (but also scholarly) versions of the SH in Chinese, and therefore well-worth mentioning, I shall refrain from listing and discussing the spate of popular and not so scholarly versions, often profusely illustrated, that have appeared in China and elsewhere in the last decade, such as MKPSHTHY and MKPSTSCTP. It is, indeed, difficult to keep pace with such publications which contain no new or original contributions to the study of the SH. However, they too have their use by making this literary masterpiece more widely known. Some of the titles may be found in the *amazone.ch* site www.amazone.cn/s/ref=nb_sb_ss_fb_1_4?_mk_zh_CN=%E4%BA%9A%E9%A9%AC%E9%. See also below, Page cviii, n. 338.

Page cviii, n. 338: A good deal of information about recent translations of the SH into various languages can be found in Pürėvžav 2007, and, for those into modern Mongolian, in Purėvžav 2010. See also MNTSBKS, 246-303 (up to 2004), and MNTBKTT (up to 2010). According to *The Mongol Messenger* of 2 August 2006 (p. 7), by that date the SH had been translated into more than twenty languages, viz. Russian, English, Chinese, German, French, Japanese, Bulgarian, Buryat, Kalmuck, Magyar, Vietnamese, Spanish, Italian, Kazakh,

Korean, Marati, Polish, Tuvinian, Turkish, Czech and Swedish. (I have been unable to find a confirmation of the appearance of the Swedish translation by S. Rosén nor of the one into Spanish by I. Sandes announced in 2002 and mentioned in n. 338.) To these we must add, of course, the numerous versions of the SH into modern Mongolian in *uyiyurǰin* (from China/Inner Mongolia), as well as in Khalkha (Cyrillic) and Oirat. Moreover, there are several translations of the SH in the same language, especially in modern Mongolian, Chinese, English and Japanese; many translations have been, and are being, reprinted continuously. A few additional titles not included in my list and not seen by me are given in UI, 36-39. Altogether, the ones currently (2012) available, including reprints and revised editions, add up to well over 100. This is a rough estimate since I have been unable to check all the reprints.

Page cviii, n. 340: *for* Wei *read* Sun

Page cix, n. 344: To these must now be added the revised readings of diphthongs in L^2 by H. Kuribayashi whereby Ligeti's *ay*, *ey*, *uy*, and *üy* immediately before the letter *y* > *ai*, *ei*, *ui*, and *üi* (p.c. of H. Kuribayashi of 31 May 2002), as well as the revised corrections to R in Part Two of the present work. See also below, Page 375 (§ 80), second para., the N.B. at the end.

Page cix, insert n. 344a: To these works, all published before 2004, we must now add RSH (chiefly on account of its extensive commentary), including the present *Supplement*, Čo[1] and Če[1], as well as Ar[1].

Page cix, n. 350, line 6: *after* 1995; *insert* ČSNZ;

Page cix, n. 350, line 8: *after* 1997, *insert* MSOUNZ, II, III, IV,

Page cix, add to n. 350: For the literature on, and editions of the SH, see also above, Page cviii, n. 338. Much information regarding publications on the SH can be obtained via the Internet by accessing library holdings on the subject in academic institutions, university and national libraries, etc., in many countries including Mongolia and China.

Page cix, n. 351, line 4: *after* 1973 *insert* , YMST, 378-381, *and after* 1983. *add* Cf. also IAP, 251-254, for additional references to journals and other bibliographical sources.

Page cx, n. 356, line 1: *after* MXTXÜ *insert* and MXBTN

Page cx, n. 356, line 1: *for* N. *read* M.N. (I take this opportunity to correct the same error in IAP, 437a.)

Page cx, n. 356, line 2: *after* YMT *insert* and OGYDMT;

Page cx, n. 356, line 7: *after* work. *add* Special mention should be made also of the numerous perceptive articles by J.C. Street on the use of particles and other important aspects of the morphology and syntax of the SH (pronouns, verbs, etc.). For a complete bibliography see Knüppel 2010, 170-187. For the particles *ber*, *kü/gü* and *ele/le* in the SH see also MNTMSB, 121-129, and on the verbal suffix *-run* see ibid, 130-144. To M.N. Orlovskaya, besides YMT and OGYDMT, which include numerous examples from the SH, we likewise owe a number of articles dealing with auxiliary verbs and other grammatical features of the language of the SH. See OGYDMT, 294. For some salient characteristics of the syntax and style of the SH see Manlažav 2004/05. To these works we must add, for Middle Mongolian, Y. Saitō's CMGMO and Rybatzki 2003a.

Page cx, n. 358, line 12: *after* 3. *add* For the problem of the consonant weakening in the language of the SH, cf. Tömörtogoo in MXOTA, 141-148. For the still imperfectly known use of the past tense suffixes in early Middle Mongolian see now Street 2009 (actually published in 2011).

Page cx, n. 358, line 13: *after* 210 *add* , and Š. Čoĭmaa's important remarks in Čoĭmaa 2012.

Page cx, n. 359: *after* 499. *add* HW contains numerous errors which are duly marked on the copies of this book formerly belonging to A. Mostaert and H. Serruys held in the CICM Library of the F. Verbiest Institute of KU Leuven.

Page cx, add to n. 359: Recently, B. Sumiyabaatar published the first part of his bilingual (Mongol-Chinese, Chinese-Mongol) dictionary of the SH. See MNTMNT. It follows his large

(875pp.) Mongolian (*uyiyurǰin* and Cyrillic) dictionary of the SH which appeared in 2008. See MNTT.

Page cx, n. 360, line 3: *after* KCI *insert* (cf. above n. 344), as well as KI of 2009, which however does not include a separate index of suffixes, and KCWI of 2012 for locating all the Chinese words and suffixes—a most valuable addition. These tools, which supplement Ozawa's indexes, are indispensable.

Page cxi, line 1: *after* 9-13 *insert* ; however, although handy, the word-index in R has now, in turn, been largely superseded by those compiled by H. Kuribayashi and his team cited above.

Page cxi, delete n. 362 and replace with the following: See DES, vii-viii. As pointed out by Kara (p. viii), 'with the growing number of relevant texts accessible, the realisation of this plan is being more and more delayed'. A proper dictionary of the language of the SH, complete with phrases, idioms, etc., is still a major task for the future. See E. Purevjav's remarks on the subject in Purevjav 2012.

Page cxii, n. 369, line 16: *after* 967a; *insert* Moriyasu 2011, 49-50, 56-57;

Page cxiii, insert n. 370a: See MNTXX, where some fifteen translations of selected passages from the SH are compared; however, RSH is not included.

TRANSLATION

(While a number of passages have been revised because of a faulty translation, most of the passages treated below, although not incorrect, are given an alternative or 'improved' version, indicated as IV within brackets)

Page 5 (§ 24), lines 3-4: For Bodončar's ambiguous words see below, Page 269 (§ 24).

Page 8 (§ 44), line 3: *for* was probably *read* must be (IV)

Page 14 (§ 63), line 2: *for* flew *read* flew down (IV)

Page 19, note 2: *for* vigour.' *read* vigour'.

Page 20 (§ 77), line 2: *for* Once *already*, the other day *read* Once, lately, (IV)

Page 27 (§ 90), line 9 from bottom: *for* hills, *read* hills[3],

Page 27 (§ 90), add footnote 3: Lit., 'was touching the hilltops.' Cf. below, § 171.

Page 31 (§ 100), line 12 from bottom: *for* ragged *read* sturdy (?)

Page 51 (§ 124), line 9 from bottom: for *you*; read *you*;[4]

Page 51 (§ 124), line 6 from bottom: *for* you *read* you[5]

Page 51 add footnote 4: Or 'I shall cover and protect *you*;'

Page 51 add footnote 5: Or 'I shall shelter and protect *you*'.

Page 52 (§ 126), lines 2-3: *for* Činggis Qa'an had been made *qan. read* they had made Činggis Qa'an *their qan.*

Page 63, n. 1: *after* Ruler.' *add* 'Kan River' or 'Ken River' (reading doubtful).

Page 66 (§ 145), line 20: *after* spat *add the blood* (IV)

Page 68 (§ 146), line 6: *for* Hearing *read* On hearing (IV)

Page 69 (§ 147), line 3: *for* I shot *read* It was I who shot (IV)

Page 72 (§ 149), line 19: *for* respectfully *read* trustingly

Page 78 (§ 155), line 10: *for* she *is more* suitable *read* she is indeed fit

Page 79 (§ 156), line 19: *for* what has he *read* what might he have (IV)

Page 81 (§ 160), line 4: *for* with the intention of submitting *read* intending to submit (IV)

Page 92 (§ 172), last line-93 first line: *for* As he came … arrived *read* As he drew nearer it turned out to be Bo'orču. Having let Bo'orču come closer

Page 97 (§ 177), line 12 from bottom: *after qan insert* surely (IV)

Page 103 (§ 181), lines 7-8: *after* was *insert* indeed *like*; *for* were *read like* (IV)

Page 117 (§ 194), line 8: *for* come *read* have come

Page 128 (§ 200), line 5 from bottom: *delete* five

Page 131 (§ 201), line 5 from bottom: *after* has *insert* indeed (IV)

Page 152 (§ 224), line 22: *for* my power has *read* my strength and power have

Page 170 (§ 245), line 7 from bottom: *after* come *insert myself* (IV)

Page 201 (§ 270), last line: *for* originates *read* does indeed originate (IV)
Page 202 (§ 271), lines 20-21: *for* has left *read* did leave (IV)
Page 218 (§ 281), line 20: *delete* have (IV)

COMMENTARY

Pages 221-222 (§ 1): Regarding the original title of the SH and B. Kempf 's remarks on the subject in Kempf 2006, see above, Page xli, and below, Pages 223-224, my remarks on *huǰa'ur*. In the more recent editions and translations of the SH, with very few exceptions, notably Го-As and Do-Er, the vast majority of them separate the words *Činggis Qaγan-u uǰaγur* from the rest of the text, including Cėrėnsodnom who had previously followed Da, Га and Oz.

Pages 222-223 (§ 1): For the etymology of Činggis' titles of *qan* and *qaγan* (*qahan*, *qa'an*) see now the important contribution of A. Vovin (Vovin 2007) in which the author traces the ultimate source of both *qaγan* and *qan* to Hsiung-nu and Yeniseian, transmitted to the Turks and the Mongols via the Hsien-pi and Juan-juan rulers. The argument, which is purely linguistic, is based on a number of assumptions about the reconstruction of certain sounds in Proto-Yeniseian and Hsiung-nu which unfortunately are still dubious and/or fragmentary. Vovin's argument, however, is neat and elegant and his conclusions are plausible. For a comprehensive listing of personal names followed by the title *qan* in Uighur Turkic and Middle Mongolian sources see Rybatzki 2007a.

Concerning the lingering problem of *qa'an* vs. *qahan*, one should point out that in the 'Phags-pa script introduced by Qubilai in 1269 the intervocalic -γ- of pmo. *qaγan* is transcribed with a letter derived from the Tibetan '*a-chung* (no. 28 in the table of MMḤS, 19), the value of which is still hotly debated by scholars. Thus, the word *qaγan* in 'Phags-pa script is variously transcribed as *qa·an* (= *qa'an*), *qa'an*, *qān*, *qaan* and *qaɦan* ([*ɦ*] representing a voiced laryngeal spirant). Cf. MMḤS, 22-23, § 28; Ligeti 1961, 231-237; Janhunen 2009, 70-71; PSPTHP, 12; Miller 2005, 276; MM'PS, 166. More recently the letter in question has been described as 'a voiced glottal fricative', thus confirming Miller's interpretation. See Hill 2009, 184, 194. Now, examining the Chinese transcriptions of *qa'an* and *qahan* in the SH one is struck by the fact that the latter transcription (中合罕) is the one invariably employed when this title is not followed by a case suffix (although it occurs also with suffixes), whereas there is not a single instance of *qa'an tout court*, the form *qa'an* being always followed by a suffix. This is not because Chinese could not provide a satisfactory transcription of *qa'an* unbound: cf. *čaqa'an* 察中合(哈)安 'white' which, indeed, offers a perfect transcription of *qa'an*, i.e. 中合(哈)安. Thus, since there is no obvious phonetic reason for not adopting the more accurate form in *-an* 安 and choosing instead the phonetically less accurate form in *-han* 罕 *only when transcribing the title tout court* (in the HIIY the form in *-han* is used throughout), it seems to me that the transcription of the (unbound) title *qaγan* with 罕 was done for purely historical or conventional reasons. In fact the standard Chinese transcription of *qaγan* in the 13th and 14th c. was *ho(ha)-han* 合(哈)罕, as attested by numerous official documents and historical and administrative texts. See YTPHPCL, 23 et passim; YS (GGS, I, 678b, II, 1341a); YTC (CY, III, s.v. *ha-han*); etc. This transcription of the ancient Turkic royal title is a 'plain' transcription, i.e. without the diacritical marks which were introduced for the first time in the SH and the HIIY, of tu. *qaγan*, *χaγan* (with *ho* 合 for *ha* 哈 = *qa*, *χa*, and *han* 罕 = *qan*, *γan*; see below). It is for this reason alone, I think, that in the vast majority of cases, and in *all* instances when the title stands alone, the Ming transcribers, ignoring phonetic considerations, adopted the traditional and established transcription. In a minority of cases, most likely through oversight or because the actual transcription was carried out by a more phonetically conscious person, the correct phonetic transcription prevailed. Significantly, as already noted by

Hattori and Ozawa, the transcribers inadvertently—but, as it happens, correctly—added the diacritic 中 to 罕 in three separate places, thus turning *qahan* into *qaqan* = *qaγan* (ch. 6, 49a, § 184; S.I., 4a, § 248; and S.I., 52b, § 264). Conversely, they often omitted it, also inadvertently but incorrectly, see Ul, 1a et passim. As to the reason why in the Mongol period the earlier, i.e. pre-T'ang and T'ang, regular transcription of *qaγan* which employed the graph *han* 汗, lit. 'sweat, perspiration', as the second element in the combination *k'o-han* 可汗 (T'ang: *k'â-γân*) was changed to 合(哈)罕, I believe it was in order to replace the 'inappropriate' graph 汗 (with all its implications) with the more acceptable 罕 (Yüan: *χan*) meaning 'rare'. Cf. Ozawa 1968; TMEN, no. 1161, 175-176. In the same way, the earlier *han* 汗 for *qan* was now replaced by 罕 (中罕), although 汗 and 可汗 continued to be used but not, of course, with reference to the Mongol rulers. For instance, Ong Qan—the Wang Qan (王中罕) of the SH—is called Wang Han (Qan) 王汗 and Wang K'o-han (Qaγan) 王可汗 in numerous works of the Yüan period. See RPN, III, 2004, 2028. Summing up, it is no longer necessary to explain the form *qahan* of the SH with *-h-* = *-'-* as I proposed earlier, although in other cases, like the ones I cited, *-h-* can play the role of intervocalic hiatus. Of the two forms *qa'an* and *qahan*, the former reflects the Middle Mongolian, early Ming pronunciation of the w.f. *qaγan*. The latter represents the conventional or 'official' Chinese 13th-14th c. transcription of the title *qaγan* first conferred on Ögödei, viz. *ha-han* 哈罕 which, in the more sophisticated transcription systems of the SH and the HIIY, is rendered as 中合罕 (*qa-χan*) instead of the more strictly accurate 中合中罕 (*qa-qan* = *qaγan*), which form is also attested.[7] While the transcriptions 哈罕 and 罕 went out of use during the Ming period, as we would expect,

[7] For mmo. *q* = pmo. γ see RSH, 674; 'Quelques problèmes', 233ff. Cf. Lew., 81-84; N. Poppe in *JAOS* 71: 1951, 191. As a by-product of my discussion, I am also of the opinion that the 'Phags-pa transcription of pmo. *qaγan* should be read as *qa'an*.

the time-honoured forms 可汗 and 汗 continued to be generally employed in China as well as in Japan to transcribe the titles *qaγan* and *qan* until the present time. To the vast literature on *qan*, *qaγan* and the epithet/title Činggis Qan/Qaγan, the most important of which is reviewed and discussed in de Rachewiltz 1983 and de Rachewiltz 1989, we can now add Rybatzki 2007a, 10-14; PTMD, 484a-489a, 500a-507a, and 313a-314b (*cinggis*); and EDMM, s.vv.

Page 223 (§ 1), line 2: *after* VMI, 18 *insert* , 48; VMIN, 172 (for *keher*, *kehir* and *kehli* cf. also RH, 386a);

Page 223 (§ 1), line 6 from bottom: *after* 2002, *insert* Miller 2005, 276-277,

Page 223 (§ 1), line 5 from bottom: *delete* Y. Saitō (in Add. & Corr.) *and insert* CMGMO

Pages 223-224 (§ 1): Concerning the word *huǰa'ur* (mo. *iǰayur*) 'origin, etc.', the Chinese sectional summary ($Y^2$1, 1b) renders it as 'ancestor' (*tsu* 祖) whereas the interlinear gloss (la) gives its literal meaning of 'origin' (*ken-yüan* 根源). Here, as elsewhere in the SH, the summary interprets the text; however, in the SH the term for 'ancestor, forefather' is *ebüge(n)* (mo. id.), see §§ 44, 133, 214; HW, 40. *Huǰa'ur* actually refers to the 'origin' as the genealogy or family history, not to the 'original' (= first) ancestor. See RSH, xli, 221. The interpretation of the summary can only be explained by the fact that the Mongol manuscript of the SH used by the translators who prepared it was continuous, unlike the one used by the transcribers, thus deceiving the former who incorrectly paraphrased the text beginning with '*Činggis*' and ending with '*börte činō*'. In a personal communication of 23 February 2006, G. Kara offered another possible interpretation of the beginning of the SH, viz. '*As to the* origin of Činggis Qa'an, there was a blue grey wolf…' However, how to explain the separate first line of the text in Y^2—the main stumbling block to all such continuous translations? For *huǰa'ur* ~ *huǰawur* ~ *hiǰa'ūr* cf. Rykin 2008, 445, where this term although listed is not discussed. *Deest apud* Rykin 2011, but see Rykin 2011a, 201.

Page 224 (§ 1), second para.: For the association of animals with particular colours—the blue-grey or bluish with the wolf, fallow with the doe and the cow, red and yellow with the bull and the dog, etc.—and its shamanistic connotations in the SH see Cėrėnsodnom 2006 (pp. 148-149 for *börte činō* and 149-150 for *qo'ai maral*).

Page 224 (§1), line 22: *after* Yü, 1 *insert* ; Xėšigtogtox 2010.

Page 224 (§ 1), lines 24-25: *after* SH, *delete* see below, n. 129. *and insert* G. Kara (p.c.) writes: 'In all probability *ua* in Written Mongolian *činu-a* (*cynw'*) is a mere orthographical device to assure the pronunciation *čino* vs. *činu* (*cynw*) "thy". No surviving form supports the reading with final length, while *qou-a* and *γou-a* have long vowels in the modern languages'. Kara is, of course, right with regard to most modern languages. Cf., however, the ancient forms as well as some modern ones with the long final vowel listed in Ligeti 1965 and TMEN, no. 191. See also RH, 220, no. 8, Ligeti 2012, 173; EDMM, s.v. Concerning the length of the final vowel of the word in question see, in particular, the pertinent remarks in Ligeti 1970, 305, n. 70, confirming that in Western Middle Mongolian the correct reading is *činō*, and *činā* (= pmo. *čina*, see MBT, 209b) in Eastern Middle Mongolian. Cf. RSH, 479, and below, Page 375 (§ 80), second para.

Page 224 (§ 1), line 27: *after* Činō *add* ; and Č. Baγatur and J̌iyaγa in UÜGI, 655-663, for a rather fanciful 'classical' interpretation of the myth.

Page 224 (§ 1), line 28: *after* 93. *insert* For the totemic role of the wolf among the ancient Turks and in Činggis Qan's mythical ancestry see also ŽČXDT, 23-40.

Pages 224-227 (§ 1): The discussion on the etymology and connotations of mmo. *tenggiri* (mo. *tngri*, *tengri*) is as perennial as Heaven itself. With regard to the etymology of the word, Rybatzki 2008, 134, refers to an interesting article by S. Georg in *SEC* (6:2001, 83-100) who tries to connect the Turkic-Mongolic forms with Yeniseic **tiŋVr-* id. And, on the same subject, G. Kara (p.c.) rejects my arguments for a

possible derivation via Turkic from ch. *t'ien* 'heaven' (pp. 226-227) on the grounds that they are inadequate, but offers no alternative. I think that the Chinese derivation, although by no means certain, is still the most plausible one. For the suffix *-ri* cf. Rybatzki 2008, 135. Of greater relevance, however, is the ancient Mongols' conception of Heaven and man's (and other creatures') destiny preordained (*ǰaya'atu*) by Heaven Above (*de'ere tenggeri*), i.e. the Eternal Heaven (*möngke tenggeri*), which is the Turkic Blue Sky Above (otu. *üze kök täŋri*) in Mongol guise. With regard to Tengri as the sole supreme deity of the Orkhon Turks whose assistance is indispensable for the success of the most important actions—both to society and individuals—see Tugusheva 2006. For the Tengri (*tenggiri*, etc.) of the early Mongols and the correlation with its Turkic counterpart see de Rachewiltz 2007. Cf. Aubin 2004, 120-123; C. Ėnxčimėg in MNTTS, 93-98; and Rykin 2010a, 240ff. The Mongolian conception and worship of Heaven has been discussed at length by Š. Bira, who has even coined the expression 'The Mongolian ideology of Tenggerism' (*mongolyn tėngėrčlėx üzėl*) or 'Heavenism' for it, defining it ideologically as the precursory equivalent of modern globalization. See ŠBTZ, 108-117 (originally published in *IA* 5:2003, 107-117 and *JRAS* 14:2004, 3-12). See *IA* 5, 118-131, for 'Tenggerism' and Qubilai Qan (originally published in MCSAG 13-26). Cf. also Aubin 2004, 122; U.P. Bičėldėĭ in MNTTS, 307-309; Bira 2009; and Bilėgt 2012.[8] For Heaven in its role as Maker of Destiny see de Rachewiltz 2007, 117-123. Cf. Dašnyam 2012. Regarding *ǰaya'atu* 'endowed with destiny, with a destiny' and the etymology of the word *ǰaya'an* (mo. *ǰayaγa[n]*) 'fate, destiny, predestination, etc.', which is not discussed in RSH, 225-227, Kempf 2006, 498, regards the latter as 'a deverbal noun from **ǰiga-*, cf. the Literary Mongol *ǰiγa-* "to point out, show, demonstrate; to teach, instruct".' Actually, the word in question is one of thirty or so *nomina*

[8] For the attitude of the Mongols of the empire towards other faiths see Jackson 2005.

verba discussed by G. Kara in ISMC, 153, who suggests that 'the final *n* is here the suffix of the deverbal noun; cf. also *qatan* "hard" and *qata-* "to become hard/dry".' For the deverbal noun suffix *-n* see GWM, 49, § 175. Thus, *ǰaya'a(n)* < *ǰaya'a-* (mo. *ǰayaγa-*) 'to ordain (by Heaven), to (pre)determine' (see Cleaves 1951, 56 [32]: *ǰayaγaγsan*) > *ǰayā* (cf. *ǰayātu* ~ *ǰaya'atu*, SH §§ 111, 201; HW, 88). Cf. kh. *zaya-* 'to grant, bestow, bless with', *zaya* 'fate, destiny'. Hence, the verb *ǰiγa-* adduced by Kempf need not come into the picture at all. To be sure, there is contamination between the two verbs *ǰayaγa-* and *ǰaya-*, but this is another and quite interesting problem to be treated separately. See the *ǰ(a)γaritu* of the first line of the 'Pilgrims' Inscription' of 1323 from Tun-huang (cf. Mo, xiv, n. 13) for which Kempf (loc.cit., 499) gives the questionable derivation **ǰaga-ri(n) + tU* < **ǰiga-ri(n)+tU*. Cf. also SG, 186 and 198. As for the ruler's divine mandate in other societies and traditions see Ch. 4 of AMDK; however, the models discussed by G. Róheim do not include those found in the early Turco-Mongolian culture. For the shamanistic elements as evidenced in the SH narrative see the important contribution in Rinčindorǰi 2008.

Page 225 (§ 1), line 7 from bottom: *after* 168 *insert* ; Birtalan 2012; Boykova 2012; and Pop 2012.

Page 227 (§ 1), line 15: *after* n. 70 *add* ; Street 2009, 141-147, 153-156; and S. Ozawa in OUMÉIX, VIII/2, 151-154.

Page 227 (§ 1), line 10 from bottom: *after* SH. *add* Š. Čoĭmaa has, in fact, restored the words *dalai-yi getülǰü iregsen* in the AT[1] after *Tenggis* in place of the *ketülǰü ireba* of the SH. See MNTLAT, 1, and AT[8], 147, 4b 04. Cf. LDAT, 53.

Page 228 (§ 1), lines 14-17 and 30: With regard to the etymology of the name K'uan T'ien-chi-ssu hai for the Caspian Sea in the YS, G. Kara (p.c.) is of the opinion that ch. *k'uan* may represent tu. *köl* 'lake, a large surface of water', thus Köl Tengis—the whole Chinese designation meaning 'The lake/sea (called) Köl Tengis'. As for the Baikal and the statement that 'Baikal' is a Tungus word meaning 'ocean', Kara adds: 'Baikal,

Mong. *Bayiγal* (*Dalai*) is certainly an old water name, but it is not the commonly used Tungusic word for "ocean".' Kempf 2006, 499, states that 'Baikal' 'is usually explained as stemming from the Turkic **bāy köl*, meaning "rich lake". If this etymology is correct, then the Tungus word [i.e. Evenki *bayga* "sea, wave"–I.R.] is probably a loanword from the Yakut, which has such forms as *bayaġal*, *bayġal*, *bāyġal* (Pekarskij 1, p. 340), and *bayxal*, *bayaxal* (Pekarskij 1, p. 343)'. See, however, the pertinent remarks in Rybatzki 2008, 134-135. With regard to tu. *köl*, we know that this word is, in fact, synonymous with tu. *teŋiz* 'sea, large body of water' (see CTD, III, 185) which, according to Clauson, is 'actually noted in xi when it replaced **talu:y**, q.v., which disappeared at that date' (ED, 527a). We also know, however, that the latter was still employed in the 13th c. since it appears in the initial formula (in Turkic) of the letter of Güyüg to Pope Innocent IV (1246), corresponding to pmo. *dalai* '(all within) the seas (= fr. "océanique" [Pelliot])' < 'sea, ocean'. See 'Trois documents', 491-492; de Rachewiltz 1983, 274ff. Cf. also Sinor 1972, 118. In the famous letter of the Ilkhan Öljeitü to Philip the Fair (1305), an enigmatic 'Talu (?) Dalai' or 'Talu (?) Sea' is mentioned in line 28 as the (south-)westernmost limit or border of the Mongolian possessions. See *Lettres*, 55-56, 74. While the first Western scholars who dealt with this letter (J.-P. Abel-Rémusat, I.J. Schmidt, W. Kotwicz) suggested as possible candidates for the 'Talu Sea' the Caspian, the Black Sea and the Mediterranean, Sinor 1972 claimed that Talu Dalai = Taluy Dalai (*talu* being a 'mutilated form of the Old Turkic word *taluy* "sea, ocean"), i.e. 'Ocean Sea', which in the letter's context 'really means "to the end of the world".' But Talu is not Taluy (the disappearance of final *y* is difficult to explain) and this hybrid Turco-Mongolian binom—a *hapax legomenon*—is, in my opinion not very convincing because the contemporary Italian version of the letter speaks of definite 'borders' (*Lettres*, 6, n. 23), not of a limitless space. I would rather read Dalu Dalai or 'Scapula(-shaped) Sea', designating

the triangular, shoulder-blade-shaped Black Sea which, at the time, marked indeed the western border of the Mongol empire. Apart from the fact that *dalu* 'shoulder-blade, scapula' was a very well-known word in Mongolian because the sheep's shoulder-blade was widely used in scapulimancy, the names of parts of the body designated also objects of the same shape, e.g. *köl* 'foot, leg' means also 'something resembling or functioning as a leg or a foot (of a natural or man-made object)' (Les., 484a).

Page 229 (§ 1), line 1: *delete* and *and after* 133 *insert* ; and Deshibalov 2006.

Page 229 (§ 1), line 7: *after* suspense. *add* For a recent review of the problem see MNTOZS, 68ff.

Page 229 (§ 1), line 10 from bottom: *after* interpretation. *insert* On the name Burqan Qaldun cf. also S. Dulam in MNTTS, 268-278 and M. Bazarragčaa, ibid., 286-298.

Pages 229-230 (§ 1): Much has been and is being written on Burqan Qaldun, historically the resting place of Činggis Qan and other members of the royal family, but the fundamental essay on the subject is still Pelliot's long notice in NMP, I, 330-363. Recently, Rybatzki 2008, 135-136, has taken issue with the interpretation of the name Buda Ündür, which occurs in Rašīd al-Dīn (*Successors*, 310, 314; cf. also ibid., 228, n. 128) as 'Buddha Height(s)', and its identification with Burqan Qaldun proposed by Pelliot (op.cit., 342) which I have followed. As shown by Pelliot, Buda Ündür, where the Yeke Qoruq (= Qoriq, Qoriγ) or Great Forbidden Precinct, i.e. the enclosed area of the imperial tombs, was situated could only be Burqan Qaldun. There were no other Yeke Qoriqs. Hence, Rašīd al-Dīn 'made a bad slip' when he situated Buda Ündür in the vicinity of the Selenga instead of the Kerulen river: the name Buda Ündür is simply a variant or alternative designation of Burqan Qaldun, with Buda = Burqan 'Buddha' and Ündür 'Height(s)' = Qaldun 'Cliff '. As for the Selenga, in Rašīd al-Dīn's work confusion of place names is by no means rare, see de Rachewiltz 2008, 169, n. 74. For mmo. Buda = Buddha see

PTMD, 191-192. In a further p.c. Rybatzki remarks as follows: 'Even if Buda Ündür is just an equivalent of Burqan Qaldun, I cannot agree with this statement [i.e. that Burqan = Buddha– I.R.]. If we look at the history of Buddhism in Mongolia, its significance was very limited to non existing during the time of the Old Turk and Uighur steppe empires, and I would even say until the sixteenth-seventeenth century … . The early Mongols might have got some news about Buddhism through the Khitans, but all together there is not enough evidence of Buddhism in Mongolia in the early times that would allow a mountain (one of the most important geographical features in Shamanism) to be named after the Buddha. For this reason I consider the explanation and equivalisation of Rashid ad-Din as belonging to the field of folk etymology.' As for the existence or non-existence of Buddhist names and references to Buddhism in the SH, one should mention that the name Burqan Bosqaqsan occurs in § 9, and that Buddhist images (*sümes*) are mentioned in § 267. There is no doubt that, although Činggis Qan was not touched by Buddhism, he was cognizant of its existence in China, Tibet and Central Asia. For further details about Burqan Qaldun and the Mongol imperial graves see below, Pages 981-982 (§ 268); and n. 38 for Burqan Qaldun as a sacred site for the ancient Mongols. Cf. also below, Pages 250-254 (§ 9).

Page 230 (§ 1), lines 13-12 from bottom: *delete* and *and after* untenable) *add* ; and, especially, MNTOZS, 19-48. Cf. Drobyšev 2011.

Page 230 (§ 1), line 7 from bottom: *after* 34 *insert* ; MNTOZS, 75-85.

Page 231 (§ 1), line 3: after *irgen* add ; for the name 'Mongqol' see below, Page 239, first para.

Page 232 (§ 1): The myth of an ancestral cave or cavern can be traced further back to the legendary origins of the Hsien-pi and the T'o-pa Wei who ruled over north China in the 4th-6th centuries. (For the close relationship between the Hsien-pi and the T'o-pa see the old but still useful Ligeti 1970.) Apart from

a brief reference in the WS 100, 2224, the evidence consists of a vast mountain cave in northeastern Inner Mongolia and a 5th c. (AD 443) inscription in Chinese carved on the rock face just inside the cave. The text of the inscription describes an ancestral worship ceremony performed in this cave and relates how the ancestors of the Hsien-pi had migrated south in ancient times. See Mi WP 1981, and EBGW, 69-73, where (page 70) photos of both the entrance to the cave and the Chinese inscription are also found. (I owe this reference to G. Kara, p.c.)

Page 233 (§ 1), lines 10-12: With regard to my statement that of the two traditions, viz. the Turkish and the Mongolian concerning the ancestral wolf, the Turkish one being historically the earliest is presumably the original one, Kempf 2006, 498, states: 'Unfortunately, this is merely an assumption. The date of first documentation can never be taken as evidence of origin …'. Kempf 's statement is correct and, indeed, self-evident; this is why I had inserted the word 'presumably'. However, it is an assumption supported by the legends recorded in the Chinese sources and in Rašīd al-Dīn's chronicle which I discuss in my commentary and which are dealt with in extenso by Denis Sinor in Sinor 1982.

Page 233 (§ 1), line 13: *after* 220 *insert* ; Zoriktuev 2005 (cf. also MNTTS, 43-48); UÜGI, 258-262; MNTOZS, 141-150.

Page 235 (§ 1), second para.: Concerning the name Batačiqan discussed in Kempf 2006, 499, I think that the etymology from tu. *badačï* 'herdsman' + den. noun suff. *-qan* is the most likely. Cf. PTMD, 194b-195a, for other possibilities.

Page 236 (§ 1), line 1: *after* 1985 *insert* ; and, more recently, Skrynnikova 2009.

Page 236 (§ 1), line 6: *after* Commentary. *add* For Činggis Qan's lineage and the genealogy of the Mongol royal house see now the comprehensive study by V. Rybatzki (Rybatzki 2006). Cf. Ivanics 2012. For the names and distribution of the tribes of Mongolia and Central Asia before and at the time of Činggis Qan according to Rašīd al-Dīn see Nanzatov 2008.

Page 236 (§ 1), line 9: *after* 166. *add Nuntuq* 'nomadic camp' and *nuntuqla-* are two key terms in the context of traditional Mongol nomadic society for they epitomize the very mode of existence of the Mongol tribes, viz. transmigration. To the long and impressive list of works devoted to Mongol nomadism, from the classic (and still controversial) monograph by B. Vladimircov of 1934 to the perceptive analyses of O. Lattimore, J. Fletcher and J.M. Smith, Jr., and the recent contributions of Russian and Japanese scholars (see, e.g., MIKM, I-III), we must add MNS, a notable investigation by a Mongol scholar available in English.

Page 236 (§ 2), line 13: *after* 35 *insert* ; Rybatzki 2004, 153

Page 237 (§ 2), line 13: *for* ; and, provisionally, *read* . Cf.

Page 237 (§ 2), line 9ff.: *delete lines 9 (from* An important*) to 12 and substitute with* The most comprehensive study on personal names and titles in Middle Mongolian documents, including the SH, is PTMD. For female names in particular see Rybatzki 2007. An important contribution to the study of names and appellations in the SH is found in MNTDYZS, 13-51. For the semantics of the names of Činggis Qan's forefathers see Skrynnikova 2006.

Page 237 (§ 2), fifth para.: Concerning the name Sali Qača'u and the etymology of the first element of the name Sali (< uig. *salï*, *säli* < ch.) see Rybatzki's comments in Rybatzki 2008, 136. Cf. PTMD, 687a-688a. Unfortunately any other etymology proposed is also not very satisfactory. As for the word-order, i.e. the title/epithet preceding the proper name, see L. Bese's remarks in Bese 1974, 95.

Page 238 (§ 2), add the following last para.: In MNTLAT, 1, Čoĭmaa has indicated seven lacunae after the names of Batačiqan's descendants which in the AT[1], 4b, are followed by the words *neretü bülüge* 'was called', or simply *bülüge* 'was'.

Page 238 (§ 3), line 6 from bottom: *after* 1985 *insert* ; Yu. Boldbaatar in OUMÉIX, VIII/2, 49-58, and A. Očir in OUMÉ-IX, IX/1, 213-222.

Page 239 (§ 3), line 3: *for* [2003], s.v.; *read* 2007, 222-223; PTMD, 604b-605b;

Page 239 (§ 3), line 10: after 1996 *add* (for the reading Mongqol vs. *Mangol cf. ibid., 200, and EADS, 126-127).

Page 239 (§ 3), first para.: For an interesting study of the ethnic name Mongqol used as an 'identity term' vs. other contemporary ethnic groups and nations in the SH, see Rykin 2002. With regard to the ambiguity of the term *muŋɣul/ mongɣol* discussed in de Rachewiltz 1996, 208-209, one should mention (more as a curiosity) that the Chinese character *meng* 蒙 used to transcribe the first syllable of the name 'Mongɣol', and subsequently employed alone for the full name up to the present time, has exactly the same meaning of 'dim-witted, foolish' of otu. *muŋɣul*. (I take this opportunity to correct my 1996 paper, where on p. 208 the word *moŋɣul* above the Uighur text is, of course, a misprint for *muŋɣul*.)

Page 239 (§ 3), line 14: *after* 30 *add* ; and below, p. 245.

Page 239 (§ 3), second para.: For the etymology of the name Toroqoljin see Kempf 2006, 499; however, the etymology proposed by Poppe 1975, 167, is in my view a more likely candidate, but cf. PTMD, 422b.

Page 239 (§ 3), last para.: The case of *dayir* 'brown, (dark) chestnut; bay (Cl, 238b)' is a good illustration of the scanty attention paid to Western research on the SH by scholars in China and (to a lesser extent) Mongolia. Most of the modern Chinese and Mongolian versions of the SH translate the term *dayir* incorrectly or, in the case of the Mongol versions, refrain from translating it which is, of course, misleading because mo. *dayir*, kh., bur. *daĭr*, means 'stag' and 'saddle-sore, sore, abrasion' (in Buriat also 'an old black mare with a shaggy big mane'), but not 'brown'. This is only partly due to the confusion caused by an interlinear gloss in $Y^2$10, 40a3 (§ 245), which erroneously renders *dayir* as 'great' (cf. HW, 34). See El-Ar, 9-10, n. 6; TH, 279 (ǰYT, 484); Ar^1, 24, n. 7; Do-Er, 9: 'pearl grey', but 190: 'brown'; not translated in Da^6, Ir, Γa, Če and others. However, the correct meaning of the word was

pointed out by Cleaves and Mostaert in 1949 and 1952 respectively; indeed, it was first published by B. Vladimircov as early as 1929. See Cleaves 1949a, 501-503, and Mo, viii and n. 2, 191 and n. 174. It is hoped that the translation of Mostaert's scholarly works into Khalkha Mongolian at present undertaken by the Antoine Mostaert Center in Ulan Bator will go a long way towards remedying this deficiency. The Mongolian version of Mo has already appeared. See MNTZXT, where Mostaert's remarks on *dayir* are found on pp. xvii and n. 2, 150 and n. 174. For *dayir* 'brown' as a stock epithet of the earth (SH, § 245) in Mongolian and Turkic cf. also EDMM, s.v. For the renderings of the colour of horses into English see N. Doržgotov in MNTTS, 315-319. It is regrettable that in reprinting E. Haenisch's translation of the SH in HH, 9, W. Heissig chose the incorrect rendering 'den Grossen' for *dayir* of the first edition (1941) instead of the 'Hirschbraunen' of the second edition (1948), and in so doing he did a disservice to both Haenisch's contribution and the readers.

Page 240 (§ 3), line 8: *after* 220 *insert* ; Rybatzki 2011, 196.

Page 240 (§ 3), line 11: *after* courser. *insert* See now MNTMSB, 98-108.

Page 240 (§ 3), third para.: For other etymologies of the name Du'a cf. Rybatzki 2004, 147-149; PTMD, 349b-350a. I think the etymology from arab.-pers. *du'ā'* 'invocation' is most unlikely. Other scholars transcribe this name Duwa (e.g. Ligeti) and Duua (e.g. Cleaves). The written form of the name, as attested by the Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1362 (Cleaves 1949, 72), was Duua, as in AT^1, 4b, as well as Duγa. See *Lettres*, 71. For *soqor* see Rybatzki 2004, 168-169.

Page 241 (§ 5), third para.: To the growing literature on Middle Mongolian terms of social structure and tribal organization like *irgen*, *ulus*, etc., we must now add the recent significant contributions by Russian scholars such as Rykin 2004 and 2004a, and IČKH, Ch. 2 (pp. 80-103). Cf. also Skrynnikova 2005c, 127-130; Kradin & Skrynnikova 2006, and below, Pages 249-250 (§ 9) and 255 (§ 11).

Page 242 (§ 5), line 16 from bottom: *after* 55b *add* ; MNTOZS, 117-134.

Page 243 (§ 6), line 10-8 from bottom: *for* the fine … chiefs. *read* the characteristic two-wheeled carts or wagons covered with black felt described by Marco Polo.

Page 243 (§ 6), line 8 from bottom: *after* 169 *insert* ; MP^2, I, 252, 254, n. 2.

Page 244 (§ 6), third para.: The question of whether the vowel *e* of *ile-* in the SH is long (i.e. *ē* < *ege*) or short is rather tricky, Mongolists being divided on the issue; however, the vast majority are in favour of the short *e*. See further the discussion in *Matériel II*, 55-56, supporting Ramstedt's argument that *ilege-* (*ile-* + fact. suff. *-ge-*) is a secondary form. In fact, there is no Middle Mongolian documentary evidence to the contrary, and in the only occurrence of the verb *ile-*, in the past form *ilebei*, in documents in 'Phags-pa script, the word is unequivocally spelled *i-le-beė* (PSPTHP, 324, l. 22: edict of Toγon Temür of 1362; cf. MM'PS, 90-93). Moreover, had *ile-* appeared even sporadically in the SH in the form *ilege-*, in the transcription system of the SH it would have been transcribed *ile'e-* 亦列額. Cf. *tüge'e-*, *büte'e-* ~ *bütü'e-*, *ǰoba'a-* ~ *ǰobo'a-*, etc. See JŚ, § 110; KI, svv. In preclassical documents, *ilege-* occurs only four times, twice in a later recension (17th c.) of a work dating from the 13th-14th c., once in the famous Mongolian version of the Alexander Romance, probably dating from the 14th c., and once in an undated but late fragment in the Berlin Turfan collection. See TDB, F 25r, 28v; Cleaves 1959, 43 [10v5]; MBT, 197, no. 96. In all other occurrences the verb appears in the form *ile-*. See MMUMS, 414. It looks, therefore, as if the secondary form *ilege-* = *ile-* did not come into use in Preclassical Mongolian until the (late) 14th c. We may conclude then that it is virtually certain that the verb in question occurred in its primary form *ile-* throughout the mss. of the SH used by the Ming translators.

Page 244 (§ 6), line 7 from bottom: *after* 455 *add* ; Street 2008.

Page 245 (§ 7), first para.: In Kempf 2006, 499, we read: 'In a note to section 7, we read "On *qo'a* 'fair, beautiful' (not to be confused with *qo'ai* 'fallow' […]" (p. 245). In fact, *qo'a* and *qo'ai* must belong together, and the meaning "fair, beautiful" is secondary, since the idea of fallow, pale skin, not burnt by the Sun is beauty for the Mongols, and also other nomad peoples. Its etymology is not known, but cf. the Old Turkic *quba* "pale, pale yellow, pale grey".' The single mmo. term *qo'a* of the SH actually covers *two separate and distinct words*, the meanings of which are 'fair' and 'fallow'. *Qo'ai* is another form of *qo'a* 'fallow'. They are often confused in the later chronicles and such confusion persists in modern works. For their various forms in Preclassical and Written Mongolian, and the dialects (*yua*, *γooa*, ord. *ɢō* vs. *quγa*, *quva*, ord. *χō*), see Mostaert's pertinent remarks in Mo, xv-xvi. Tu. *quba* may indeed be related to mo. *quγa*, *quva* as suggested by Kempf.

Page 245 (§ 7), line 15 from bottom: *for* [2003], s.v. *read* 2007, 213-214. Cf. also PTMD, 111a-112a; Rybatzki 2004, 135, 158-159.

Page 245 (§ 7), line 10 from bottom: *after* 62. *add* For the function of the preceding particle *ber* see Street 1981, 151, § 4.2. On this versatile particle in Middle Mongolian see also MNTMSB, 109-115.

Page 245 (§ 8), last line: *for* [2003], s.v. *read* 2007, 215; PTMD, 263b-264a.

Page 247 (§ 8), line 10: *after* 9 *add* ; Rykin 2011a.

Page 247 (§ 8), second para.: For the name Qorilartai see Rybatzki 2004, 159. For the Qori Tumat tribal grouping and the ethnicon Tumat (Tumad) *tout court* cf. ibid., 114-116, and Schönig 2006, 232-234 (3). As for the question raised in Kempf 2006, 499, concerning the reading Tumat vs. *Tümet (cf. the Tümed of AT^1, 5a; ATL, 15), Tumat is, both alone and in combination with Qori, the regular Chinese phonetic transcription throughout the SH, clearly differentiated from that of *tümet* 'ten thousand (pl.)'. Thus, Tumat must have been the reading in the original manuscript. The origin of the name

remains obscure: the suggested etymology from tu. *tuman* 'fog, mist' is not very convincing. There is no doubt that the name was later incorrectly interpreted as *tümet* (Tümed).

Page 248 (§ 8), line 9: *after* weight. *insert* Cf. MNTOZS, 135-140.

Page 248 (§ 9), second para.: Concerning the old and contentious issue of conflicting claims over land for hunting purposes, already attested in the SH, see HLUM, 44ff.

Pages 249-250 (§ 9): For the terms *oboq* and *yasun*, as well as *irgen* and *ulus* (on which see above, Page 241), see also Rykin 2004 and 2004a, IČKH, Ch. 2 (pp. 80-103), and the numerous references in MOSK, 154 et passim. Cf. Skrynnikova 2005c, 128-131, and Skrynnikova 2011.

Page 250 (§ 9), line 18: *after* passim; *insert* Pop 2006a, 243-250; M.I. Gol'man in KAW, 145-148; Bilėgt 2005;

Page 250 (§ 9), line 7 from bottom: *after* passim *insert* ; Schönig 2006, 234 (5).

Pages 250-254 (§ 9): With regard to the still very puzzling words *Burqan Qaldun-nu eǰet Burqan bosqaqsan Šinči Bayan Uriangqai-tur ne'üǰü ayisun aǰu'u*, among contemporary (post-2003/4) translators and editors of the text, especially in Mongolia and China, the earlier trend towards the 'single name' interpretation has now prevailed. The words *burqan bosqaqsan* (pmo. *bosqaγsan*) are thus taken as qualifiers of Šinči Bayan, i.e. 'Šinči Bayan who erected (*or* established) the *burqan*'. However, this interpretation raises more questions than it answers since the term *burqan* is either left untranslated and unexplained (see Če[1]; Γo-As, which ignores the two words altogether; Pü), or is variously rendered 'the mountain's (guardian) spirit' (山神: Ar[1])—in the later version re-interpreted together with *bosqaqsan* as meaning 'who had first opened up and made use of the Burqan Qaldun nomad ground', i.e. who had first moved to B.Q. and established his nomad ground there (with *burqan* = Burqan Qaldun) (Ar[2])—and 'an altar on top of the mountain' (Do-Er). I am now of the opinion that the words in question may be an unwarranted intrusion into the text since they were clearly absent from the Mongol

manuscript used by the authors of the summarized version which only mentions 'the lord of the Burqan Mountain called Šinči Bayan'. As suggested by S. Jagchid, the two words *Burqan bosqaγsan* 'who has erected the Buddha (image)' could be an interlinear gloss by a later hand erroneously taken as part of the original text and inserted in it by the Ming editors and translators who were working on another manuscript of the SH. As for the plural *eǰet* (= *eǰed*) 'lords' instead of *eǰen* 'lord', in the Uighur cursive script of an old manuscript the two words can be easily confused, and the editors/translators would naturally have assumed that *eǰed* was the correct reading after making Burqan Bosqaγsan an integral part of the text and treating it as a proper name. This remains a mere supposition. I may add that an (admittedly) minor additional argument in favour of this interpretation is that, had our two puzzling words been a proper name in the original text, this would probably have had the word *qoyar* 'two' = 'and' after Šinči Bayan's name. For *burqan* 'image of Buddha' see also EDMM, s.v. *buda*. At our present state of knowledge one must acknowledge the fact that we have no satisfactory explanation for the geographic name Burqan Qaldun nor for the SH expression *Burqan bosqaqsan*. For the Uriangqai tribe which plays an important role in the history of Burqan Qaldun (cf. NMP, I, 337-338) see also Schönig 2006, 234 (5).

Page 255 (§ 11), line 2: *after* 22 *add* ; Skrynnikova 2005c, 129-130; Rybatzki 2011, 198.

Pages 256-257 (§ 13): For the much discussed term *širolqa* see further Franke H 2005, 680-681; and for *nökör* cf. EDMM, s.v. The passage in question is translated by P.D. Buell in SFQ[1], 32, where at the beginning of the section (§ 12) the words *Uriangqadai gü'ün* are rendered 'Uriangqadai people' instead of 'a man of the Uriangqai tribe' or 'a person of the Uriangqad' (Cl, 3). This is incorrect because the singular number is confirmed by the *nökör* (instead of *nököt*) in § 13, as well as by the pronoun *t'a* 'him' (instead of *t'a-mei* 他每) in the Chinese sectional summary, also in § 13 (Y[2]1, 8b).

Page 257 (§ 13), line 9: *after* 20 *insert* ; PTMD, 630a-631a; Legrand 2010, 488, n. 11.

Page 258 (§ 13), line 7 from bottom: *after* 125. *add* For the custom of sharing the carcass of an animal cf. MNTSu, 37-40, and M.M. Sodnompilova in MNTTS, 248-259.

Page 259 (§ 15), second para.: For Ma'aliq Baya'udai see Ulaan 2005, and below, Page 261 (§ 18).

Page 260 (§ 17), second para.: For the name Bodončar (AT^1: Bodančar) and its etymology see PTMD, 196b-197a; Rykin 2007 and 2010.

Page 260 (§ 17), line 3 from bottom: *after* taciturn. *add* For a comparative study of the Bodončar story as recorded in the later Mongol chronicles, with particular reference to the recently discovered manuscript of the *Quriyangγui Altan tobči* (= AT [anon.]), see MNTMSB, 343-387. Cf. also ibid., 388-418, and AT (anon.)[1] for the latter chronicle.

Page 260 (§ 18), line 2 from bottom: *before* 'Without *insert* For the words 'this mother of ours' (*ene eke bidanu*), with the genitive pronoun *bidanu* (incl.) instead of *manu* (excl.), see T. Hasumi in UÜGI, 349-351.

Page 261 (§ 18), line 6: *after* 324b. *insert* For a comprehensive survey of kinship terms in ancient Mongolian see now Rykin 2008 and 2011.

Page 261 (§ 18), line 13: *after* 55. *add* The anomalous form *bö'etele* (pmo. *bögetele*) is difficult to explain. It should of course be *bötele* since all other forms of *bö-* (mo. *bü-*) are regular even if the verb *bö-* is defective. Clearly, *bö'etele* is formed on **bö'e-* instead of *bö-*. **Bö'e-* (w.f. **böge-*) is perhaps an ancient factitive in *-γa-/-ge-* (mmo. *-'a-/-'e-*) of *bö-* which has survived only in the *converbum terminale*. The auxiliary verb *bö-* is not known to have a factitive form, but the other auxiliary verb *a-* has it (*aγul-*); therefore, one cannot exclude the possibility that amo. *bö-* also had it. For *bü-/bö-* see Orlovskaya 2007, incorporated in her recent OGYDMT, 195-204.

Page 261 (§ 18), line 19: *after* 19ff. *add* ; Ulaan 2005.

Page 261 (§ 18), line 21: *after* Mo, 5. *add* For the implications of the two elder brothers' statement with regard to legitimacy and kinship in the Mongol society of the time cf. Pop 2006a, 250.

Page 263 (§ 21), last line: *after* 246 *add* and n. 230;

Pages 263-265 (§ 21): For the famous and much discussed words of Alan Qo'a describing her 'conception dream' see Uray-Kőhalmi 2009, 184-186, revisiting a theme she had explored in 1987. Rybatzki 2008, 130-134, devotes much space to the same episode (in RSH, 4, 11, 24-28), comparing the translations in On, Cl, and RSH. Rybatzki supplies some rich material on the etymology of four words in the Mongol text, viz. *čeügen* 'resplendent', *bili-* 'to rub', *kili* 'beam (of light)', and *šičabalǰa-* 'to creep, crawl' (the 'šičabalǰuǰu' of L^2, 26 is a misprint for 'šičabalǰaǰu'). Only the fourth word is controversial; however, the meaning of 'to creep' of this *hapax legomenon* in the SH supplied by the Chinese gloss (*p'a* 爬) in $Y^2$1, 13a, must be correct since it is confirmed by the sectional summary ($Y^2$1, 13b) which, as we know, was made on a different manuscript of the SH. The Mongol word was obviously known to the Ming translators. There are quite a few Mongol words that only appear in the SH, several of which were not known by the Ming translators who, therefore, left them untranslated. See de Rachewiltz 1995. This is not the case with *šičabalǰa-* which corresponds to mo. *čičabalǰa-* 'to start, shake, move jerkily or spasmodically' (Les., 175b). QNTT, 773a, gives the following definition of this verb: *dolgirqan toytayuri ügei-yi čičabalǰamui kememüi*, i.e. 'to be (*or* act) in a fickle and unsteady way'. Thus, semantically, we have SH 'to creep (= to move stealthily)' > 'to move jerkily or unsteadily'. However, the Ancient Mongolian form must have been with initial *či-* which is preserved in mo. *čičabalǰa-*. In the SH *čo-* > *šo-* is well attested (see HW, 143), but *či-* > *ši-* is not, thus the form *šičabalǰa-* is most unusual, although *či-* > *ši-* does occur in Dagur and other dialects. See IMCS, 111-112. In any event, the initial *ši-* of the SH is confirmed by the corrupt form

silmalǰǰu of AT[1], 6b. See ATL, 17, where 'silbelǰiǰü' is an incorrect reading of the word. Cf. MNTLAT, 7.

Page 264 (§ 21): For an important study of Mongol symbolism (of colours, directions, gestures, numbers, etc.) see MBZTBZ, as well as the other contributions to the subject by S. Dulam.

Page 265 (§ 21), line 9: *after* 17-19 *insert* ; and Lxagva 2009, for a more recent interpretation of the SH legendary account and the identity of the 'resplendent yellow man'. For the folklore themes of Alan Qo'a conceiving from light, of breaking the bundle of arrows and of the younger brother's dispossession of property and departure from home see also E.I. Kyčanov in *Mongolica VII* (St. Petersburg): 2007, 57-58.

Page 265 (§ 21), line 13 from bottom: *after* 202 *insert* ; MNTSu, 79-84.

Page 266 (§ 22), line 6 from bottom: *after* 227; *insert* L. Bold in MNTTS, 260-267;

Page 268 (§ 24), fifth para.: For SH *qol* see below, Page 440 (§ 118).

Page 269 (§ 24), second para.: Regarding the interpretation of Bodončar's utterance, G. Kara (p.c.) writes: 'Because of the 3rd person possessive pronoun *inu*, it seems that Bodončar's sentences *üke'esü inu üküsügei. a'asu inu asuqai* in § 24 cannot mean 'If I die, I die …', but 'If (the horse) die, let me die(, me too). If (the horse) live (= survive), let me live(, me too).' Indeed, this was also the way the text was understood by A. Mostaert (Mo, 95) and originally by me in *PFEH* 4: 1971, 122. The same interpretation is found in Uray-Kőhalmi 1970, 250, and is followed by several other translators which I mention on p. 269. The problem with the words in question is that the Ming translators who prepared the sectional summary understood them as meaning 'No matter (*yu-t'a* 由他) if I die, I die, if I live, I live' (Y[2]1, 16a). Both Haenisch and Pelliot, who followed the Chinese version, misunderstood the expression *yu-t'a* and took *t'a* 他 as the counterpart of *inu* 'his, its', referring to the horse. The AT[1], 6b, paraphrases the sentence but in a way that confirms the interpretation of the sectional summary:

'Whether I die (or) whether I live, let my destiny decide!' (*ükübesü abasu ǰayaγan minu medetügei*). Both Palladiĭ and Waley understood the Chinese version correctly, recognizing *yu-t'a* as an old vernacular expression (Pa, 27; Waley 1960, 523). See also KRS, I, 613a. Now, either the Mongol manuscript used by the authors of the sectional summary did not have *inu* after *ükü'esü* and *a'asu*, or *inu* in the present instance is not the pronoun but the subject designator. In the recent versions of the SH such as Čo[1], Ar[1], Ar[2] and Do-Er, Bodončar's words are understood as in Cl and RSH. Cf. also OGYDMT, 190-191.

Page 270 (§ 25), after line 10 insert new para.: For the verb *asara-* 'to take care, rear, nourish' see Ölmez 2007.

Page 270 (§ 26), lines 23-24: 'He got through that year' (*tere hon qarba*). For the term *hon* and the terminology of time in the SH and in Middle Mongolian see Rybatzki 2003 (esp. pp. 256-257); Kara 2006 (esp. p. 31).

Page 271 (§ 27), line 12 from bottom: *after* 385 *insert* ; and, more recently, Dašnyam 2011.

Page 272 (§ 28), first para.: Mount Düyiren and numerous other unidentified localities in the SH have been discussed in Luvsandorž 2010 and 2011. However, in view of the many complex problems relating to both geography and etymology raised in these two contributions, I intend to review the identifications proposed by the author in a separate study.

Page 273 (§ 31): G. Kara (p.c.) writes: 'As to *qa'a* "where" (§ 31) and *qaya yaya* "occasionally", see also *qamiγ-a yaγun-a* in Sonom Gara's pre-classical *Erdeni-yin sang* [see DES, 227–I.R.]. *Qasi* and *qayasi* are as dialectal forms as MNT [= *Mongqol-un niuča tobča'an*–I.R.] *qa'a* vs. (the more archaic dialectal) mo. *qamiya* or *čayasi* vs. *činaγsi*'.

Page 276 (§ 36), line 10: *after* 9. *add* For the syntactical and stylistic characteristics of the narrative in §§ 33-36 see Manlažav 2004/05, 43.

Page 277 (§ 39), line 25: *after* slaves.' *insert* See Rykin 2004, 15, 18-20; EDMM, s.v.

Page 278 (§ 40), line 17: *after* 24. *add* For *ǰat* < tu. *yat* see below. This word occurs a few times in preclassical texts, and we find the expression *ǰad kümün* 'stranger(s)' in both the *Erdeni-yin sang Subašida* and the Mongolian *Hsiao-ching*. See DES, 128; Cleaves 2001c, 86 [19v], 99-100, n. 107.

Page 278 (§ 40), line 14 from bottom: *after* n. 1 *insert* ; Kara 2001a, 95; Rybatzki 2011, 195.

Page 278 (§ 40), line 10 from bottom: *after* 64. *add* Cf. Pop 2006a, 250.

Page 278 (§ 40), line 6 from bottom: *after* 27. *insert* Cf. also T. Hasumi in UÜGI, 351-355.

Page 279 (§ 41), first para.: For *mene(n)* and the expression *mene metü* see now Čerengsodnam 2006, 1-3 (1); MNTSu, 6-10.

Page 280 (§ 42), line 2: *after* cit. *add* ; MYSYCTK, 270-280; Schönig 2006, 237.

Page 280 (§ 42), line 3: *after* passim *insert* ; PTMD, 465b, s.v. *qadagi ~ qatagi*; 688a-b, s.v. *salji*.

Page 280 (§ 43): The Mongol text of this section begins with the words *Bodončar-un a(b)lin eme-deče töreksen Barim Ši'iratu Qabiči neretü büle'e* 'From the wife that Bodončar himself had taken was born a son named Barim Ši'iratu Qabiči' (SH, ll. 930-931; RSH, 8). In Y^1 and $Y^2$1, 25b (§ 43), as well as on p. 28a (§ 46), the Chinese transcription fails to transcribe the *b* of *ablin* 'the wife that one takes oneself', i.e. the first and 'legitimate' wife (as opposed to a captured wife or concubine), which is however present (as *pu* ⊦ = *b*) in both occurrences in Y^3, 632b and 633a. SH *ablin* corresponds to mo. *abali*, *abaγali*, but it is in the SH form *ablin* that we find it in AT^1, 8b and 9a. The reason why the *b* has dropped out in Y^1 and Y^2 is simple: in the transcription system of these two editions, both deriving from the 'Ku certified text', that letter is transcribed with a small size *pu* ⊦ placed to the right of the word at a point corresponding to the place it occupies in the word. Cf., e.g., the word *abliqa* in Y^2 6, 53a3 (last word). It is very easy for a copyist or blockprint carver to miss it, and this is exactly what

happened with the word *ablin* but not with *abliqa*.[9] In Y^3, the copyist in order to simplify his work has moved the ⊦ from the side to the body of the word, thus confusing the reader who would then read it as *bu*. This unwarranted move has misled P.O. Rykin who, in fact, read the word as *abulin* (Rykin 2008a). The etymology proposed by Rykin is likewise incorrect: *abli(n)* is a deverbal noun in *-li* (GWM, § 162) from *ab-* 'to take a wife'. See EDMM, s.v.

Page 280 (§ 43), last line: *after* 162 *insert* ; cf. also Kempf 2010/11, 200.

Page 281 (§ 43), first para.: With regard to the *ǰügeli* ceremony referred to in this section and the horse sacrifice described by modern travellers attesting to its survival among the Buriats, G. Kara (p.c.) has pointed out that while Western Buriat shamanism 'has indeed traces of Tibeto-Mongolian Buddhist influence … their horse sacrifice also described by Jeremiah Curtain has no Buddhist elements', and that 'the Armenian historian Movses Kałankatvaci describes the similar sacrifice of the Khazars'. Further data on the term *ǰügeli* (*ǰükeli*, *ǰüküli*) are found in Hashimoto 2004, Čerengsodnam 2006, 3-4 (2), and Rykin 2010a, 284-287.

Page 282 (§ 44), line 20: *after* et passim *insert* ; and T. Hasumi's important remarks on J̌e'üredei, his clan and the sacrifice in UÜGI, 355-357.

Page 283 (§ 45), lines 13-15: *delete references to* Ecsedy 1965 *and* Oda 1974

Page 283 (§ 45), fourth para.: For the etymology of the name Menen cf. PTMD, 610a-b; MNTSu, 6-10. With regard to the Turkic title *tudun* (*todun*), Rybatzki 2008, 136, writes: 'The MMo. title *tudun* (*todun*) is for sure of Tu. origin, but the Chin. origin of the Tu. word is not sure at all, it might also be possible that this title was adopted from OT into Chin. (as f. ex. stated by DOERFER). Furthermore, a strict distinction should be

[9] See Ul, 13a and 14b. This and similar omissions are quite common in the Chinese text of the SH. Cf. Hung 1951, 455-456. The omission of the *b* is found also in the very transcription of the book title in Y^2 1, 1a1.

made between OT, MTu. *todun* a military title (> MMo. *tudun*; Ry 06. 346-347, 356 [Ry 06 = PTMD–I.R.]) and Uig. *tutung* a Buddhist title (Ry 06. 356-357, 442-444; MORIYASU forthcoming); the article of Oda refers to the Buddhist title and not the military one, and for this reason it should be taken away from the commentary.' The Chinese origin of tu. *tudun* (*todun*) > mmo. *tudun* proposed by G.J. Ramstedt (see P. Aalto, ed., *Aufsätze und Vorträge von G.J. Ramstedt*, *JSFOu* 55: 1951, 75) is indeed doubtful but it cannot be excluded. This title in its Chinese transcription *t'u-t'un* 吐屯 occurs sporadically in T'ang texts as a Turkic title designating a Censor (*yü-shih* 御史). See DOTIC, no. 7356; CWTTZ, 3359.6. It was never used *as a Chinese official title*, and (as we would expect) it is not mentioned in the LTCKP. Also, *tudun* was not a military title but a civilian one. Cf. TMEN, no. 1194; ED, 457b. However, it should certainly not be confused with the Buddhist title *tutung*; therefore, the reference to Oda 1987 must be deleted as well as the reference to Ecsedy 1965 for the same reason. The article by T. Moriyasu to which Rybatzki refers has since been published. See Moriyasu 2008, 207-210 (for *tutung*).

Page 284 (§ 46), line 16: *for* [2003], s.v. *read* 2007, 223; PTMD, 636b-637b.

Page 284 (§ 46), second para.: With regard to the folk etymology of the clan name Buda'at originating from the fact that they 'did not have a head (= chief) (*eki teri'ün üge'ün*) when they cooked (lit. "stirred") porridge (*buda'an*)', we encounter for the first time in the SH the word *üge'ün* (pmo. *ügegün*), plural of *üge'ü(i)* (pmo. *ügegü[i]*), mo. *ügegü* ~ *ügegüü*, *ügegüi*, pl. *ügegün* (cf. ETI, II, 230a) 'without, -less, having no …; having nothing, poor, deprived of'. The orthography of mo. *ügegüü*, with double *ü*, merely indicates that the final *ü* is long. The form in *-i* is a variant, like *mayu*, *mayui*, *mayun*, see SG, 295-299 (esp. p. 297), and RSH, 375. (In §§ 17 and 35 the anomalous forms *ügei'üi* [= *üge'üi*] and *ügei'ün* [= *üge'ün*] occur.) The word *ügegü* (mmo. *üge'ü*) is explained by Sečenčoγtu (MÜIT, 2621a) as the neg. *ügei* 'no, without' + the

den. noun suff. *-γu/-gü* forming nouns designating qualities. This suffix is not registered in GWM nor in other Mongolian grammars. Sečenčoγtu lists other examples of its usage. Cf. the Turkic den. noun suff. *-γu/-gü*, GOT, 104 (11); AG, 62, § 60. For the forms *üge'ü* and *üge'üi* in the SH see §§ 152 and 208 respectively. On all these forms cf. also DES, 305-308; Cleaves 1954, 89, n. 9.

Page 285 (§ 46), line 10: *after* respectively *insert* ; Schönig 2006, 236.

Page 285 (§ 46): For the expression *a(b)lin eme* which occurs at the end of this section see above, Page 280 (§ 43).

Page 286 (§ 47), line 7: *after* 207 *insert* ; Schönig 2009, 144-146

Page 286 (§ 47), line 17: *after* 770 *insert* ; UÜGI, 124-126; and PTMD, 705a-706a, for other interpretations of this title. The above interpretation is the most likely one.

Page 286 (§ 47), first para.: With regard to the title *senggüm*, Rybatzki 2008, 136, writes: 'Besides Chin. *hsiang-kung*, there are several other possibilities to explain MMo. *senggüm*, borrowed into MMo. from Chin. through Uig. and/or Khitan (cf. Ry 06. 707-709 [= PTMD, 706a-707b–I.R.]'. For this common title or designation in Kitan see KLS, 128 (3, 243): **sianggung* 'lord'. Cf. below, Page 589 (§ 162). It is not really very clear whether the SH transcription reflects a front- or back-vocalic word.

Page 286 (§ 47), second para.: The etymology of the name Tayiči'ut (w.f. Tayičiγud), explained as '< *tayiǰi* [ch. *t'ai-tzu* 太子] son of a prince' (GWM, § 274; cf. Poppe 1975, 165), is not certain. Cf. HCG, 13.

Page 288 (§ 48), line 15: *after* 60. *add* Rybatzki 2008, 136, has questioned the derivation of mmo. *otčigin* < tu. *ot* + *tigin* and suggested instead the following development: tu. *ot* 'fire' > den. noun **otči* 'guardian of the fire' > mo. (den. noun) *otčigin*; for the suff. *-gin* cf. *borǰigin* < *borǰi/n* (PTMD, 27b-28a, 261b). I do not find this etymology very satisfactory, first with regard to the meaning of tu. *otči* (which normally = *otači* 'physician', cf. ED, 44a), and to the function of the suff. *-gin* both in Turkic,

where it is a dev. noun suff., and in Mongolian where it occurs only in names of tribes and clans. See AG, 203; Poppe 1975, 165. Even allowing for a hypothetical **otči* 'fire master (< smith)', *otčigin* in the present context clearly cannot be regarded as a clan or tribal name.

Pages 288-289 (§ 49): According to Rybatzki 2008, 136-137, the Middle Mongolian titles *beki* and *begi* should be distinguished from each other. See also PTMD, 231a-232a and 233b-234b (esp. p. 234a). The title *begi* would then only be the designation of a princess, *begi* being 'ein mit Kulturfunktionen beauftragtes Stammesmitglied'. Unfortunately, as outlined in my note to § 49, the overall picture that emerges from a comparison of the Persian and Chinese sources—the latter being quite inconsistent and unreliable—vis-à-vis the SH is anything but clear-cut, as also shown by Rybatzki in PTMD, 234a. The matter, in my opinion, is still *sub judice*.

Page 291 (§ 50), first para.: Rybatzki 2008, 137, suggests that the name Mönggetü may not derive from mmo. *möngge* = mo. *mengge* 'beauty spot, mole, birthmark' (> *menggetü* 'having a birthmark or birthmarks, or beauty spot[s]'), but from mmo. *möngke* ~ *möngge* 'eternal, everlasting' > mmo. *mönggetü* ≈ uig. *mänggülüg* 'éternel, relevant de l'éternel, de l'éternité'. See PTMD, 608a. I beg to disagree with Rybatzki on two grounds: 1. while *mäŋgülüg* is well attested as a noun in Uighur, its Mongolian counterpart *möngketü* 'eternal' is not;[10] in any event, it would be a most unusual proper name, and 2. mo. *menggetü*, on the other hand, is an ideal proper name and, indeed, used as such. See, e.g., DO, 463a. In the corresponding passage in AT[1], 9b, we find 'Mengge-tü', not 'Möngke-tü', see ATL, 25. Cf. AT[8], 591, 9b (penult. line). Moreover, the meaning of the name ('a man who has many beauty spots') is confirmed by Rašīd al-Dīn. See HCG, 117. A Turkic homonym is *meŋlig* attested in the MA, 235b, as also noted by Pelliot, loc.cit. Cf. the SH form Mönglik (§ 68, etc.).

[10] I doubt whether in fact a word *mönggetü* ~ *möngketü* 'eternal' actually exists in Mongolian.

Page 292 (§ 50), line 11: *after* 192. *insert* For the still uncertain etymology of the title *bayatur* see V. Rybatzki's remarks in Rybatzki 2008, 137, as well as PTMD, 209a-210a. The long entry on it in TMEN, no. 817, is still the best survey of this term.

Page 293 (§ 50), end of page, add as last para.: The verb *qurimla-* 'to hold a feast' is a denominal verb in *-la/-le* from *qurim* 'a (ritual) feast or banquet', itself a deverbal noun in *-m* from pmo. *quri-* 'to assemble, meet together'. For the Mongolian 'cultural term' *qurim* see now SFQ[1], 93 and n. 35.

Page 294 (§ 51), line 7: *after* Cėrėnsodnom, *insert* Bayar,

Page 294 (§ 51), line 9: *after* 10-28 *insert* ; see also UÜGI, 263-266.

Page 295 (§ 51), line 8 from bottom: *after* 15-16 *insert* ; PTMD, 422b-425a.

Page 296 (§ 52), line 12: *delete* and *and after* 1989a *insert* IČKH, 103-112, and MCWH, 213. According to Pürėvdorž (MNTČX, 130), the Xamag Mongol Uls was established in 1182 (!).

Page 297 (§ 52), line 7: *after* 374ff. *insert* ; and, especially, de Rachewiltz 2006 for the establishment of the Yeke Mongγol Ulus.

Page 297 (§ 52), line 4 from bottom: *after* 3 *add* ; Skrynnikova 2005b and 2010.

Page 298 (§ 52), first para.: In recent years the issue of *qamuq Mongqol ulus* (and the related one of Yeke Mongγol Ulus), as well as the role of Qabul Qan have resurfaced again with contributions by Ž. Gėrėlbadrakh, T.D. Skrynnikova, I. de Rachewiltz and N.N. Kradin. See Gėrėlbadrakh 2005 and 2010, Skrynnikova 2005, de Rachewiltz 2006, and Kradin 2007/08. In his interesting paper Kradin discusses some passages from early Chinese sources on the Mongols and their interpretation, with special reference to earlier contributions on the subject by E.I. Kyčanov (see below). The following is a summary of his argument. In N. Munkuev's translation of the MTPL we read that 'In the old days, the state of the Mongqus existed' and how, according to a report by Li Liang [a Chin subject of the middle

of the 12th c. –I.R.], the ruler of the Mongols had assumed the title of 'forefather of the dynasty and first enlightened august emperor'. (Kradin, op.cit., 145; cf. MDBL, 50, 122. For the Chinese text see ibid., 248; MTPL, 3b.) Kradin then quotes a passage from the '*T'ung-chien kang-mu*'[11] according to which in 1147, i.e. under the Chin ruler Hsi-tsung 熙宗 (r. 1135-1150), there was 'a Mongol kingdom' called in Chinese 'Da-meng-gu guo' (= Ta Meng-ku kuo 大蒙古國) or 'Kingdom of the Great Mongol' established by a Mongolian 'elder', i.e. chieftain, named 'Kholobo Jinye (Jurchen *aolo bochile*—author's note)'. Afterwards, the Mongolian chief took the title of 'Zu-yuan-huan-di, forefather-emperor' (ibid., 145-146). In Kyčanov 1980, 146, the eminent Russian scholar laments the fact that Munkuev 'in spite of the abundant comments to the text does not comment on this passage'. Commenting on the passage in question, Kradin (op.cit., 146) writes: 'Most researches identify absolutely rightly the Mongolian chief Kholobo with Qabul qahan. His conflicts with the Jurchen had begun ten years ago after an abortive attempt was made to capture him by order of the Jurchen emperor Xi-zong. True, there are great doubts that in this case one can also tell about the state because the above source reports below: "When the first polity of today's Tatars appeared (they) had no written documents. In all cases, when the orders were distributed, the ambassadors were sent everywhere and (at that) only signs were cut out".[12] The acceptance of the notorious title and declaration of a splendid name are graphic evidence of the pretensions of the Mongolian chief to recognition in international affairs, but is not proof that the state has appeared as the institution. This is confirmed by the fact that, after the death of Qabul qahan and murder of Ambaqai-qahan and the successful foray to Jin, Qutula was not aware of the existence of the powerful imperial confederation in the Mongolian steppe.' In the case of the passage from the

[11] I.e., the HTCTC, VII, 3372, from the old and unreliable translation by N.Ya. Bičurin (Iakinf), see SSNOSA, I, 379. Cf. IDVČSA, 79, where the same passage is correctly cited from the HTCTC.

MTPL to which Kyčanov and Kradin refer, the text says only that 'Formerly there was the Meng-ku-ssu 蒙古斯 (Mongγus) kuo 國'. Ch. *kuo* 國 renders mmo. *ulus* which in this early period (12th c.) meant only 'people (= tribesmen), tribe' or 'confederation of tribes (under one leader)'. Cf. HW, 163. The notion of 'nation, state' is a later extension of the original meaning of *ulus* which came into force after the unification of the tribes of Mongolia by Činggis Qan, his election as supreme leader, and the creation of a complex socio-political and administrative structure to deal with domestic issues, foreign relations and military expansion, i.e. with post-1206 developments. Cf. my note to § 53 in RSH, 303. In modern terminology, the *ulus* can indeed be defined a 'chiefdom', as correctly stated in Kradin 2007/08, 146ff., but this definition would only apply to the period *before* the Mongol confederation or chiefdom (*Mongqol ulus*) became the Great Mongol Nation (*Yeke Mongqol Ulus*) in or about 1211, a process I have discussed in detail in de Rachewiltz 2006. As for the passage in the '*T'ung-chien kang-mu*', it is, I am afraid, a rather garbled version of accounts that ultimately derive from the CYILCYTC and TCKC. These two works by Sung scholars who were roughly contemporaries were compiled in 1216/17 and 1234 respectively. They do mention the Ta Meng-ku kuo 大蒙古國, but by then this was the official designation of the Mongol dynasty and empire. In the TCKC, this designation is inadvertently used for the correct form Meng(-ku) kuo 蒙(古) 國; it occurs only on one occasion and not in the passage quoted by Kradin.[12] Also, in the TCKC the name of the Mongol elder/chieftain is not 'Kholobo Jinye', but Ao-lo Po-chi-lieh 敖羅孛極烈, 'Kholobo Jinye' being obviously an

[12] TCKC 12, 3a; 22, 3a. Cf. TCKCCC 12, p. 176; 22, p. 298. Thus, in TCKC 22, 3a, we also find the designation Ta Chin 大金 and Chin Kuo 金國 next to each other. Such inconsistencies are quite common in the TCKC which is largely a compilation from different sources.

erroneous reconstruction of the chieftain's name by Bičurin.[13] As for the CYILCYTC, its author Li Hsin-ch'uan 李心傳 specifically states that the Mongols designated themselves, i.e. their state, as Ta Meng-ku kuo *at the time of the invasion of Chin*, viz. in or after 1211, not before. See de Rachewiltz 2006, 54 and nn. 5, 7.[14] Therefore, 1. no direct connection with Qabul Qan can be established from the above-mentioned account, and 2. the existence of a Ta Meng-ku kuo in 1147 rests on false premises and must consequently be discarded. For a clear chronological exposition of these events with verbatim citations of the relevant Chinese sources see KTCL, II, ch. 15, 5b-7b. Cf. Wang Kuo-wei's commentary in MTPL, 3a-b, and CG, 16-20. Essentially the confusion and resulting debate on this issue are simply due to the use of the term *kuo* 國 in the 13th c. Chinese sources to render mmo. *ulus*, and the evolving meaning of *ulus* in the Mongol society of the 12th-13th c. The interpretation of *qamuq Mongqol* is also discussed in Skrynnikova 2005 in relation to the Mongqol-Tayiči'ut rivalry and conflict. See below, Pages 315-316. As for Gėrėlbadrakh 2005, the author's conclusion that Qabul, Ambaqai, Qutula and Činggis were not the qans of the 'Qamuγ Mongγol ulus', but of the 'Mongγol ulus' can only be true (in the case of the first three and of Činggis *up to 1211*) if by *ulus* is meant a 'tribal confederation' (rus. *plemennaya konfederaciya*) rather than a 'nation' or 'state' (rus. *gosudarstvo*) as I believe Gėrėlbadrakh understands it. Cf. Bilgüüdėĭ 2012. It is unfortunate, therefore, that P.A. Golden should give as an established fact the

[13] Incidentally, there is nothing recognizably Mongolian about the chieftain's name, the second element of which is a Chinese transcription of the old Jurchen title **begile* 'chief, overseer' (cf. mo. *daruγa*), which is generally considered the Jurchen form of ma. *beile* 'prince of the third rank'. See DOTIC, nos. 4721, 4526. Cf. HTCTC, VII, 3372, where the Jurchen term has been converted to *pei-le* 貝勒, i.e. *beile*. Vasil'ev (IDVČSA, 79) suggested otu. *uluγ* 'great' for the first element. However, in my opinion such a hybrid combination is rather unlikely.

[14] I take this opportunity to correct a typo in this article: p. 54, n. 7, l. 2, *for* 字 *read* 記.

existence of the 'Qamugh Mongghol Ulus' or 'State of all the Mongols' under Qabul Qan and his successors. See CHIA, 21.

Pages 300-301 (§ 53): For the early relations between the Tatars and the Kitans cf. the interesting references to Old Turkic inscriptions given in Rybatzki 2008, 137. For the Tatar tribe cf. also Schönig 2006, 234 and n. 50.

Page 302 (§ 53), line 21: *after* 16 *insert* ; Schönig 2006, 236 (8).

Page 303 (§ 53), line 6 from bottom: *after* 21; *insert* Jackson 1999;

Page 303 (§ 53): For the different connotations of the term *ulus* in the 12th-13th c. see also above, Page 298 (§ 52); Rykin 2004, 7-10, and Kradin & Skrynnikova 2006. For *irgen* see ibid., 13-15; Rykin 2004a, 3ff., 15-23.

Page 306 (§ 54), first para.: For the expression *öki qatu* cf. also the similar compound *qïz qoduz* in Old Turkic. See Rybatzki 2008, 137.

Page 306 (§ 54), line 9: *after* 17 *add* ; Ulaan 2003.

Page 307 (§ 55), line 13: *after* 971a. *add* For the expression *qoši'un qučilis* cf. S. Dulam in MNTTS, 268-278.

Page 307 (§ 55), line 15 from bottom: *for* [2003]. s.v. *read* 2007, 222.

Page 310 (§ 56), line 4: *after* 509 *add* ; and, more recently, Rykin 2005 and Rykin 2011, 32, 41, 45.

Page 310 (§ 56), lines 12-13: *delete* and *and after* 257 *insert* ; and Bayar & Ėrdėnėbat 2011.

Page 310 (§ 56), fourth para.: Rybatzki 2008, 137, comments as follows on the etymology of *ke'er*: 'The connection of MMo. *keher* (*sic*) and Tu. *kögär* "*greenish" is morphologically and phonetically highly improbable, cf. for Tu. *kögär-* "to become blue, green, etc." LAUDE-CIRTAUTAS (1961.78, 80); for a similar problematic etymology, cf. BLÄSING (forthcoming).' Cf. also EDMM, s.v. While I agree that there is a morphological problem, *phonetically* a connection of mmo. *ke'er* (pmo. *keger*) with tu. **kögär* cannot be regarded as highly improbable.

Page 311 (§ 56), line 9: *after* 624a *insert* ; Bayar & Ėrdėnėbat 2011.

Pages 312-313 (§ 56): For the second alliterative passage of § 56 which presents several problems of interpretation, besides the already cited Čoyima 2001a see also MNTMSB, 46-64.

Page 313 (§ 56), line 7: *after* 436). *insert* Cf. also MNTMSB, 46ff., for mmo. *qayila-* 'to call, shout', mo. 'to cry, weep'.

Page 315 (§ 57), line 18: *after* n. 51; *insert* Vovin 2007;

Pages 315-316 (§ 57): For a perceptive discussion of Mongqol-Tayiči'ut rivalry for succession to the leadership over all the clans of these two closely related tribes see Skrynnikova 2005.

Page 318 (§ 57), line 1: *after* 1966. *insert* For this traditional ceremony, as well as for solemn oaths of loyalty, at times also involving the Leafy Tree of the Qorqonaq Valley (§§ 59, 117, 123, 141), see also Bazarov & Nyam-Osor 2004. Regrettably the authors have used Ko throughout. For the relationship between ritual acts (such as oaths) and the use of poetic form among the early Mongols see Baldanmaksarova 2003.

Page 318 (§ 58), sixth para.: On the concept of vengeance and retribution among the early Mongols, and its much discussed corollary of 'genocide' as collective punishment for entire ethnic groups, see the forthcoming paper 'Central Eurasia: Genocide as a Way of Life?' by P.D. Buell.

Page 320 (§ 59), line 3: *after* 'bull.' *add* For this word as a proper name see PTMD, 203b-205b; MNTSu, 11-18.

Page 320 (§ 59), line 19: *after* 18. *insert* Cf. C. Cėrėndorž in MNTTS, 329-335.

Page 320 (§ 59), line 10 from bottom: *after* 251. *add* For a recent review of the various options see GKLDR, 87-91. I am still convinced that the exact site cannot be identified with any degree of certainty. Cf. Dašnyam 2006. However, for the sake of completeness, I think one should revisit Pelliot's references to the site in NMP, I, 282, as well as VAP, II, 226, which is omitted in NMP.

Page 321 (§ 59), line 12: *after* 10 April 2002 *insert* ; MNTMSB, 256-272. Cf. Cėrėnsodnom 2010.

Page 321 (§ 59), line 13: *after* CS 1962 *insert* (see CSIA, 331-352)

Pages 321-322 (§ 59): For the symbolism of the newborn child Temüǰin holding a clot of blood in his right hand and the evolution of the story, which was later re-interpreted under the influence of Buddhist ideology, thus affecting the 'historicity' of the original version and the 'history conception of the ancient Mongols', see Ulaan 2007.

Page 322 (§ 59), line 12: *after* 248-249 *add* ; Franke H 2005; and PTMD, 390a-391a. The form 'Temüjen' used in EBGW, 147ff., is incorrect.

Page 323 (§ 60), line 11: *after* 167 *insert* ; Rybatzki 2007, 218; PTMD, 391b.

Page 325 (§ 61), line 2 from bottom: *after* n. 1 *insert* ; Kempf 2010/11, 196-197, 199-200.

Page 326 (§ 61), first para.: On weddings and marriage customs in the Mongolian society of the time see now MNTDYZS, 119-146.

Page 326 (§ 61), line 13: *after* 85-86 *insert* ; and Pop 2006, 101-102;

Page 327 (§ 61), line 14: *after* p. 18); *insert* Cleaves 1950, 12-16;

Page 327 (§ 62), line 7 from bottom: *after* n. 1. *add* Cf. also Pop 2006, 93-97; EDMM, s.v.

Pages 327-328 (§ 62): 'Who has fire in his eyes, …'. For another example of the use of this common simile in medieval Mongol lore see the biography of the Uighur official Muŋsuz (1204-67) in YS[2] 124, 3059, where Činggis Qan is reported to have employed it with reference to the sixteen-year old Muŋsuz when he first met him in Central Asia. (G. Kara, p.c.) The SH text has *nidür-tür-iyen qaltu* (AT[1], 14a: *nidün-dür-iyen γal-tu*), not *nidüntüriyen čoqtu* as in Ligeti 2012, 173.

Page 328 (§ 63), line 5 from bottom: *after* 288. *add* For mantic dreams and prophecy in the SH see also below, Page 449 (§ 121), line 4 from bottom, and de Rachewiltz 2007, 122, 129-130.

Page 331 (§ 63), line 15: *after* 248; *insert* Sárközi 2008;

Pages 331-332 (§ 64): Regarding *qasaq (tergen)*, the designation of a particular type of cart, Rybatzki 2008, 137-138, writes: 'It

is not possible, in my opinion, to connect *qasaq* "cart" with the ethnic name Kazakh at this point of history, as a distinct ethnic group known as Kazakh arose only in the mid-fifteenth century when parts of the White Horde broke away from the Khan of the Özbeks. However, in the mid-fifteenth century *qasaq* "cart" may have functioned as a namegiving element for the Kazakhs, in the same way as the ethnic name *qanglï* < Tu. *qanglï* "wagon, cart, carriage" (Ry 06.516); …' Further on Rybatzki gives also references to mural paintings of two-wheeled carts and to additional material on the subject. I should like to point out, however, that the term *qasaq* in the SH (Y^2 1, 44b3) is not glossed 'cart': the compound *qasaq tergen*, lit. '*qasaq*-cart', is glossed 'a large cart' (大車). *Qasaq* is, therefore, a term qualifying *tergen* 'cart' and as such it cannot simply mean 'cart'. The fact that *qasaq* later came to be used *tout court* for a particular type of cart may be compared to ital. *berlina* 'a four-wheeled heavy luxury cart' < Berlin, its place of origin. Also, we must stress that the later *qasaγ* (*terge*), bur. *xahag tėrgė*, apparently designated a different type of cart from the one of the SH, since the former was akin to a gig and the latter to a larger, more stately conveyance. The cart that was used to carry Činggis' coffin all the way from Kansu to Burqan Qaldun/ Khentei Khan was, according to Saγang Sečen (ET^1, 41v07, 41v17), also a *qasaγ* cart. In the ET^1 this obviously stately carriage is mentioned once as a *qasaγ tergen* and twice (41v17 and 42r23) simply as *qasaγ*.

Page 333 (§ 65), line 14 from bottom: *after* fin. *add* Cf., however, Lubsangdorji 2011, 31-32, for the latest criticism.

Page 335 (§ 66), line 10 from bottom: *after* 136 *insert* ; Rykin 2011a, 205, n. 13.

Pages 338-339 (§§ 67-68): The use of poison in Mongolian society and its role in the political tradition of the Mongols is discussed in Endicott-West 1993. In § 67 we find the first explicit mention of murder in the SH (Ambaqai's cruel and ignominious execution by the Chin ruler is passed over in § 53;

see RSH, 302). Violent death is, of course, a recurring theme in the SH. On the subject see Veit 2003. Cf. also Veit 2010, 576ff.

Page 339 (§ 68), line 14 from bottom: *after* 167 *add* ; PTMD, 317b.

Page 340 (§ 68), first para.: Regarding the etymology of the name Mönglik cf. Rybatzki 2008, 138; however, Rybatzki's reservations on its Turkic origin are unwarranted. See above, Page 291.

Pages 341-344 (§ 70): For the '*qaǰaru inerü*' sacrifice about which so much has been written, see now MOS, 328-332. Unfortunately, Qurčabilig, like Damdinsürėn and others before him, misreads *qaǰaru* as *qaǰar-a* thus invalidating his argument. Cf. also Rykin 2010a, 258, n. 1. D. Cėrėnsodnom's remarks in AMBMS, 318-320, are inconclusive, as are those by V. Rybatzki in EDMM, 101a-b. As for the site of Avarga or Avraga (p. 342) see below, Page 502 (§ 136).

Page 342 (§ 70), first line: *after* 68). *add* For the directive suffix *-ru/-rü* cf. Erickson 2002.

Page 342 (§ 70): For the latest speculation on the 'Ancestors' place' identified with 'Uglugchiin chateau' (i.e. Öglögčiin Xėrėm) see MNTOZS, 59-63. See also Ulziibayar 2011. As for the various connotations of the word *yeke* (pl. *yekes*) 'great, etc.' which occurs frequently in the SH (see RSH, 1341b-1342a) cf. also Punsag 2010.

Page 344 (§ 70), first para.: For the shamanist ritual described in this section, as well as for those mentioned in §§ 189, 193 and 198, see now Sarangėrėl 2012.

Page 345 (§ 70), line 10: *after* 4) *add* ; Rybatzki 2011, 197.

Page 346 (§ 72), between lines 4 and 5 insert new para.: For the connotations of the term *arqa* (= *arγa*) 'scheme, plan' in the expression *arqa-ča*, on which see Mo, 22-23, cf. my remarks in de Rachewiltz 2008, 162, n. 44.

Page 346 (§ 72), line 16: *after* 16. *insert* Cf., however, Rybatzki 2004, 169; PTMD, 422a.

Page 347 (§ 72), line 11: *after* 3. *add* See N.A. Lifanov in *Mongolica VII* (St. Petersburg): 2007, 59-61; cf. also Skrynnikova 2010.

Page 347 (§ 72), line 13: *for* other *read* other(s)

Page 347 (§ 72), line 15: *after* 50-51. *insert* See also the discussion in Čoĭmaa 2001b, reprinted and expanded in MNTMSB, 65-97.

Page 348 (§ 72), line 18: *after* 4a). *insert* G. Kara (p.c.) remarks as follows: 'The word *čeügen* "bright" may be related to, but not identical with, *čegēn*, a derivation from *če-* as in *čeyi-* "to be whitish", a verbal stem similar to *čayi-*, *ulayi-*, *yuduyi-*, etc., with adverbial derivations *čayis*, *ulayis*, *yudus*, etc.'

Page 348 (§ 72), line 11 from bottom: *after* 130. *add* And, for the parallel construction of this and similar sayings in the SH, see Manlažav 2004/05, 44ff.

Page 350 (§ 73), line 6 from bottom: *after* 861 *insert* ; as well as D. Sinor in *JA* 239: 1951, 222.

Page 351 (§ 73), end of section, add new para.: For some critical remarks concerning the events described in §§ 72 and 73, see T. Hasumi in UÜGI, 358-362.

Page 353 (§ 74), third para.: With regard to Hö'elün's skirt vis-à-vis the robe/costume worn by Mongol men see Dang B 2003, 199ff.

Page 354 (§ 74), line 6 from bottom: *after* n. 5 *insert* ; Sárközi 2009, 161.

Page 355 (§ 74), line 21: *after* 63ff. *add* Tugusheva 2006; de Rachewiltz 2007, 122; IČKH, 303; Allsen 2009.

Pages 355-356 (§ 74): For more taxonomical details concerning the *čigörsün* tree, viz. the northern or Siberian spruce (*Picea abies* as *P. obovata*), see Ahokas 2006, 20a.

Page 357 (§ 74), line 19: *after* attained to *insert* (= succeeded in)

Page 358 (§ 74), first para.: Concerning the lily bulbs, G. Kara (p.c.) informs me that they are still gathered and eaten in the Khangai area in Mongolia. As for the edible plants used by Hö'elün see now also SFQ[1], 37-38, and Munkh-Amgalan Shimunek 2005. Since the article (in Chinese) by Khasbagan and Imzab cited in lines 9-12 of page 358 is especially relevant to all the plants mentioned in §§ 74 and 75 (see Khasbagan & Imzab 1992, 130-138), the identifications proposed by the two authors are the following: 1. *ölirsün* (§ 74) = *Malus baccata* (L.) Borkh.; 2. *moyilsun* (§ 74) = *Prunus padus* L.; 3. *südün* (§ 74) = *Sanguisorba officinalis* L.; 4. *čičigina* (§ 74) = *Potentilla anserina* L.; 5. *qaliyarsun* (§ 74) = *Allium victorialis* L.; 6. *manggirsun* (§§ 74, 75) = *Allium senescens* L.; 7. *ǰa'uqasu* (§ 74) = *Lilium pumilum* DC.; 8. *qoqosun* (§ 75) = *Allium ramosum* L. As for the *qaraqana* (§ 195), i.e. *Caragana arborescens*, and the *deresün* (§ 249), i.e. *Lasiogrostis splendens*. See also Arch. Palladiĭ in the *Bulletin de géographie historique et descriptive*, 1894.1, 59 and n. 1, et passim (on *Lasiogrostis*), 68 (on *Caragana*). For some interesting asides, cf. also Meserve 2003, and 2011, 230-231.

Page 360 (§ 75), second para.: For the *qoqosun* 'wild leek', as well as the *manggirsun* 'wild onion' again mentioned in § 75, see above, Page 358 (§ 74).

Page 361 (§ 75), seventh para.: For the names of the fishes mentioned in the poetic passage see Doerfer 2005; cf. SFQ[1], 37-38.

Page 366 (§ 77), line 17: *after* 88; *insert* Göckenjan 2005;

Page 366 (§ 77), last line: *after* 2001b *insert* and MNTMSB, 65-97;

Page 367 (§ 77), after line 21 insert new para.: 'How can you harbour such thoughts *towards me*?' For the various connotations of the verb *setki-* (mo. *sedki-*) 'to think, etc.', see MNTMSB, 188-216.

Page 368 (§ 77), second para.: For an excellent analysis of such taboos see now MNTDYZS, 55-115.

Page 369 (§ 78), second para.: Regarding the *qasar* dog, G. Kara (p.c.) writes: '*Qasar* (*hazar*?): see Qasar in the Uygur runiform inscription of Tes'. Qasar as a proper name occurs twice in the inscription of Tes. See Klyashtorny 1985, 153, 154, and 155, l. 19 (with a reference to a further occurrence of the name in the

Shine Usu inscription). Cf. also PTMD, 528b-529a, and the additional references contained therein.

Page 371 (§ 78), line 7: *after* 77) *insert* ; and below, p. 568.

Page 375 (§ 80), second para.: The problem of the variable *-i* (*-i̯*, *-y*; see below, N.B.) element in final diphthongs in Mongolian is a complex one for it occurs in verbal suffixes (*-qu/-kü* ~ *-qui/-küi*, *-mu/-mü* ~ *-mui~müi*, *-ba/-be* ~ *-bai/-bei*, etc.), in the stem of nouns (*mayu* ~ *mayui*, *ayu[u]* ~ *ayui*, *oytoryu* ~ *oytoryui*, etc.), as well as in proper names (Čaraqa ~ Čaraqai, Ögöle ~ Ögölei, etc.). This phenomenon is evident in Middle, Preclassical and Classical Mongolian, and has influenced the modern dialects. Besides SG, 295-299, § 159, which lists many such nouns with the corresponding forms in Khalkha, cf. IMCS, 83-84. In the case of proper names there is no question of plurality or gender: we are clearly dealing with phonetic variants in the early Mongolian dialects since such differences affecting the final syllable of the word did exist in Western and Eastern Middle Mongolian in the 13th-14th c. See TMEN, I, 8 et passim; cf. above, Page 224 (§ 1), lines 24-25. It should be noted, however, that forms with and without final *-i* occur in the same work, e.g. Ögöle Čerbi and Ögölei Čerbi in the SH (§§ 230, 234; 124); these inconsistencies may also be due to scribal inadvertence or interference in the transmission of the text. Cf. SH, § 124: Ögölei Čerbi and AT[1], 33a: Egüle Čerbi (for Ögöle Čerbi). The examples can be multiplied. Commenting on the Čaraqa ~ Čaraqai of the SH, Pelliot (HCG, 23) remarked that 'Les finales *-a*, *-an* et *-ai* alternent souvent en mongol', no doubt assuming that this was a phonological peculiarity of the language. This, of course, may also apply to the nouns in *-i* which in Middle and Preclassical Mongolian are used interchangeably with the same nouns without *-i*. We know, in fact, that statistically in this early period the form in *-i* is prevalent in Preclassical Mongolian and in Eastern Middle Mongolian, while the form without *-i* is prevalent in Western Middle Mongolian. In the case of verbal suffixes with and without *-i*, the situation is different. Taking as examples the

three suffixes *-qu* ~ *-qui* (*nomen futuri*), *-mu* ~ *-mui* (*praesens imperfecti* or narrative present), and *-ba* ~ *-bai* (*praeteritum perfecti* or first [or simple] past tense) in both their back- and front-vocalic forms, and beginning with *-qu* ~ *-qui*, we notice that in 1955 N. Poppe (IMCS, 269) was of the opinion that '*-*qu̯i* originally referred to females, while *-*qu* was a masculine form', and that 'in Written Mongolian and in Middle Mongolian there is an alternation of the final diphthong *u̯i* with *u* corresponding to a short vowel in spoken languages', giving as examples *mayui* ~ *mayu* and *ayui* ~ *ayu* (ibid., 83). Poppe, loc.cit., likewise mentions the alternation *-a̯i* ~ *-a*. Two years later he expressed the same opinion in MMḤS, 40, writing that 'Forms in *-*qu̯i* were feminine by origin, and those in *-*qu* masculine'. In the same section he writes (pp. 39-40): 'The fact of the matter is that *-qu/-kü* is now used attributively and also in other syntactic functions, while the suffix *-qu̯i/-kü̯i* is not used attributively. If the forms in *-qu/-kü* are predominantly verbal adjectives *sui generis*, then the suffix *-qu̯i/-kü̯i* is almost exclusively a verbal substantive … Contrary to this practice, however, the suffix *-qu̯i/-kü̯i* in the pre-classical written language makes forms functioning as substantives (used as different parts of the sentence) or functioning like predicates (finite forms of the verb). However, sometimes a use of *-qu* and *-qu̯i* may be found which does not observe this difference …', and 'We see that [in the language of the ḥP'ags-pa script – I.R.] forms in *-qu* go to make up a compound predicate, and may function as attribute, subject or predicate.' In his GWM, § 360, Poppe points out that in 'the pre-classical language *-qu* and *-qu̯i* were used indiscriminately'. On the other hand, M. Weiers (UGPM, 162) states that *-qu/-kü* makes forms functioning as substantives, attributes and predicates mainly in the singular, sporadically in the plural, while *-qui/-küi* performs the same functions only in the singular. For Middle Mongolian the same rule applies (ibid., 160), in contrast to G. Doerfer 1954, 260, for whom *-qu* is the masculine singular suffix and *-qui* the feminine singular one, and S. Godziński (JŚ, § 225)

who regards *-qu(j)* (i.e. *-qu[y]*) as the singular form of the *nomen futuri* and *-qun* as the plural. There is, incidentally, no disagreement on *-qun* as the plural of *-qui* among scholars. The latest authority in the West to deal with this suffix, or rather suffixes, is M. Orlovskaya who, in her OGYDMT, 244, following the earlier and more extensive treatment of *-qu* and *-qui* in YMT, 93-96 and YAT, 109-114, sees in the *-i* form a more pronounced nominal-attributive role than *-qu*—a purely syntactical function unrelated to gender or plurality. As for the function of *-mui/-müi* there is no general consensus either. Cf. Doerfer 1954, 256: 'm. pl. Femininum?'; Poppe's statement in ICMS, 262, that the final *u̯i̯* of *-mu̯i̯* 'is probably due to analogy with predicative forms such as *ajisu̯i̯* "he approaches", *odu̯i̯* "he goes away", *bu̯i̯* "is", etc.'; Weiers' claim in UGPM, 131, 133, that *-mui* denotes mainly the plural and *-mu* the singular only in Preclassical Mongolian; and Ozawa's further clarification to the effect that the form in *-i* is both a masculine plural (plural of plurality) as well as an honorific form (plural of respect, *pluralis majestatis*). See Ozawa 1961, 35, 44-46, and Ozawa 1992, 336. For Godziński (JŚ, § 210) and Orlovskaya (OGYDMT, 234) *-mui* is just a phonetic variant of *-mu* (but only 'possibly' in YMT, 79). There is also dissent with regard to *-bai/-bei*, this being a plural form for Doerfer 1954, 261, Ozawa 1961, 35, 55-57, and Ozawa 1992, 336 (masc. and honorific plural), *Lettres*, 80 and n. 245, and Street 2009, 127 (also as a 'respect plural'), while for Poppe (IMCS, 266) '*-ba̯i̯* is an emphatic form'. Weiers (UGPM, 146-149), for his part, distinguishes several functions for *-bai*: a plural form in the SH; a predominantly plural, more rarely singular form in the HIIY; and an emphatic singular and plural form in the documents in 'Phags-pa script and in Preclassical (Written) Mongolian. As in the case of *-mu* and *-mui*, for Orlovskaya (OGYDMT, 238-239, cf. YMT, 81), *-bai* is simply a phonetic variant of *-ba*. I have refrained from citing LSHM as I believe the author has modified his views on some of the issues in question. There are other verbal and nominal suffixes in

Mongolian in which the same alternance *-i*~zero occurs; in respect of their functions we encounter the same differences of opinion. Perhaps we should conclude this brief survey by citing the following remarks by L. Ligeti in VMIN, 141, with regard to the above alternance in the final diphtongues *-ai*, *-ui*, etc., as in *mayu* ~ *mayui*. Ligeti writes: 'Il est fort probable qu'il ne s'agit pas d'un simple phénomène phonétique, mais que la voyelle *-i̯*, deuxième élément de la diphtongue devait avoir primitivement une function morphologique. On serait tenté d'identifier cette semi-voyelle *-i̯* avec le morphème *-i*, signe du singulier, de l'aspect indéterminé, vis-à-vis du morphème *-n* auquel il est systématiquement opposé et qui marque le pluriel, à la rigueur la pluralité. Ce qui milite en faveur de cette explication, c'est que le pluriel de *noqai* «(un) chien», dans le moyen mongol, est *noqan*, celui de *qulayai*, *qulayan* etc. (même les pluriels du type *noqa-s* doivent être considérés comme instructifs au point de vue des doublets *noqai* : *noqa*). On peut, bien entendu, se demander si l'*i̯* final de tous les mots énumérés (ou pouvant être encore mentionnés) se terminant en *a̯i̯*, *-e̯i̯*, *-u̯i̯*, *-ü̯i̯*, etc. rentrent ou non dans cette catégorie. La réponse n'est pas facile à formuler aujourd'hui'. All we can say at present with a fair degree of certainty is that 1. the presence and absence of the *-i* in the final diphthongs of proper names, as well as in a number of nouns ending in those diphthongs, is due to phonetic variations in the dialects; 2. *-qui* performs a syntactical function which is somewhat different from *-qu*, a point already made by J.C. Street in LSHM, 25; 3. *-bai* in the 13th-14th c. is still, *by and large*, a plural and 'respect plural' form; 4. *-mui*, however, was by then no longer productive as the Ancient Mongolian plural form of *-mu* except in the more conservative preclassical written language in which it has largely retained its original function. I think that further research is needed to determine the extent to which the forms in *-i* (especially the plural suffix) in some verbal suffixes may add also an element of emphasis to validate the statements to this effect made by Poppe and others. Cf., e.g., the imperative,

prescriptive, voluntative, optative and dubitative suffixes *-ɣtui*, *-ɣarai*, *-tuɣai*, *-suɣai*, *-ɣasai* and *-ɣuǰai*, all ending in *-ui* (*-u̯i*) and *-ai* (*-a̯i*). N.B. In connection with the final diphthongs in *-i* such as *ai*, *ei*, *ui*, *üi*, etc., the second component being a semivowel, it is usually transcribed as *i̯* or *y*. See GWM, § 29. In the transcription of Mongolian employed in the present work the semivowel is simply transcribed *i* as one usually does in transcribing texts in Written Mongolian. See, e.g., Poppe in his TDB and D. Tumurtogoo in MMUMS. For Middle Mongolian texts see the works of Mostaert, Cleaves, Weiers, Orlovskaya, etc. A more accurate phonetic transcription is employed in the works by Ligeti and his disciples, Ozawa, J.C. Street and others. As for *bui* (*bu̯i*) vs. *büi* (*bü̯i*, *büy*), I pointed out long ago that in line 13 of the inscription for J̌igüntei (1338) we find the interrogative form *buyuyu*, showing that *buyu*, the *praesens imperfecti* or deductive present of *bu-*, must be read with back vocalism and not as *büyü*. By the same token, the *nomen praesentis* of *bu-* should be read *bui* (*bu̯i*, *buy*). However, the problem is far from being resolved. See the discussion in *Matériel II*, 8-10; OGYDMT, 195-204.

Page 376 (§ 81), line 19: *after* 177 *insert* ; Rybatzki 2003, 271; B. Ulaan in OUMĖIX, IX*, 164-165; ŽČXDT, 41-52.

Pages 376-377 (§ 81): For the 'cangue' (*buqa'u*), besides Čoĭmaa 2001 and Choimaa 2005 (in English) see now MNTMSB, 24-41.

Page 379 (§ 84), line 9: *after me.'* *add* For this expression cf. Sárközi 2009, 158.

Page 381 (§ 87), line 5: *after* 517 *insert* ; Veit 2010, 577.

Page 382 (§ 89), lines 3-2 from bottom: *delete* and *and after* 7 *insert* ; and MNTOZS, 68-74.

Page 385 (§ 90), second para.: Concerning the word *gürümele* and tu. *körümli*, Rybatzki 2008, 138, writes: 'For Tu. *körüm* "«a single act of seeing»; in the early period apparently «examining the omens», or simply «omen»" and its derivations cf. BERTA …; however, the semantical relation between the Tu. and Mo. forms are not quite clear, possibly the Mo. semantics

"handsome, good-looking" are of Qipcaq origin, cf. Qom. *körümli* "schön, stattlich" (GRØNBECH 1942.155 [= KoW, 155–I.R.]'.

Page 387 (§ 90), last line: *after* -13) *insert* ; T. Hasumi in UÜGI, 673-677.

Page 388 (§ 90), after line 17 add new para.: The section of the Mongolian text from *ö'esün qurdun* (SH, l. 2016) to *ke'eba* (SH, l. 2025) occupies the first of the two leaves or Fragment A (T.A) from the lost manuscript published by B. Ulaan. It is considerably at variance with the transmitted text of the SH as well as with the text preserved in AT[1]. See above, Page xcvii (n. 187).

Page 393 (§ 96), line 12: *after* (B2) *add* ; MNTOZS, 49-58, 159-161.

Page 394 (§ 96), line 8 from bottom: *after* 1986 *insert* (see CSIA, 411-462)

Pages 395-396 (§ 96): On the substitute father-son relationship between To'oril Ong Qan and Temuǰin (stemming from the earlier *anda*-relationship between the former and Temuǰin's father Yisügei) see MNTSY, 13-25. Cf. also ibid., 94-165.

Page 396 (§ 96), line 14 from bottom: *after* 96 *add* ; and more recently Birtalan 2007/08—an important contribution.

Pages 401-402 (§ 100): For the puzzling word *böken* see PTMD, 237a-b, but the problem remains, and the further renderings with mo. *bököger* and *bögtör* 'bent, bending or sloping forwards' (Čo, Ar[2]) are just educated guesses, as the 'tilt-cart' of Do-Er. Ar[1] 'a black cart with a covering (*or* awning)' evades the issue in spite of the translator's efforts to establish a Turkic etymology in n. 1 on p. 169, as is also the case in TH, 158. I shall not mention other fanciful renderings of *böken*.[15] I think

[15] It is rather odd that the Ming transcribers and translators of the SH would not have been conversant with the word *bökēn*. Most likely this is because it was an obsolete, contracted and, therefore, unfamiliar word. The contracted form *böken* (= *bökēn*) was no doubt written as such in the mss. used by them (exactly as we find it in Ir, 65), since such contracted words do not occur often in their *plene* form in the preclassical texts. Thus, mo. *uruyul* 'lips',

in this case we need not look for a Turkic derivation. Another, purely Mongolian, *possible* solution may be found in oir. *bökü* 'sturdy, strongly built' (OECD, II, 359b) + the rare den. noun suff. *-gen/-γan* (on which see 'Trois documents', 452-453) > **bökügen* id. > **bökü'en* > *bökēn*—a normal development in some dialects, such as Dagur. See IMCS, 73. Thus a *bökēn qara'utai tergen* would be, if I am right, a 'sturdy (rather than "knobbly") black covered cart', i.e. the larger Mongol covered cart or wagon with a door (kh. *muxlagtaĭ tėrėg*), as also suggested, following a different etymological route, by Gaadamba (Га, 286, n. 330). That we are dealing in § 100 with a large closed conveyance is made clear in § 101, where it is described as 'carrying wool' and having a door.

Page 406 (§ 102), first line: *after* n. 262, *insert* and Rybatzki 2008, 138,

Page 406 (§ 103), line 14 from bottom: *after* 384 *insert* ; Ligeti 2012, 177.

Page 407 (§ 103), line 11: *after* 1975 *insert* ; and Sárközi 2012 (for the cult of the sun and the moon).

Page 410 (§ 104), second para.: For the capital issue in the early Mongol society of punctuality and precision with regard to the agreed time and place of a meeting (of leaders, troops, etc.) for joint action in the case of warfare, or a gathering to decide on important matters (*qurilta*), see the remarks in Kara 2006, 37. In his article Kara discusses in detail the medieval Mongols' concept of time and time computation as revealed through numerous expressions and examples taken from the SH. The subject has also been treated, with regard to the names of the months in Middle Mongolian, in Rybatzki 2003.

Page 411 (§ 104), last line: *after* xii. *add* Cf. Cėrėnsodnom 2010.

Page 412 (§ 105), line 14: *after* 39 *add* ; Sárközi 2009, 159-161.

mmo. *hurūl*, pmo. *urul* (= *urūl*); mo. *umdaγan* 'drink', mmo. *umdān*, *undān*, pmo. *umdan* (= *umdān*), etc. The word is left out altogether in AT[1]. Several modern translators either ignore it or leave it in transcription, untranslated, like Cleaves (Cl, 34). Cf. Cleaves 1949a, 517.

Page 415 (§ 105), line 10 from bottom: *after* 753 *insert* ; Altanzayaa 2010.

Page 416 (§ 106), line 9: *after* KHIV, 87 *insert* ; Goken'yan 2005; Dulam 2007; Sarangėrėl 2012.

Page 419 (§ 107), line 6 from bottom: *after* 260 *insert* , and Franke H 2003, 147.

Page 420 (§ 108), line 20: *after* 1992; insert Pürėvžav 2007a;

Page 425 (§ 111), line 18: *after* 384 *insert* ; Čerengsodnam 2006, 4 (3.1).

Page 426 (§ 111), line 4: *after* 319) *add* ; Čerengsodnam 2006, 4-5 (3.2).

Page 426 (§ 111), line 2 from bottom: *after* 282. *insert* For a different interpretation see Čerengsodnam 2006, 5 (3.3).

Page 427 (§ 111), line 13 from bottom: *after* 1255b. *insert* Cf. Čerengsodnam 2006, 5 (3.4).

Page 428 (§ 112), line 12: *after* others. *add* Cf. MNTSu, 160-164.

Page 431 (§ 113), line 15: *delete* and *and after* n. 255 *insert* ; Hashimoto 2007; de Rachewiltz 2007, 131-139; Lubsangdorji 2010, 64-78 (to be used with caution); and Ōsawa 2011.

Page 431 (§ 113), line 15: *after* also *insert* Dobrovitz 2012 and

Page 431 (§ 113), line 17: *after* 273) *insert* ; Jeong 2011.

Page 432 (§ 113), line 13: *delete* and *and after* 88 *add* ; and Aalto 1996.

Pages 433-434 (§ 114): The story of the finding of Küčü and his adoption by Hö'elün is also found in the corresponding section of AT[1], 29v, and in the ANT, § 20. These two chronicles contain numerous differences in their vocabulary which have been analysed in great detail in Rybatzki 2008, 138-141. They are particularly interesting from the point of view of comparative Mongolian dialectology.

Page 435 (§ 115), line 6: *after* 39 *add* ; Ėrdėnėbat 2010.

Page 436 (§ 115), line 6: *after* 37; *insert* Yoshida 1981;

Pages 436-437 (§ 116): With regard to the ancient popular game of knucklebones played by Temüǰin and J̌amuqa on the frozen river Onon see MUN, 676.

Page 437 (§ 116), after line 19 insert new para.: 'Shooting with their firwood bows'. It has been pointed out to me by people acquainted with bowmaking techniques that it is impossible to build bows from firwood. The SH expression is *alanggir numutan*, lit. 'having (= with) *alanggir* bows'. The Chinese interlinear gloss renders *alanggir* as 'made of wood' (木做的, $Y^2$3, 26b), while the sectional summary calls the same bows 'small wooden bows' (小木弓, $Y^2$3, 27a). Pelliot, Haenisch, Kozin, Cleaves, Taube and others have followed the Chinese gloss and translated the expression in question 'with wooden bows' or 'with bows of wood'; however, the Chinese translator gives only the general meaning and his rendering is not accurate. The term *alanggir* designates, in fact, a specific type of wood used for that kind of bow. The authoritative QNTT, 22a, defines this term as follows: 'If a bow is made with *toson qaryai* wood and has no "belly" (*elige*) fixed (*or* nailed) on it, it is called *alanggir*'—the "belly" of a bow being its inner side. The Manchu term for *alanggir* is *takciha filan* meaning 'a red-pine wood bow without horn lining' (HM^1, 459a; see MMCTD, 20). Now, *toson qaryai*, the wood of which is used to make the bow, designates two trees: 1. the dark-red (or 'pitchy' red) fir, almost certainly *Abies sibirica*, and 2. the (Japanese) yew (*Taxus nucifera* = *Torreya n.*, or *Taxus cuspidata*). Regrettably, because it would be excellent for bow-making, we must exclude the latter since Mongolia does not have native yews. (The word for 'yew' in Mongolian is *tiïs*, from ru. *tis*, a modern borrowing.) The name *toson qaryai* was applied, I think much later, only to those found in China, and the 12th c. Mongols did not import yew wood from China. While in the present instance *toson qaryai may* have been incorrectly applied to the Siberian spruce (*Picea obovata*; see above, Pages 355-356) or to the Siberian larch (*Larix sibirica*) (*qaryai* by itself is, indeed, the larch; and the Manchu rendering of *toson qaryai* is *takta moo*, the red spruce. See MMCTD, 568; HM^1, 459a), I think we can definitely exclude the oak (*kunugi* 櫟, *Quercus serrata*), with which it is identified in Oz^1, II, 325, and Oz^2, I, 108. In Če,

335, n. 166, D. Cėrėnsodnom states that *alanggir numu* was 'the name of a bow made of rather soft wood which did not break when bent'. Thus, there seems to be no doubt that the bow used by young Temüǰin and J̌amuqa was a simple straight small bow made of soft wood, such as that of the fir tree, without horn lining or iron reinforcement used by boys for shooting practice. It now remains to ascertain whether the fir wood used for the purpose was that of *Abies sibirica*. According to T. Baker, only the wood of some species of fir is not usable for bow making, and the Siberian fir is not included among them. Thus, it seems that its wood, even though not brilliant, can be made into bows (p.c. of R. Fundele). See *http://paleoplanet69529.yuku.com/topic/6213#.TqWTwRzfY4Q*. I may add that such bows were used for a long time because they are mentioned in the Geser Qan epic (*Geser Qayan-u tuyuǰi*). See TH, 92; ǰYT, 163; El-Ar, 301-302, n. 8.

Page 437 (§ 116), line 8 from bottom: *after* 88. *insert* See also Ligeti 2012, 185.

Page 439 (§ 117), line 13: *after* 460 *add* ; and the important remarks in Erdal 1991.

Page 440 (§ 118), last para.: In the fourth alliterated verse of this most famous poetic passage we encounter for the first and last time the term *qol* (= mo. *γool*) 'river', glossed in Chinese with *chien* 澗 'brook, mountain torrent'. In all other occurrences *qol* has the meanings of 'centre, domain of the centre; main body of the army, etc.' (HW, 65.) The word is discussed in Vovin 2009, 125-126, no. 13, where for its meaning of 'river' in the modern Mongolian languages the author proposes the development 'center' > 'island in the middle of the river' > 'river', or 'core' > 'vein' > 'river'. The Middle Mongolian form (in both emmo. and wmmo.) is also given as 'clearly *γol*, not *qol*' (p. 126). Some comments are called for. Vovin correctly states that the meaning of the word in the modern Mongolian languages is 'river', but since it first appears with virtually the same meaning ('brook, torrent') in the SH, i.e. in the early 13th c., it means that it must already have been in use

in the 12th c. However, it was then a rare word as it occurs but once in the SH and in no other genuine Middle and Preclassical text of the 13th-15th c. with the meaning of a watercourse (river or brook). The *γol* of MA, 404a, is glossed 'the centre of the army'. The word does occur in an inscription in 'Phags-pa script with the meaning of 'centre', but as *qol*, not *γol*. See PSPTHP, 428 (04-1). It is well attested in Classical Mongolian, where it is also curiously spelled with double *o* (*γool*, often wrongly read *γoul*) although the vowel is short, and we find it in several dialects, more frequently used in northern Mongolian (Khalkha and Buriat) than in the south, e.g. in Ordos, with both the meanings of 'river' and 'centre, middle; axle, etc.'[16] Vovin refers to Doerfer (TMEN, no. 307) and his suggestion that the meaning 'river' derives from the primary meaning of 'centre, middle, core, etc.,' but I am not very convinced by his explanation. I would be more inclined to explain it—as in the case of so many other terms in Middle Mongolian—with a borrowing from Middle Turkic, where the word *qol* 'arm' is well attested also with the meaning of 'river bed or valley'. Cf. DTS, 453b (*qol* II), ED, 614b-615a, also for the development 'central valley' > 'main body of the army'. We may then postulate a development 'river bed/valley' > 'river course' > 'river' (a reverse process of ch. *ch'uan* 川 'river' > 'river valley'). The original meaning of 'river bed' as well as those of 'river valley' and 'river' are indeed preserved in kalm. *ǥol* together with that of 'middle, central, etc.' (KW, 149b-150a). Now, as a rule the Chinese transcription of the SH and the HIIY does not distinguish between the deep velars *q* and γ, the small *chung* 中 diacritic being used for a deep velar stop. Hence the Chinese transcriptions quoted by Vovin can be read *qol* and *qol-un* or *γol* and *γol-un*. See 'Quelques problèmes', 233-239; *Matériel I*, xxii. On the other hand, the far more accurate 'Phags-pa transcription gives the initial *q*, while in Western Middle Mongolian we find *γol* (see above). The voiced deep velar γ eventually prevailed in the classical and spoken languages with *γ* > *ǥ* in most languages (see IMCS, 149). Cf., however, oir. *xol* (< *qol*) 'heart, center' and *γol* 'chief, main, central; center, river, basis', reflecting both the phonetic and semantic ambivalence of the word. See OECD, II, 275a, 313a.[17] I hasten to add that the above explanation requires further study.

[16] In the MÜTB of 1717, the first entry of *γool* defines the term as a stream smaller than a large river (*mören*), but not as a brook or torrent. See QNTT, 461b. Cf. the more detailed explanation in MKet, 1694a: 'something smaller than a large river but larger than a small stream'.

Page 443 (§ 119), line 5 from bottom: *after* tribe. *insert* (For the pronoun *bidanu'ai* see below, p. 569. In MXBTN, 66, 'bidan'ai' is an error for 'bidanu'ai'.)

Page 444 (§ 119), end of section, add new para.: Most of § 119, i.e. from *ǰa'ura* (SH, l. 3027) to the end of this section, is found in the second of the two leaves or Fragment B (T.B) of the lost manuscript published by B. Ulaan. There the text continues into § 120. See above, Page xcvii, n. 187, and below, Page 447 (§ 120).

Page 445 (§ 120), line 9 from bottom: *after* 191. *insert* Cf. MNTSu, 19-23.

Page 447 (§ 120), end of section, add new para.: The first few lines of § 120, from *Tere söni* (SH, l. 3032) to *Önggür-tan*

[17] It may be worth noting that in CTD, III, 141, *qol* 'arm; spur (mountain); ridge (knife, sword)' is entered as *qōl*. Cf. also DTS, 454a: *qōl* 'arm'. Although we do not possess a single example of this word in 13th-15th c. Preclassical Mongolian, in the Olon Süme mss. (see MHOS, 587b) and in TDB (F 65r) it is always written without diacritic points (QWWL), and in only one instance in the former (MHOS, 414-15: OS I/6r2) it has the meaning of 'river'. In Classical Mongolian texts with the exception of Literary Oirat the word is regularly written *γool*, with or without diacritics. I wonder whether this continuity of spelling (with *oo* = *ō*) indicates an early fluctuation (*ō* ~ *o*) which is also found in mtu. *qol* ~ *qōl*, an explanation for which is given (for Turkic) in ED, 615a. However, for pmo. *-oo-* ~ *-o-* cf. *doora* ~ *dora* 'below, under', *qoor* ~ *qor* 'harm, etc.' and for 'ph. *q* = mo. γ cf. 'ph. *qaǰar* = mo. *γaǰar* 'earth', 'ph. *qar-* = mo. *γar-* 'to go out', etc. See MMḤS, 33. Thus, 'ph. *qol* is almost certainly to be read *γol*. For SH *qol* see also RSH, 524, 620, 825, 892, 985, 988, 1029; for mmo. *qol*, pmo. *γool*, cf. also de Rachewiltz 2004, 53-54, nn. 19, 20. More recently, cf. Kradin & Skrynnikova 2006, 113.

Čangsi'ut (SH, l. 3104), are found in the second of the two leaves or Fragment B (T.B) of the lost manuscript published in Ulaan 2009a. See above, Page xcvii, n. 187, and 444 (§ 119).

Page 449 (§ 121), line 4 from bottom: *after* 204. *add* For the prophetic role of Qorči vis-à-vis that of the shaman Teb Tenggeri and, in general, the role of divination in early Mongol society as reflected in the SH see Tugutov 2005. Cf. also above, Page 328 (§ 63).

Page 450 (§ 121), line 16: *after* effect. *insert* See Čoĭmaa 2008, 161ff.

Page 451 (§ 121), first para.: For the term *ulus* = 'empire'(?) see above, Page 303 (§ 53), in particular Kradin & Skrynnikova 2006. Cf. also T.D. Skrynnikova in TCA, 383-399.

Page 451 (§ 121), fourth para.: For the term *törö* ~ *töre* (tu. *törü*) and its evolution see now also Khamfri & Khurėlbator 2004, Počekaev 2004, and Skrynnikova 2010a.

Page 452 (§ 122), line 10: *after* 167 *add* ; Schönig 2006, 235-236 (6).

Page 454 (§ 123), line 17: *after* 772; *insert* de Rachewiltz 2008, 165ff.; ESR, 467a (Index), but see also under 'comitatus', 460b. (For a detailed discussion on the comitatus, with numerous early examples of this institution, see Beckwith 1984.)

Page 460 (§ 123), line 6 from bottom: *delete second* and *and after* 107 *(on the next line) insert* ; and Li SG 2007.

Page 460 (§ 123), line 5 from bottom: *after* 107 *insert* , as well as M. Weiers in EADS, 124, where the appellation Činggis Qan is rendered 'Ungestümer Herrscher'.

Page 460 (§ 123), last line: *after* 49a. *add* For a spurious inscription in Turkic runiform script with the name 'Čin(g)iz Qaγan' see ICA, 278-281.

Page 462 (§ 123), line 3: *after* 1991. *add* Cf. also Chang Ch'eng-chih 張承志 in *OYHYC* of 1.7.2005 at www.eurasianhistory.com/data/articles/i04/1375.html

Page 462 (§ 123), second para.: This is, essentially, the same position adopted by Gėrėlbadrakh 2007, his argument being that, at his election in 1189 (the date also adopted by G.),

Temüǰin was not made *qan* by all the tribal chiefs, but only by some of them, the others siding with J̌amuqa. Thus, the 1189 meeting was merely a *formal* event. It was only at the 1206 *quriltai* that Temüǰin became the *actual* leader of all the tribes.

Page 462 (§ 124), fifth para.: For the traditional food of the Mongols see SFQ[1], 42ff. The relevant poetic passage in this section of the SH is translated by Buell on pp. 42-43, n. 71. Cf. also Buell 2007, 23ff.

Page 464 (§ 124), line 9 from bottom: *after* 33b. *add* Cf. PTMD, 343b-344a.

Page 466 (§ 124), line 2: *after* 197; *insert* Čerengsodnam 2006, 11 (12.1);

Page 466 (§ 124), fifth and sixth paras.: The final poetic passage in this section has been discussed in detail in Choimaa 2009 with regard to several Mongol terms and by comparing the SH with the AT[1] version. For *nembe'e isgei* (w.f. **nembege isgei*) 'covering felt' Choimaa reads *nemürge sisegei* (cf. AT[1], 34a: *nemüriye šeǰegei*) 'felt cloak'; for *sorisu* 'I shall try' Choimaa reads *qorisu* (AT[1], 34a: *qoyisuγai* = *qorisuγai*) 'I'll protect'; *gerisge isgei* 'felt windbreak' is read by Choimaa *kerisge sisegei* (AT[1], 34a: *kerisge šeǰegei*) 'a felt like a railing'; *ger ǰük*, lit. 'towards the tent', is rendered by Choimaa as *ger ǰüg* (AT[1], 34a: *ger ǰüg*) 'the goods and chattels'; the verb *gerisgele-* 'to shelter from the wind', read *kerisgele-* (AT[1], 34a: *kerisle-*), is translated as 'to encircle' (see n. 10 on p. 49: *keresgelekü* 'to protect by putting something perpendicularly as a fence'). The entire poetic passage is rendered by Choimaa (p. 49) as follows: 'Sübe'edei Ba'atur said: «I'll become a mouse and will gather. I'll become a black raven and I'll gather everything that is outside. I'll become a felt cloak and protect by covering. I'll become a felt like a railing and protect by encircling the goods and chattels.»' For the SH and AT[1] parallel versions in transcription cf. MNTLAT, 132-133, and AT[8], 167a-b. See also ATL, 84-85; LDAT, 101-102. A few comments are called for. I think that *nembe'e* does not correspond to mo. *nemürge(n)* 'mantle, cloak', but to ord. *nemnē*

'morceau de feutre, de peau, etc., sur le dos d'un animal pour le protéger contre le froid' (DO, 490b), kh. *nėmnėė* 'horse-cloth, cloth or felt covering to put over a beast' (MED, 249a), kalm. *nemnē* 'hülle, decke, presenning' (KW, 274b), and bur. *nėmnėė* 'mantle, covering, (horse) blanket' (BRS, 338a). *Nembe'e* (w.f. **nembege*) is the *nomen imperfecti* of *nembe-* (mo. *nemne-*) 'to cover', a verb that occurs also in the HIIY in the passive form *nembekde-* (= *nembegde-*) 'to be covered'. See *Matériel I*, 78 s.v., *Matériel II*, 2.[18] For *isgei ~ sisgei*, mo. *isegei*, *esegei* 'felt', see RSH, 466. The reading *qorisu* for *sorisu* is a very ingenious one because the initial *q* in Uighur-Mongol script can be easily confused with initial *s*. But the verb *qori-* 'to enclose, fence, forbid' and, by extension, 'to protect, shelter, defend', is rare in the ancient language and does not appear as such, but only as *qorila-*, 'to forbid, impose a ban', and only once in the SH (§ 9). For another occurrence in Preclassical Mongolian with the meaning of 'to enclose' see Cleaves 1952, 89, n. 28. The verb *sori-*, on the other hand, occurs several times in the SH with the meaning of 'to try, strive to', see HW, 136. Moreover, this meaning is confirmed by the sectional summary, the authors of which were working on a different manuscript of the SH. See $Y^2$3, 48a (last line). Therefore, while the reading is doubtful, the chances are that *sorisu* is the correct one. As for *ger ǰük* (= *ǰüg*), I find the interpretation proposed by Choimaa difficult to accept since the Chinese gloss is unambiguous. Cf. the expression *e'üten ǰük* 'towards the door' in § 245.

Page 466 (§ 125), line 8 from bottom: *after* id. *insert* ; Ligeti 2012, 187

Page 467 (§ 125), line 12 from bottom: *after* 62. *add* For the heart (*ǰirüge*, mo. *ǰirüke*) as the seat of calm and peacefulness see Sárközi 2009. Cf. SH, § 128.

[18] I think that this etymology has prompted Cleaves' rendering of *nembe'e* as 'the felt which covereth [a horse]' (Cl, 57). The occurrence of the verb *nembe-* 'to cover' in the HIIY removes all doubts as to the form *nembe'e* of the SH.

Page 467 (§ 125), line 4 from bottom: *after* 1973 *insert* , and 2007, 114, 121-122.

Page 467 (§ 125), line 3 from bottom: *after* documents. *add* The verb *ihe'e-* 'to protect' is an interesting word insofar as it appears in several forms in Preclassical and Middle Mongolian (*ibege-*, *igege-*, *ihe'e-*, *ihē-*; cf. ord. *iwegē-* 'to treat with kindness'). See SG, 204; MXBXS, 77.

Page 470 (§ 127), insert the following final para.: 'He sent them *back* with *this* message' renders the single word *ileǰü*, *converbum imperfecti* of *ile-* 'to send, to send a message or a messenger'. This is clearly a scribal error for *ileǰü'ü(i)*, the third past or *praeteritum imperfecti* of the same verb. The mistake occurred in the original manuscript used by the Ming translators/transcribers, but the SH text in AT^1, 34b, gives the correct past tense form (*ilegeǰügüi*).

Page 471 (§ 128): With regard to my final statement regarding Pėrlėė's identification of Sa'ari Ke'er with the Xongoržil Tal (Plain) at 49° N and 101° E, I should add that rather than conflicting with Pelliot's identification, Pėrlėė's statement defines the area in question *sensu stricto*, not *sensu lato* as defined by Pelliot.

Page 472 (§ 128), line 5: *for* and his *read* and the hearts of his

Page 472 (§ 128), first para.: In the text, J̌oči Darmala is called 'our (*bidanu*) J̌oči Darmala'. By using this pronoun of the first person (pl.) the author of the SH indicates again (see §§ 110, 131, 135) his identification with Činggis Qan's side. For the use of *bidanu* in the SH see MNTMSB, 121ff. Cf. above, Page 260 (§ 18).

Page 472 (§ 128), line 9: *after* 376. *add* For the expression *ǰirüge yada-* 'for the heart to be unable (= to fail)', i.e. 'to lose heart', 'to lack courage', and the role of the heart as the seat of both courage and cowardice see Sárközi 2009. Cf. Les., 1062b (b).

Page 479 (§ 129), line 2: *after* 1995 *add* ; Veit 2010, 577; ŽČXDT, 5-22.

Page 479 (§ 129), line 7: *after* spitefulness. *add* Cf., however, Meserve 2012, 236-237.

Page 479 (§ 129), line 10: *after* 135 *insert* ; PTMD, 629a.

Page 479 (§ 129), last line: *after* etc. *add* See, however, G. Kara's comments above, Page 224 (§ 1), line 24, and my remarks therein.

Page 490 (§ 133), line 4: *after* 589a *add* ; L. Bold in FÖTI, 143-144.

Page 491 (§ 133), line 18: *after* 213; *insert* Rybatzki 2011, 197.

Pages 492-493 (§ 134): With regard to the title *ǰa'ut quri* (*ča'ut quri* in § 179, the former is the correct form: in the preclassical script there is only one letter for initial *ǰ* and *č*), there is no doubt that it is a Kitan title borrowed by the Jurchens. *J̌au* (*ǰaw*, *ǰawu*) is Kitan for 'hundred' and *-d* or *-t* is one of the Kitan plural endings, hence **ǰawut* would be quite regular as a plural of 'hundred', i.e. 'hundreds', the Kitan form thus being virtually identical with mmo. *ǰa'un*, pl. *ǰa'ut*. See KLS, 37 (2.015), 76 (2.344), 141 (4.19); confirmed also by D. Kane (p.c.). As for *quri*, Kitan has *huru*, appearing in many titles with the meaning of 'to be in charge of ', hence 'person in control or command of ' (KLS, 84 [3.006], 89 [3.030], 93 [3.050], 103 [3.105]). Cf. ju. **quru* 'leader of several tribes'. The SH form *quri* is almost certainly a variant of ju. **quru* < kit. *huru*. The rendering 'Commander of Hundreds' on p. 493 is therefore justified. For more on this title cf. JCHYC, 41-62, and the reference to Sun Po-chün's 孫伯君 article, ibid., 59 (D. Kane, p.c.), as well as Šagdarsürėn 2009, where a completely different etymology is proposed. The meaning 'commander' of *quri* is also confirmed by Rašīd al-Dīn. See Rybatzki 2008, 141, where a suggested Turkic etymology can be excluded in view of the above.

Pages 498-499 (§ 135): For the etymology of the epithet Qutuqu ~ Quduqu 'Fortunate' of Šigi Qutuqu see the important remarks in Rybatzki 2008, 141, also with regard to the Uighur document edited by Malov.

Page 502 (§ 136), line 17: *after* Introduction *insert* , as well as de Rachewiltz 2008, 165ff.

Page 502 (§ 136), first para: The site of Avarga or, better, Avraga (kh. Avraga, Aurag < mmo. *a'uruq* [= *a'uruγ*, w.f. *ayuruγ*, see AT[1], 76a]), where investigations and excavations have been carried out since 1992, continues to be a subject of great interest as well as of much speculation. The name of the nearby stream, Avraga Gol, in my opinion indicates that it was the watercourse which supplied water to the *a'uruq*, i.e. literally 'The A'uruq's River', the *a'uruq* being in principle the 'base camp' (see p. 499) of Činggis Qan during his military campaigns. Statements to the effect that the site's name Avraga means 'giant' (cf. kh. *avraga* id.), or that Aurag means 'source' are without any foundation. We know that the area of Ködö'e Aral, with the 'Seven Hills' and the wide plain watered by the Kerulen and Senggür (Xėrlėn and Cėnxėr) rivers, was the stamping ground of Činggis Qan, for it was here that Činggis later on established his principal residence or *yeke ordo*. However, the *ordo* being a 'travelling palace/residence' (*hsing-kung* 行宮) normally required an *a'uruq* in wartime, providing shelter for the very young and the old, and for the storage of supplies and impedimenta. (See p. 993.) In time it would become a proper settlement providing essential services for a growing army and a population increasing in number with the military conquests. This base-settlement did in fact develop into a township, as shown by the remains of solid structures (buildings, walls, a rampart, etc.) found in the last ten years by Japanese and Mongol archaeologists over an area of 1,200m x 500m. The area, which is now fenced, also has a small museum containing objects found *in situ*. The site shows the presence of ironworks, no doubt to supply weapons and implements to the Mongol army, making use of artisans and craftsmen captured during the various campaigns, as we know from several contemporary sources (HYL, HYC, etc.). There is no doubt, I think, that Činggis' headquarters at the main *ordo* in Ködö'e Aral with the adjoining *a'uruq*, combining, as it were, a vast tent complex with permanent and semi-permanent structures, in the latter part of Činggis' life was indeed 'a sort of capital' as I

said on p. 502; as such the place continued to play its role under Tolui's regency and was the obvious venue for the 1229 *qurilta* which elected Ögödei. It was also here that the SH was written soon after Činggis' death. The excavations at 'Avraga' are yielding very interesting results and more information about the importance of the township before and after the establishment of Qara Qorum as the proper capital of the empire in 1235. A brief account in English about the site and the archaeological work carried out there by Prof. N. Shiraishi of Niigata University is found in GKLDR, 132-138. For more details see PRNCP (for 2009-10) and Shiraishi 2009. See also Shiraishi & Cogtbaatar 2006, and Shiraishi & Tsogtbaatar 2009. It should be emphasized that statements to the effect that a particular building at the site was 'Genghis Khan's palace' are at this stage still speculative since they cannot be corroborated. See also below, Page 839 (§ 233).

Page 504 (§ 136), line 12: *after* kill.' *add* Cf. Meserve 2012, 234-235.

Pages 505-506 (§ 137): Concerning the status, role and function of the *bo'ol* (w.f. *boyol*) in Činggis Qan's time see also Skrynnikova 2005a, MIKM, I, 287-334, and IČKH, 215-251.

Page 506 (§ 137), line 12: *after* 1986 *insert* ; T. Hasumi in UÜGI, 678-680.

Page 509 (§ 138), ninth para.: For the words 'Lungs filled with heart (i.e. courage)' see above, Page 472 (§ 128); and for the role of the lungs also as the seat of courage see Sárközi 2009, 161.

Page 509 (§ 139), line 5 from bottom: *for* Filled … filled *read* Lungs filled … Lungs filled

Page 515 (§ 141), fourth para.: With regard to the location of Alqui Bulaq, in August 2009 Prof. B. Ulaan visited historical sites in Hulunbuir Hot, the former Hulunbuir League. Going upland on the grassland southwest of the Gen River and east of the Ergune River in the area of Ergune Hot she was told that that was reputedly the place where the meeting of the tribal leaders that elected J̌amuqa as *gür qan* was held (p.c.).

Although the *exact* site of the meeting is not known, I think that the general area is clear and unambiguous. J̌amuqa was elected on the so-called 'promontory' (*šina'a-yin a'unu'u*) (see pp. 520-521) where the Kan (Gen) River meets and flows into the Ergüne/Argun River, hence just south of that very point. If one imagines the confluence as a ∧, the left leg is the Argun and the right leg the Gen: the locality where the election took place was between the two legs—indeed an excellent place watered on both sides by the two rivers, hence with good grassland for the horses of those numerous tribesmen. This would correspond to the area west of Ergune Hot visited by Prof. Ulaan in 2009 and, more precisely, to the locality marked on the maps at He(i)-shan t'ou 黑山頭. For the reading Kan vs. Ken (Gen) see below, Page 520 (§ 141).

Page 516 (§ 141), line 12 from bottom: *after* 1993. *insert* See, however, Rybatzki 2008, 141-142.

Page 518 (§ 141), first para.: On the Naiman, the name of the tribe, Buyiruq Qan and Naiman titles in the SH see now Rybatzki 2005.

Page 519 (§ 141), line 6: *after* 72 *insert* ; Rybatzki 2004, 159-168 (on the name Quduqa), and Schönig 2006, 231-232 (2.14) and Kempf 2010/11 (on the name Oyirat ~ Oyrat).

Page 519 (§ 141), line 15: *after* 1984; *add* MTDST, 548 (Index); MOSK, 192-217;

Page 520 (§ 141): The name of the Kan or Ken River varies from country to country, from atlas to atlas, as it also varies in the recent translations and transcriptions of the SH. In China it is called the Genhe 根河, which corresponds to the Gėnkhė (formerly Gan-khė!) of the Russian maps and the Ken-ho/Genhe of the Western atlases, in contrast to the Gan-gol, Gėėn-gol and Xan-mörön of the Mongol geographers. The form Kan/Xan(-müren/-mörön) is found in Ar[1], Čo, Čo[1], MNTLAT, Do-Er and Pü; Ken-müren in Ar[2], Če[1] and Šo; Ta[1] has Kan, like L[2]. J. Yoshida (MOSK, 13), following Na[1], Mu and Oz, has Ken. The character *k'an* 刊 of the SH is transcribed as *kan* by Lewicki and Hattori, but as *ken* by Mostaert.

However, the argument in favour of the SH reading Ken instead of Kan (which I adopted in RSH) has been strengthened by the revised reading of the corresponding name of this river in AT[1], 41a8, which is Kenti (see AT[8], 172a), not Qati, and therefore with initial *ke*, not *qa*, and also by the Chinese transcriptions of this name in the SWCCL and the YS which support the reading Ken. See Na[2], 125. Finally, one of the modern 'interpretations' of the name by the local Mongols is Gegēn (mo. *gegegen*) 'Clear' (River) (T. Li and N. Li, p.c.). Thus, although the matter is still unresolved,[19] the weight of evidence is now in favour of the SH 'Ken Müren'.

Page 520 (§ 141), line 11: *for* Gan *read* the present-day Gen

Page 524 (§ 143), first para.: Concerning the date and circumstances of the famous battle of Köyiten, certainly one of the major events in Činggis' career, see MNTSY, 7-13 and 72-93, by J. Yoshida, the world's leading authority on the subject. Cf., however, the more recent assessment by the author in Yoshida 2009, 2010 and, especially, MOSK, 9-23.

Page 524 (§ 143), line 12 from bottom: *after* 87 *insert* ; MNTOZS, 86-102.

Page 525 (§ 143), line 15: *after* WMIA. *insert* Cf. also Rybatzki 2011, 194.

Pages 528-529 (§ 145): Regarding the medical material in the SH see also Wang, Ulij & Hutgletu 1993.

Page 531 (§ 145), second and third paras.: As G. Kara (p.c.) correctly points out, the reason for Činggis Qan being upset by the mess made by Jelme was the mess itself, not the taboo on

[19] Mainly on account of: 1. the ambiguity in the value of the character *k'an* 刊 in the transcriptions of the Yüan period; cf. Pulleyblank's reconstruction *k[h]an* for 刊 in LRP, 170; 2. the ambiguous reading *km* of Rašīd al-Dīn read as 'Kam' in SL[2], I/2, 120, where in n. 1 we read '*km*; ...— reka Gan, pravyĭ pritok r. Argun'; Thackston, RFJT, II/1, 182 and n. 1, reads 'Käm', and 3. although in Pe, 39, 166, we find 'Kän-mürän', in a note of HCG, 408, written at least twenty years later, Pelliot states: '..., mais jusqu'à l'Argoun et au Kan, et il y a encore aujourd'hui entre le Gan ou Kan (Kän) et le Tülbär...', and (p. 425): '... son affluent de droite le Gan (Kän, Gän)', indicating his uncertainty as to the correct name of the river. Cf. Hambis 1956, 285.

pouring blood on the ground. This is evident from the *qan*'s question: 'Couldn't you have spat further away?' My remark on the taboo should therefore be amended accordingly.

Page 534 (§ 146), first para.: Concerning 'the Orqon Turkish word *tötkön*, meaning "prisoners of war",' Rybatzki writes: 'One of the examples where ONON (1961.61: 169) quotes a non existing "Orkhon-Turkish" word **tötkön* 'prisoner of war'; the exact form is MTu., Uig. *tutyun* ~ Mtu. *tutqun* 'prisoner, captured' (BERTA 1996. 383-391, esp. 385 [= Á. Berta, *Deverbale Wortbildung im Mittelkiptschakisch-Türkischen, Turcologica* 24–I.R.]'. See Rybatzki 2008, 142, also for further references.

Page 536 (§ 147), line 21: *after* 469 *insert* ; Ölmez 2010.

Page 538 (§ 148), line 13: *after* 87 *insert* , and Veit 2010, 577.

Page 538 (§ 148), line 16: *after* 77 *insert* ; Kradin & Skrynnikova 2006, 107-108.

Page 542 (§ 149), line 20: Regarding my statement that '*(h)ači* is a true Mongolian word', Rybatzki 2008, 542, writes: 'Contrary to the opinion expressed by DE RACHEWILTZ , MMoS, P *haci* ~ U *ačï* "favour, grace; merit; requital, reward, benefit; etc." could be borrowed from Tu. *ači-* "Mitleid haben, sich erbarmen" > *ačïγ* "a gift" (Ry 06.22).' I think this is unlikely because of the initial *h* of the Middle Mongolian form; I would rather expect the reverse to be true.

Page 544 (§ 149), second para.: Regarding *taki/teki*, Rybatzki 2008, 142, writes: 'The relation between the Mo. particle *tAQi* "also" OT, MTu., Uig. *taqï* "...; «and; furthermore», or after one or two words meaning «also», ..." (C72. 466, ERDAL 2004. 573) would be worth a detailed study, similar to what ERDAL (1991) did with regard to the particle GU.' I fully agree.

Page 550 (§ 150), line 18: *after* connotation. *insert* Cf. also Rybatzki 2008, 142.

Page 551 (§ 150): lines 5-6: For the Arabic-Mongolian document of 1272 see KECO, 160 (l. 27), 164 (l. 27), 197. Cf. MPr, 271 (l. 27); MMUMS, 191-192. The following is a tentative translation of the relevant portion (ll. 1-61): 'On the second

qaučid of the first month of summer of the year of the Monkey (= 20 May 1272), when Nuradin (= Nūr al-Dīn), the son of Čaǰa (?), was at Ladib Kermen Sarai, he relinquished his own possessions, all of them, making them an *uqb* (= arab. *waḳf*) for the sake of Heaven. He had (the deed) entered in this document: "After me, no one, whether (they be) my brothers, my sons, my daughters or sons-in-law, my grandchildren or great-grandchildren, shall make changes to this *uqb* (and include) people other than the persons recorded in this document. If (anyone) contravenes, he shall be culpable (and liable to punishment) by Eternal Heaven!" Being told to accomplish (this) and carry it out in accordance with what has been written in this document, we, together with all (our) companions—these officials (*noyad*)—have acted as witnesses, being (the following): Samaγar, Bainal, Dayir, Kökečü, T(e)mür, Ạbügen, Köke, Buqa T(e)mür, Samdaγu, Iltüge (? Iltöge), the post-stations inspector Taǰadin, Maryus, Taraγai, /Nabči's commander of a hundred/ Uriangqadai, the equerry Alaγ, Unuγučar (? Onoγučar), Ungiyan (? Ongqiyan) and the steward Bala, Čirgin (? Čirbin), Qutu Buqa, Buγačar, Boranud's commanders (*noyad*) Ögölǰin (and) Čamtu, the commander of a hundred Samdaγu, the equerries Čoban, Negbei; Maγu, Čaqa (? Čaγa), Nabči's intendant Toγtoγa, Ạsen, Čauγa, Toγan, Turumtai, Audači (? Ečüdeči), Uriangqadai's son Qitadai, Nabči's camp-master Qanglidai, Talbar, Keremün; further, the companions of the commander Samaγar, the stewards Mergegü, Taraγai, Bökmiš (? Bükmiš), T(e)mür, Qurtuγa; Tödegü, Šongqor, Botoγan, Bora, Körbuγa, Qalǰaγai, Il Qutluγ, Mulayidai, Mamačuγ, Tegene, Sadi, Tabar, Šongqor *bayatur*, Bainal's companions, Masqud, Külebir, Mulaid, Qoltu Qoǰa, Kökečü, Noγai, Böbeg (? Bübeg), Kökedei, Iduγadai, Nasuqutluγ, Yüreg, Aban; further, the commander of a thousand Ayid, the commanders of a hundred Uγsa, Toγuladai, Γasan, Kökedei, Türkmen, Yisüder, … egesün (?), Qadaγan, Qočγar, the intendant Möngkegür, (and) Qutuγu. We all,

complying with Nuradin's (word =) order, have acted as witnesses for this *uqb'*. (Lines 62-67 are by another hand.)

Page 551 (§ 150), line 16 from bottom: *after* 19 *insert* ; Rybatzki 2011, 193.

Page 551 (§ 150), line 12 from bottom: For tu. *el* see also Zimonyi 2003.

Page 552 (§ 150), second para.: For the name given by the Tanguts to their own kingdom see Franke H 2002, 227 and n. 3. On this kingdom see also Dunnell 2009. For the Tanguts and their culture see now the important contributions in TCA. See also J. Greenbaum's lively and informative account 'Ningxia: The Tanguts and the Khan' at http://www.yuzile.com/en/

Page 553 (§ 151), line 9: *after* 669 *insert* ; Rybatzki 2005, 105-106.

Page 554 (§ 151), line 17: *after* (Index) *insert* ; QKEEH and all the other contributions of M. Biran to the subject.

Pages 554-555 (§ 151): The ethnic name *uyyur* has been treated at length in PTMD, 55b-56b. Cf. also Schönig 2006, 238 (13), and Kempf 2010/11, 197-199. For the Uighurs and the establishment of the Kitan state see Wang Xiaofu in CSIA, 139-182; and for the Uighurs in the Mongol period see also SMUNE and Matsui 2009, as well as W.-C. Tsai's review of MCWH in the H-War website for September 2012, 2-3.

Page 558 (§ 151), line 24: *after* 15ff. *insert* See also the references in Rybatzki 2006, 142 (p. 558).

Page 560 (§ 152), line 5: *after* emotions. *insert* See Sárközi 2009, 159-161.

Page 561 (§ 152), line 5: *after* 549b *add* ; SFQ[1], 502.

Page 562 (§ 152): With regard to mmo. *sarta'ul*, *sartaqtai* and *sartaqčin* designating Central and Western Asian Muslims, as well as Khwārazmians and the Iranian urban population, Rybatzki 2008, 142, writes: 'There exists no MMo. word like **sartaq*; perhaps the forms should be reconstructed as OT, MTu., Uig. *sart* ~ Uig. *sarta*° > MMo. **sarta* > MMo. *sartaqtai*, *sartaqcin*, *sartaqul* (Ry 06.718-719); the exact function of these suffixes needs further investigation; cf. also

ZIEME 2005c [= Zieme 2005–I.R.].' This is not quite correct. Mmo. *sartaq* is well attested as a proper name borne by various personages in the 13th c., the most famous of whom is Batu's first son. The name is attested in the Chinese, Persian and Western sources. Cf., for example, *Chapitre CVII*, 52, 53, n. 2; HWC, 268; *Successors*, 108 and n. 54; RFJT, III, 810 (General Index); NNHO, 34; Hambis 1960, 151-153; and the many editions and translations of William of Rubruck's *Itinerary*. Cf. PEGK, 126-127, 129, 133. For more examples of its use see Hambis 1960, 152-153; Schönig 2006, 236 (9); and, indeed, Rybatzki 2006, 165. To the best of my knowledge the Middle Mongolian form *sartaqul* does not exist, the written form being *sartaγul* (see the 'Stone of Chingis', l. 2; cf. IAP, 161) > mmo. *sarta'ul*, as in the SH, § 152. While *sarta'ul*, *sartaqčin* and *sartaqtai* are formed on *sartaq* with the mmo. den. noun suff. *-'ul* (pmo. *-γul*, on which see MÜIT, 2629, no. 183 [1]), *-čin* (~ *-ǰin*, see HCG, 253), and *-tai* (~ *-dai*, see Cleaves 1949b, 418), *sartaq* (pmo. *sartaγ*) < **sarta* + den. noun suff. *-q* (*-γ*), which suffix is usually a deverbal noun suffix (see GWM, § 146) and is not known as a suffix designating ethnic origin. However, there is a rare and generally ignored den. noun suff. *-γ/-g* which forms words with the same or similar meaning of the primary noun, e.g. mo. *siγaru* 'dregs' > *siγaruγ* id., *aya* 'manner' > *ayaγ* 'character', *qolima* 'mixture' > *qolimaγ* 'id., conglomerate'. See MÜIT, 2581b-2582a, no. 125 (3 & 4).[20] I believe it is possible that uig. *sart* has been 'mongolized' as a proper name with the addition of such a suffix. Also, in the preclassical language it happens that a Turkic word ending in two consonants is borrowed into Mongolian with the addition of a final *a/e*, e.g. uig. *qïlïnč* 'act, action, deed' > pmo. *qilinč*, *qilinča*, *kilinča* (> *kilinče*) id. See Cleaves 1954, 111-112, n. 224; *Lettres*, 42; SG, 135. Thus we may postulate the following

[20] Although MÜIT is a true lexical mine of information regarding suffixes, each word must be thoroughly checked before being accepted as a valid example in Sečenčoγtu's classification. The shortcoming of this otherwise very useful tool is its often uncritical inclusiveness.

development: uig. *sart* > pmo. **sarta* > *sartaγ* (as in Sartaγčin; cf. Cleaves 1949, 101, n. 33) = mmo. *sartaq*. There are indeed numerous suffixes either not registered in the standard Mongolian grammars, or insufficiently described and, as rightly pointed out by Rybatzki, they do deserve a thorough investigation.[21] For the term *sart* and its connotations see Zieme 2005. The last occurrence of the term *sartaγul* in a Mongolian inscription is found in the stele of Tyr of 1413. See TSXVV, 117 [3]; and 119 [3], 131, where it is translated as 'Muslim'. For the often vague and deceptive term *Hui-hui* 回回 in the 13th and 14th c. see Cleaves 1951a, 497ff; Huang S 1986, and the literature cited therein; and, more recently, TSHY, 138-147. It should be pointed out, however, that *pace* Ma Chien-ch'un 馬建春 (loc.cit.), in the first half of the 13th c. the 'Hui-hui script' did not designate the Arabic-Persian script, but the vertical Uighur script. See P. Pelliot in *TP* 28:1932, 417-418. Cf. Cleaves, loc.cit., and CG, 93 (5).

Page 564 (§ 152), third para.: For the etymology of the second element of the name Altun Ašuq cf. also PTMD, 174b.

Page 568 (§ 153), first para.: Regarding the early Mongol *ǰasaq*, contrary to what is stated at the end of this para. the subject is far from exhausted, and valuable contributions to it must now be taken into account to both complement and supplement those already cited. Soon after the publication of RSH, two interesting articles on medieval Mongol law and on the penal legislation among the Mongols (13th to 21st c.) respectively appeared in the Festschrift for H. Franke, viz. Nasilov 2004 and Aubin 2004. (On a topic related to the one treated in Aubin 2004 see also Veit 2010.) These were followed in 2005 by the appearance of the splendid volume of MTO containing a major contribution to the investigation of Činggis Qan's 'Great *Yasa*' by D. Morgan (Morgan 2005) which I shall discuss further on.

[21] The suffix *-γ/-g* deserves special attention as it also plays a non-productive role in other suffixes, such as *-γči/-gči* (< *-γ/-g-či*), *-γsi/-gsi* (< *-γ/g-si*) and *-γda-/-gde-* (< *-γ/g-da-/-de-*). Cf. 'Nominalsuff.', 112 (§ 23.3), 115 (§ 29); 'Verbstamm.', 53 (§ 66).

The years 2005 and 2006 saw also the publication of two articles by Mongol scholars on the same subject. They injected fresh enthusiasm into the quest for the elusive code of laws with the claim that seventeen original articles from it have been discovered in a Korean source of 1268-80. Unfortunately, the evidence provided by the two authors is too scanty for a critical evaluation of the claim. See Sum'yabaatar 2005 and Chimed 2006.[22] Finally, in 2010 Chogt's study of the Law of Činggis Qan (CKH) appeared in Japan. This is an excellent broad survey of the 'legal' pronouncements of Činggis Qan in their various forms (*ǰasaq*, *ǰarliq*, *bilig*), with a critical discussion of the 'Great *J̌asaq*' and the *Köke debter* of SH, § 203, making full use of the abundant information contained in the SH and the Persian sources.[23] The earlier-mentioned Morgan 2005 deserves special attention insofar as it critically reviews the most important contributions to the problem. In de Rachewiltz 1993 I was not entirely convinced that Činggis' *J̌asaq* existed in his lifetime as a written code and that is why I spoke then (p. 104 of my article) of 'likelihood'. I entirely concur with Morgan that the matter cannot be definitely settled until some

[22] The 'discoverer' of the 17 articles is B. Sumyabaatar of Ulan Bator. According to Chimed 2006, 422, n. 23, an earlier (2003) article by Sumyabaatar on the subject of his discovery appeared in the 'National University of Mongolia. Mongolian Language, University of Culture, Scientific Writing, Volume xx, Book xxviii, 2003, pages 232-243' under the title 'The part of Genghis Khan's Law of Ikh Zasag was found' (u.w.). In Sum'yabaatar 2005, 163, the author gives only a single reference: 'Koryosa, cz. 27, Plen'yan, 1963, s. 127', s.a. 1273. The only other work cited in the article is S.D. Dylykov, *Ikh caaz (Velikoe uloženie)*, Moscow, 1981.

[23] Unlike most modern studies (articles, books) on Činggis Qan's 'Great *J̌asaq*' published in Mongolia, Chogt's monograph is of a high scientific standard and ought to be translated into English. By contrast cf. N. Niam-Osor, *Mönx xöx tèngèrèès soyorxson Čingis xaany zarlig buyuu Ix zasag xuuliĭn taĭlbar*, Ulan Bator, 2003. Cf. also the two recent contributions by O. Dagvardož and G. Myagmarsambuu in MNTTS, 140-144 and 145-152 respectively, as well as Birge 2009 and Veit 2010, 578-579.

new source comes to light.[24] However, I am now of the opinion that since we know 1. that Ögödei upon his enthronement in 1229 promulgated the 'Great *J̌asaq*' (*Yeke J̌asaq*), i.e. Činggis Qan's Law, and 2. that the Mongols had been keeping written records of administrative *and judicial* matters since 1206 (see SH, § 203), I am inclined to believe that we are dealing here with a codified, written Law. Certainly, the Mongols in the 13th c. knew of a *Yeke J̌asaq* going back to Činggis Qan. This piece of evidence, added to what J̌uvainī says, seems to confirm the existence of a written code, known also in Mongolia and China in the 13th c. as the 'Great *J̌asaq*', originating with Činggis Qan but open-ended, as it were. Additions and modifications were made to it by his immediate successors, especially Ögödei (who reorganized the army in the mid-1230s), but very much like the Code Napoléon which, with all its later modifications and additions, was still referred to as Code Napoléon, the evolving Činggisid code continued to be known as the *Yeke J̌asaq*. Unfortunately it was lost, like other precious early documents, such as the *Altan debter*, but like the *Altan debter* much of it has fortunately been preserved in other sources. As for Činggis Qan's *bilig*s, besides the already mentioned ČQǰBB and CKH, see also Kychanov 2006.

Page 568 (§ 153), line 3 from bottom: *after* 66) *add* ; and, more recently, the important contribution in Allsen 2006. Cf. § 243.

Page 569 (§ 153), first para.: For a comprehensive study of personal pronouns in the SH see Kuribayashi 2003; for *bida* in particular see Fujii 2012.

Page 571 (§ 154), sixth para.: For the individual or, as in the present case, collective punishment of an enemy to be meted out by the victor or the victim's kinsmen see Veit 2010, 577.

[24] This seems unlikely, but the possibility cannot be dismissed outright. Claims, such as those of G. Namǰil in ČQǰBB (1989) that *at least* ten articles of the 'Great *J̌asaq*' are preserved in the SH, and the more recent claim by B. Sumyabaatar about the seventeen articles preserved in the Korean source must still be duly evaluated.

Page 573 (§ 154), line 7: *after* 574 *insert* ; Moriyasu 2011, 49-51, 55-56.

Page 579 (§ 156), line 14 from bottom: *after* 113; *insert* Ligeti 2012, 197;

Page 582 (§ 158), line 19: For Yedi Tubluq of the Naiman cf. Rybatzki 2005, 112-113.

Page 583 (§ 159), sixth para.: For Kökse'ü Sabraq see ibid., 110.

Page 585 (§ 159), line 7: *after* maps. *add* Cf. ŽČXDT, 53-61.

Page 589 (§ 162), third para.: For the Kitan forms <s. iáŋ g. uŋ> 'lord' and <s. êŋ. un> 'chief of an army, etc.' corresponding to ch. *hsiang-kung* and *hsiang-wen* respectively see KLS, 128 (3.243 and 3.244).

Page 591 (§ 162), after line 16 insert new para.: 'At the time of that engagement' renders *tere so'or-tur*, lit. 'at that engagement'. The word *so'or* (w.f. **soγor*) occurs again in §§ 172, 177 and 208, always glossed *yin-tou* 引鬪 'battle, engagement, fight' (see KI, 428; CWTTT, 9919.137). However, in AT[1], 57b (= SH, § 162) we find *qoγor* instead, with the interlinear gloss *ǰabsar* '(in) between, pause'; idem in AT[1], 63b (= SH, § 172), and 65b (= SH, § 208); SH, § 177 is missing in the AT[1]. For this reason and the argument that initial *q* in Uighur-Mongolian script is easily confused with initial *s* (see above, Page 446 [§ 124]), Choimaa 2009, 49, is of the opinion that the SH *so'or* should be amended to *qo'or* = *qoγur* 'between',[25] *qo'or-tur* thus corresponding to mo. *qoγorundu* or *qoγurundu*, kh. *xoorond* '(in) between'. See MNTLAT, 110 and n. 232, and Čo[1], 105. The expression *tere qo'or-tur* would then mean, literally, 'in that between (= pause)', i.e. 'in the lull, meanwhile'.[26] I doubt whether we can accept this amendment which at first sight is perfectly plausible, especially since the sectional summary, in the only two cases (§§ 162 and 172) when it renders the expression in question, paraphrases it

[25] For mo. *qoγur*, or rather *qoγor*, 'between, in the middle', see Kow., 886b; DO, 359b.

[26] However, this interpretation is not reflected in Do-Er, 94, where that expression is translated 'At the time of that engagement' as in RSH.

'because (= taking advantage) of this opportunity' (因這機會) and 'on that occasion' (那機會裏).[27] The reason why I am reluctant to accept the proposed amendment is partly because, as already noted in TH, 238 (= ǰYT, 411) as well as in Ar[1], 295, n. 2, there is in Buriat a word *suur* which has survived in the expression *sėrėg suur* meaning 'troops, war' (BRS, 404a). It is possible that bur. *suur* = SH *so'or*, but in my opinion it is more likely that bur. *suur* < mmo. *ča'ur* (**čaγur*) 'military campaign' (< kit.), with the regular developments *č* > *s* and *aγu* > *ū*. However, the fact that the form *so'or* occurs not once, but *four* times in the SH, *always* glossed with the same Chinese expression makes the possibility of a confusion between *q* and *s* very remote. The word *so'or* remains, therefore, a *hapax legomenon* in Mongolian.

Page 596 (§ 165), fourth para.: A somewhat clearer picture of J̌oči's personality emerges from Qu-Liu 1998 where the authors also propose, on good grounds, the spring of 1225 for his death. If J̌oči was born in 1182 (see RSH, 411), he was then only forty-three years old.

Page 600 (§ 166), fourth para.: For Tayang Qan of the Naiman see Rybatzki 2005, 111-112.

Page 602 (§ 167), lines 8-7 from bottom: *for* which … explained *read* on which see Street 1990

Page 605 (§ 167), fourth para.: Regarding the 'black meat' (*qara miqa*), E. Chiodo (p.c.) has informed me that the expression *boro miqa* 'dark meat' occurs in an Oirat story entitled 'Gegedei Bayan' edited by B. Damrinǰab et al. In n. 1 on p. 594 of their volume *Sayali Mergen bolun Sayaday Mergen. Qara Usu-yin mongγol üliger* (Peking, 1996), the editors state that *boro miqa* or *qara miqa* mean 'meat without fat'. This may well explain the term *qara* 'black' applied to the meat and, by extension, to solid foods in general.

[27] See Pa, 81, 89. It is worth noting that Da[1], 129, in his version of § 162 renders *tere so'or-tur* as *tere ǰabsiyan-i tokiyalduyulǰu* 'seizing that opportunity', thus following Pa, 81. Incidentally, the AT[1] reading *qoγor* had already been adopted by Gaadamba in 1990 (Га, 88 and 336, n. 495).

Page 610 (§ 168), line 3: *after* contrary' *insert* (= 'contrary to all expectations')

Page 615 (§ 170), eighth para.: For Ma'u Ündür and its location cf. MNTOZS, 103-112; Bavuu 2010.

Page 616 (§ 170), fourth para.: For the important battle at Qalaqaljit Elet described in §§ 170-171 see Dmitriev 2004.

Page 618 (§ 170), line 9 from bottom: *after* n. 16 *add* ; Rybatzki 2011, 198.

Page 620 (§ 170), insert new para. before the last one: 'Ong Qan also said, "Younger brother J̌amuqa, you set our troops (*bidanu čerik*) in battle array!"' Ong Qan's use of the inclusive 1st person poss. pron. *bidanu* 'our' can be understood as a hon. plural (as, e.g., in §§ 199 and 233) or as an indicator of collective leadership, seeing that, in the same breath, Ong Qan entrusts J̌amuqa with the 'arraying of troops' (*čerik ǰasa-*) for the imminent encounter with Činggis Qan. But the troops in question are those of the 'centre' (*qol*), i.e. of the main body of Ong Qan's army which the latter should lead in person. Clearly, Ong Qan's increasing concern over Činggis' forces so vividly described by J̌amuqa caused him to devolve command of the operations to his ally. Hence J̌amuqa's immediate and indignant reaction: 'Ong Qan tells me to set these troops of his (*ene čerig-iyen*) in battle array ... *means that* he is less capable than I am.' The refl.-poss. *-iyen* 'his' (meaning confirmed by the sectional summary, Y^2 6, 7a4) is rightly emphasized in Pelliot's translation: 'Ong-qan me dit de commander cette armée qui est la sienne.' (Pe, 185.) I am grateful to J.C. Street for drawing my attention to this passage which presents an unusual linguistic feature, viz. the unique use of the refl.-poss. pronoun in indirect quotation. For the expression *čerik* (*čerig*) *ǰasa-* 'set (draw up, marshal) troops in battle order or array' see HW, 87 (s.v. jasaḥu); MA, 132a; TMEN, no. 1079.

Page 621 (§ 170), line 2: *after* me.' *add* Cf. Cl, 96 and n. 2, and Street 2009, 144.

Page 622 (§ 171), line 5 from bottom: *after* 184. *add* For Činggis' pronouncement with regard to Quyildar's orphaned children see § 185.

Page 623 (§ 171), line 18: *after* 318a *insert* ; and especially Kara 2009.

Page 624 (§ 172), line 16 from bottom: *after* 100. *add* The etymology of the name is uncertain. See HCG, 10; PTMD, 69a-71b; and, more recently, Kempf 2010/11, 198, where the author proposes a derivation 'from an earlier form **oygudai*, where the supposed ethnonym is **oygur*', i.e. 'the Uighur'. With regard to the spelling of the name, I would point out that, while the form Ögedei was the regular form in the Western Mongol empire and the one used by J̌uvainī and the Persian authors on the basis of a false folk etymology (see TMEN, no. 49), the correct form is Ögödei or Öködei which occurs in the Mongol sources in Uighur-Mongol and 'Phags-pa scripts of the 13th-14th c. (67 occurrences of which only two as Ögedei), as well as in the Chinese transcriptions of the same period. For additional biographical references and an assessment of Ögödei's reign see below, Page 984 (§ 269), second para., and Page 1038 (§ 281), fourth para.

Page 624 (§ 172), line 8 from bottom: *after* 4.3.1 *insert* ; MNTMSB, 110-111.

Pages 626-627 (§ 173): Regarding the cauterization of wounds as practised by the early Mongols see Wang, Ulij & Hutgletu 1993, and Meserve 2009 (with the excellent bibliography on pp. 126-128).

Page 628 (§ 174), fifth para.: With regard to the *učumaq* arrow, which the CYIY describes as a long arrow with a three-point head, R. Ackroyd has brought to my attention (p.c.) the *üčläč* of Maḥmūd al-Kāšγarī who glosses it as a 'type of arrow made of three sticks' (see CTD, III, 58), or consisting 'of three rods joined together with a piece of iron' (ED, 26a). Cf. DTS, 622a, s.v. *üčlüč*. This term is clearly formed on tu. *üč* 'three', not on *uč* 'to fly'. The etymology of *učumaq* may, therefore, have to be re-examined.

Page 628 (§ 174), line 3 from bottom: *after* 198 *insert* , and Čerengsodnam 2006, 11 (12.2);

Page 628 (§ 174), last para.: The poetic passage in question (see $Y^2$6, 16a3-5; cf. the sectional summary, ibid., 17b4) contains the word *qayiran*, glossed *k'o-hsi* 可惜, a common expression of pity and regret corresponding to 'alas!, what a pity (that), too bad (that)' and the like. Hence the various renderings '*atara*' ('alas!') ($Na^{1,2}$), 'ach' (Ha), 'vot i' (Ko), 'hélas!' (Pe, Mo), 'Alas!' (Cl), 'alas' (RSH), etc. However, in Preclassical Mongolian *qayiran*, usually written *qairan* (for pmo. *yi* ~ *i* cf. the forms *dalai-in*, *tngri-in, ǰali-in* in *IVLMMT* 1, 10; 2, 373, 374), was also used attributively with the meaning of 'pitiable, poor; beloved, dear, precious'. These acceptations are found for instance in the Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1338 (Cleaves 1951, 55 [20], 70 [20], but see below), in a Buddhist fragmentary text from Turfan (MBT, 125, 34r9) and in the TDB (F 5v, 28v, 38v and 57r). Cf. EDMM, s.v. The same applies to classical and modern Mongolian usage. See QNTT, 293b; MKeT, 1125a, b; Les., 913b; kh. *xaĭran* (MED, 419a); ord. *χāran* (DO, 346b); bur. *xaĭran* (BRS, 534b); etc. In Kow., 711b-712b, *qayiran*, for which there is no separate entry, has been incorrectly assimilated to *qayira* 'faveur, grâce, etc. etc.' (cf. Gol., II, 50b-c, lumping together *qayira* and *qayiran*),[28] whereas MDRW, 125c, ignores *qayira* and registers only *qayiran*, as QNTT does, which illustrates the confusion surrounding the two terms. Incidentally, *qayira* (*qaira*) is not attested in the preclassical language, but *qayirala-* (*qairala-*) 'to love, feel pity, begrudge'—a den. verb in *-la-* from *qayira* (*qaira*)—is well attested. See MMUMS, 518, 527; DES, 233. It is perhaps owing to such confusion that the *qayiran* of our passage has been rendered as 'poor' ('szegény') and 'dear'

[28] This gives the misleading impression that *qayira* is a noun with a variable *-n* stem like *dura(n)* 'wish, desire' (cf. Gol., III, 158c), which is of course not the case. It is interesting that only the term *qayiran*, with all the semantic connotations of mo. *qayira* and *qayiran*, has become a loanword in Manchu. See HM^1, 217a; CMEL, 123a.

('drága') in Li, 67 and 161, n. 174 (cf. also Ligeti 2012, 207: 'pauvre'; and 'dear' in Ta and LDAT), as well as 'beloved' in Oz^2 and Do-Er. In general, the modern Chinese translators have wisely employed the original *k'o-hsi* expression ('it is [*or* what] a pity that …'), or an equivalent rendering, just as modern Mongolian translators have adhered to *qayiran/xaĭran* ('poor [*or* dear/precious]') in their respective versions, thus retaining the ambiguity. The former acceptation, *pace* Ligeti et al., is the one guaranteed by *both* the interlinear gloss and the sectional summary, and well understood by Palladiĭ. See Pa, 90: 'žal' smotret' kak', i.e. 'it is a pity that'. Therefore, I am of the opinion that it is the correct interpretation of the term *qayiran* in this instance and in § 194, where it occurs in combination with another interjection likewise expressing pity and regret. Consequently, I cannot agree with Taube's statement in MBT, 125, n. 34r9, that the interlinear gloss *k'o-hsi* is a very free translation of the Mongolian *qayiran* 'gut' applied to Kökse'ü Sabraq. Unfortunately, the above remarks do not help us much in dispelling the basic confusion, in particular with regard to the etymology of *qairan* (*qayiran*). Haenisch made it derive, without comment, from *qayira-* (HW, 64), and such apparently was also Ligeti's opinion. See *IVLMMT* 2, 186, where '*qairan*' in the Buddhist fragment mentioned earlier on is listed under the entry 'qaira-'. However, according to G. Kara (p.c.), 'the misleading hyphen should mean here that this *qaira* is a root, the same as in *qayiran*, but it is certainly not a verbal one. … Pity, mercy, care, begrudging: all these may be covered by the verb *qayirala-* derived from *qayira*.' This would then also dispose of Haenisch's etymology which, as in the case of Ligeti's entry, would have presupposed a *nomen verbum* **qaira-*. (This verb is, in fact, not listed in Kara 1997.) But how can *qairan* be a den. noun (in *-n*) from *qaira*, since the noun-forming suffix *-n* is only attached to verbal roots (see GWM, § 175)? This fact has also been overlooked in MÜIT, 858-859, where *qayiran* < *qayira*. The occurrence of our problem word in the Sino-

Mongolian inscription of 1338 (see above) is worth noting since there it is used with the suffix *-tai* (GWM, § 138) in the form *qairan-tai*, which clearly corresponds to mo. *qayiratai* 'dear, beloved, loving', which in turn suggests that in this particular case *qairan* = *qaira* (*qayira*) 'love, favour, grace' with a redundant paragogic *-n*. If so, we should exclude *qairan-tai* from our investigation of *qairan* (*qayiran*) as it would no longer be relevant, but I doubt this in view of the fact that *qairan* is the only form found in preclassical texts. Support for the existence of an ancient verb **qayira-*, from which derives our dev. noun *qayiran* comes from S. Ozawa, for whom the *qayirala-* 'to be concerned (*or* feel sorry) about' of the SH, §§ 167, 199 and 267 (cf. HW, 64) is the iterative form of **qayira-*, not the den. verb in *-la-* from *qayira* as stated by Kara. See GHMBK, 505.[29] The problem deserves further study, but the evidence in my opinion is in favour of the existence in the preclassical language of a verb *qaira-* (*qayira-*) which later fell into disuse being replaced by its iterative form *qairala-* (*qayirala-*), and that *qairan* (*qayiran*) is a dev. noun formed on that verb.

Page 631 (§ 174), lines 5-6: *for* 'Who have as … a tree' *read* 'Who have become ones having a horse *as* a riding animal,/Who have become ones having a tree *as* a shelter'

[29] Ozawa, loc.cit., justifies the existence of *qayira-* on the basis of the occurrence of the form *qayira'asu* in SH, § 201 (= Y^2 8, 22a5), a *hapax legomenon* usually regarded as a defective transcription for *qayirala'asu*. Cf., e.g., El-Ar, 649; Ґa, 136; Ir, 189; El-Oy, 544, l. 5; Ar^1, 651; KCI, 382, 802 (qayira[la]=asu); Šo, 305; $Če^1$, 65; and $Čo^1$, 162. The form *qayirala'asu* actually occurs in § 199 (= $Y^2$8, 7b5). Significantly, however, Ligeti's reading in L^2, 170 (as in L^1, 143) is 'qayira'asu' confirming, in my view, that at the time the eminent Hungarian scholar did, in fact, accept the existence of the verb *qayira-*, which he may later have rejected. See *IVLMMT* 5, 253, where *qayiran* is listed separately with no reference to *qayira-*. In HW, 64, there is no separate entry for 'ḫayiraḫu', i.e. *qayira-*, although, as stated earlier, this verb is mentioned under 'ḫairan', and the form 'ḫayira'asu' is found in H, 64, § 201. Pe, 77 (and my SH, l. 7702; R, 293b, following Pe and L^2) and Ko, 276, likewise retain *qayira'asu*, as does St, 122, l. 8224. The reading *qayira'asu* is also confirmed by Y^3, see YSC, 717, 9b10. Ul, 255b, reads *qayirala'asu*.

Page 636 (§ 177), after line 12 insert new para.: 'The grass is good', lit. 'The grass has become good (i.e. abundant)'.

Page 639 (§ 177), fifth para.: For the personal name Udur (? ~ Udar) of possible Kitan origin cf. Rybatzki 2008, 142. However, kit. **udur* seems to mean 'east, eastern'. See KLS, 76 (2.344), 94 (3.053).

Page 641 (§ 177), line 8 from bottom: *after* 272. *add* Cf. ŽČXDT, 53-61.

Page 644 (§ 179), line 19: *after* hate.' *add* For the use of *yada-* 'to be unable' vs. *čida-* 'to be able' see Mönx-Amgalan 2007.

Page 646 (§ 179), line 14: *after* have *insert* indeed

Page 647 (§ 179), line 6: *for* probably *read* no doubt

Page 649 (§ 180), line 3: *after* 180; *insert* Golden 2001, 49; Y. Irinchin in CSIA, 315-330;

Page 649 (§ 180), line 7: *for* great-grandfather *read* great-great-grandfather

Page 654 (§ 181), line 3: *after* 178 *insert* ; Pürėv 2002; Tugusheva 2006 (for mmo. *bö'e* = otu. *qam*); Veit 2007; and Sarangėrėl 2012.

Page 654 (§ 181), first para.: For mmo. *sartaq* see above, Page 562 (§ 152). For *sartaqčin* cf. also Schönig 2006, 236 (9).

Page 657 (§ 182), line 10: *after* imperative. *add* For an excellent introduction to the subject, focussing in particular on the Nestorian remains, chiefly in the ruined town—possibly the northern capital of the Önggüt kingdom—known as Olon Süme ('Many Temples'), see ECRIM (2008). This volume is enriched by many beautiful illustrations. See also the numerous references to the Önggüt in ESCMYC, 168 (Index).

Page 658 (§ 182), first para.: For the merchant Asan and trade with the Mongols at the time see S. Colmon in MNTTS, 82-92. Rybatzki 2008, 142, suggests that the name Asan may also be interpreted as uig. 'Äsän. However, this is unlikely in view of the Chinese transcription A-san 阿三 instead of E-sen 額先. For *hsien* 先 = mmo. *sen* see HW, 187; Lew., 36, no. 159.

Page 659 (§ 183), second para.: Činggis Qan's nephew Yisüngge (ca. 1190-1270), the second son of his brother J̌oči Qasar, is

well known for his archery feat commemorated in the famous 'Stone of Chingis'—the granite stele found at the Khirkhir site near Nerchinsk in the basin of the Argun River some time before 1818 and transported to St. Petersburg in 1832, where it is kept in the Hermitage Museum. The stele, inscribed with five lines in Uighur-Mongol script, is regarded (incorrectly, in my opinion) as the first monument in that script, dating from 1224 or 1225. See de Rachewiltz 1976; IAP, 160-165. Yisüngge's archery feat is having shot an arrow 335 fathoms (*aldas*), i.e. ca. 535 m., at a long-distance archery contest in Central Asia immediately after Činggis Qan's campaign against Khwārazm (1218-24). With regard to this remarkable achievement, surpassed only by those of the Muslim archers (see de Rachewiltz 1976, 491, 503, n. 38), J. Man (p.c.) writes: 'I became rather intrigued by long-distance archery ("flight archery"). For info on recurved bows, I used Klopsteg's "Turkish Archery",[30] which includes the claim that in 1798 the sultan fired an arrow 972 yards in the presence of the British ambassador. The world record is by Harry Drake (US), in 1971, using a 300-pound bow which he pulled with two hands, lying on his back, the bow braced with his feet: 2,029 yards (1.15 miles)!' On Yisüngge see also RSH, 715. Some very interesting work has been carried out by Russian archaeologists at the Khirkhir and Kondui sites in the East Baikal region which in the 13th-14th centuries were part of the domain (*ulus*) of Yisüngge and his descendants. See Kradin 2010, 259ff. Cf. also TVAS III, II, 198ff.

Pages 664-665 (§ 184): With regard to the etymology of mmo. *terme* 'thin woollen textile, etc.', Rybatzki 2008, 142, points out that, as shown by A. Róna-Tas, this term is not of Tibetan origin, but a loan word in Tibetan, most probably from Mongolian, and ultimately from Greek. Cf. TMEN, no. 1340.

[30] I.e., P.E. Klopsteg, *Turkish Archery and the Composite Bow. A Review of an Old Chapter in the Chronicles of Archery and a Modern Interpretation*, 3rd enlarged ed., Manchester, 1987; repr. Derrydale Press, Lyon, 1993.

Page 668 (§ 185), line 8: *for* § 175 *read* §§ 171 and 175. Some translators, such as Eldengtei, Ardaǰab and Doronatib make the direct quotation of Činggis Qan's words begin with 'Qadaq Ba'atur' instead of 'Because Quyildar'. My rendering conforms with that of Haenisch, Pelliot, Kozin, Mostaert/Cleaves, Ligeti, Damdinsuren, Choimaa, Cėrėnsodnom and Ozawa. However, in view of the Chinese sectional summary ($Y^2$6, 53b-54a), one cannot ignore the interpretation of Eldengtei et al.

Page 668 (§ 185), line 9 from bottom: *after* 88 *add* ; MNTSu, 75-78; and A. Punsag in OUMĖIX, IX/1, 228-231.

Page 670 (§ 186), line 12: *for* Rybatzki [2003], s.v. *read* PTMD, 717b-718a; Rybatzki 2007, 224; Sinor 2007, 263-264; Hung CF 2008 (also for the date of Sorqaqtani's death).

Page 676 (§ 188), line 10 from bottom: *after* 534 *insert* ; Rybatzki 2005, 111.

Page 677 (§ 188), line 3: *after* 29; *insert* Rybatzki 2008, 142;

Page 679 (§ 189), line 5 from bottom: *for* Rybatzki [2003], s.v. *read* Rybatzki 2005, 110; Rybatzki 2007, 222.

Pages 680-681 (§ 189): Concerning the shamanistic ritual described in this section see Sarangėrėl 2012.

Pages 681-682 (§ 189): Regarding the word *torluq* 'weakling', which is not glossed (twice) in § 189 ($Y^2$7, 10a and 10b), there is no doubt that it corresponds to mtu. *turlaq* id. The word, which is not attested in Middle Mongolian (hence the lacunae in Y), eventually passed into Mongolian from the Naiman dialect, and although extremely rare it still survives today (see p. 681). Rybatzki 2008, 142-143, writes: 'Although MTu. *turluq* "lean, emaciated" is semantically connected with MTu. *tur-* "to be, or become, weak or emaciated", it can not be directly derived from it'. This is what is stated in ED, 546b, with regard to mtu. *turlaq* (not *turluq*; and, incidentally, the '*turluq*' in the quotation from the SH, § 189, in Rybatzki 2005, 113, and PTMD, 431a, is also an oversight for '*torluq*'). I think that tu. *toruq*, *turlaq* > na. *torluq* (SH) > mo. *turluγ*, *torloγ*. As for *turlaq* < *tur-* I cannot offer any explanation except that the

mtu. suffix *-laq/-läk* can function exceptionally as a deverbal noun suffix. Cf. PTF, 798b.

Page 685 (§ 190), third para.: For Torbi Taš see Rybatzki 2005, 112.

Page 687 (§ 190), sixth para.: With regard to my statements that Činggis Qan's younger brother Temüge Otčigin was given 'the additional title of *noyan*—a title often bestowed on the *qan*'s brothers and male offspring as high-ranking personages, in this case equivalent to "prince" (*kö'ün*)', and that 'The same applies to Činggis' half-brother Belgütei, who in the same passage is referred to as Belgütei Noyan (as also in § 112)', see the critical remarks in Rykin 2011a, 209, n. 18. Rykin is correct: in the two occurrences mentioned above (and other instances concerning Otčigin and Belgütei in the SH), *noyan* is not an 'additional title bestowed' on them, nor one 'often bestowed, etc.' as stated in my note, but a simple epithet following the name of a high-ranking personage. As already pointed out by Pelliot (HCG, 178), it simply means 'seigneur, chef ' = rus. *gospodin* (Rykin, loc. cit.). Cf. RSH, 807-808.

Page 687 (§ 190), line 2 from bottom: *after* 113. *insert* Cf., however, Street 2009, 146.

Page 691 (§ 191), last line: *after* 224. *insert* For a re-examination of the Chinese sources on the *kešik* of the Yüan dynasty see Hung CF 2003.

Page 692 (§ 191), line 11: *delete* and *and after* 36 *insert* ; and Čerengsodnam 2006, 6 (5).

Page 692 (§ 191), line 18: *after* 4 *insert* ; Skrynnikova 2004.

Page 695 (§ 193), line 4: *after* 193; *insert* Sarangerel 2012;

Page 699 (§ 194), second para.: On the name/epithet Güčülük (= Küčülüg, Küčlüg) Qan 'Strong (*or* Powerful) Qan', the son of Tayang Qan of the Naiman, see now the long entry in Rybatzki 2005, 107-110.

Page 701 (§ 194), first para.: Regarding the expression *gürdün-ü tuqul*, Kempf 2006, 499-500, rightly points out that my rendering of Ligeti's Hungarian translation as 'a calf which is as round as a wheel' (Li, 80) is not correct. The accurate

rendering is 'calf as big as a wheel', subsequently corrected by G. Kara (in LiK) to 'calf below the wheel(s)' (= below the cart). I regret my somewhat inaccurate translation; however, this does not affect my interpretation, although Kara's revision provides a plausible alternative. With regard to other, more recent translations, Do-Er, 130, renders the expression in question with 'a tethered calf', whereas Čo[1], 144, translates 'a wheel's (one-year-old) calf ', i.e. a small and weak calf tied to the wheel of a cart (see the explanatory note, ibid., 145). I do not doubt that the latter is the correct interpretation.

Page 702 (§ 194), line 3: For *qayiran*, reinforcing *čima*, see above, Page 628 (§ 174), last para.

Page 703 (§ 195), lines 3-4: With regard to the quotation from the Kül Tigin Inscription, Rybatzki 2008, 143, writes: 'According to BERTA (2004.184 [= Á. Berta, *Szavaimat jól halljátok ... A türk és ujgur rovásirásos emlékek kritikai kiadása*, Szeged–I.R.]) KT N:10 should be read *kiši oylï qop ölgäli tirimiš* "Human beings are all living/alive in order to die".' For the verb *tir-* 'to be alive', which is very common from the inscriptions onwards, see OTWF, 208.

Pages 709-710 (§ 195): Concerning the interrogative particle *-yu'u/-yü'ü* (w.f.**-yuyu/-yügü*), it should be pointed out that while its existence is recognized by Pelliot, Haenisch, Mostaert, Ligeti and Orlovskaya (see YMT, 155), and it is indeed confirmed by the HIIY, IIb, 6a5 (*bolqu-yu'u*; see *Matériel II*, 82), its presence in the SH is not acknowledged by Street (see St, 23, n. 181), nor by the majority of Mongol and Japanese Mongolists, with the notable exception of Ardaǰab in Ar[1]. These scholars read *-u'u/-ü'ü* (w.f. *-uu/-üü*) throughout. Cf., however, 'Trois documents', 465.

Page 714 (§ 195), line 7: *after* 81. *insert* For these two types of arrows cf. also Čerengsodnam 2006, 11-12 (12.3 and 12.4).

Page 715 (§ 195), line 22: *after* 78 *insert* , as well as Chan HL 1995. On the role of the crossbow in nomadic societies see Wright 2005.

Pages 715-718 (§ 195): On the puzzling expression *gürölgü mangqus* see Čerengsodnam 2006, 6-7 (6). On the semi-fabulous *mangyus* itself, Rybatzki 2008, 143, informs us that 'there exists a large unpublished historical and comparative study on the name *mangyus* written by H. HALÉN … unfortunately it is in Finnish'. See RR, xxvii, No. II. 6. For the *mangyus* in Buddhist literature cf. Š. Čoĭmaa in AMBMS, 442 (10).

Page 718 (§ 195), lines 7-8: *delete* and *and after* 68 *insert* ; and A. Očir in MNTTS, 60-64.

Page 718 (§ 195), line 9 from bottom: *after* 24 *insert* ; Sárközi 2009, 160.

Pages 728-729 (§ 198): The puzzling designation of Ögödei's wife Töregene as 'The Sixth Empress' has been thoroughly re-examined in Qiu YH 2010 and MTCC, 121-127, confirming the interpretation of de Rachewiltz 1999a. On Töregene see also Rybatzki 2007, 219. The etymology of the name remains uncertain. Cf. ibid., and PTMD, 429a-430a.

Pages 731-732 (§ 198): In his latest version of the SH, Cėrėnsodnom describes the *šiba-yin sumun* as the kind of arrow shot in clusters and coming down 'like rain', an interpretation followed also by Čoĭmaa, whereas Ardaĭab renders it as a 'stray arrow'. See Če[1], 61, n. 1; Čo[1], 154, 155n.; Ar[2], 179. Do-Er, 139, translates 'In a barrage of arrows', which conveys the idea.

Page 732 (§ 198), last line: *after* 82 *add* ; Sarangėrėl 2012.

Page 733 (§ 198), second para.: For the Qarluq Turks see also Rybatzki 2007a, 8-9.

Page 733 (§ 198), last para.: For the Qanglï see NNRS, Index, 12a; for the Qïpčaq see also Schönig 2006, 238; Golden 1997, 87, n. 3; and IHTP, 270 et passim.

Page 735 (§ 199), second para.: Regarding the career of Sübe'etei Ba'atur, an Uriangqai tribesman who rose to be the greatest Mongol general of all times, the 2004 biography by R.A. Gabriel (STV) unfortunately is unreliable because the author has not made full use of the Chinese sources. A detailed study of Sübe'etei's military campaigns has been prepared by

Carl Sverdrup, author of a valuable contribution on the size of the Mongol armies (Sverdrup 2010), but it has not yet been published. When it appears it will both complement and supplement P.D. Buell's important studies of 1992 and 1993, and, hopefully, settle once and for all the controversial chronology of Sübe'etei's campaigns under Činggis Qan. See RSH, 1045-1050. Cf. AZMWE, 255-258.

Page 737 (§ 199), line 9 from bottom: *after* 733. *add* Cf., however, Rybatzki 2008, 143.

Page 741 (§ 199), line 2: *after* 208. *insert* Cf. also Kara 2006, 35; de Rachewiltz 2007, 121 and n. 46.

Page 742 (§ 199), line 13: *after* 66 *insert* ; Fujii 2012.

Page 747 (§ 200), line 2: *after* above. *add* For the betrayal of such loyalty and the ensuing penalty see Veit 2010, 575ff.

Page 750 (§ 201), line 12 from bottom: *after* 117 *add* ; Cleaves 1950, 107, n. 20.

Page 750 (§ 201), line 11 from bottom: *after* enter.' *add* For the use of antithesis in the SH see Manlažav 2004/05, 44.

Pages 753-754 (§ 201): With regard to the ancient Mongol practice of carrying out executions without loss of blood see also Endicott-West 1993 and Veit 2010, 577; and, for the Mongols' concern about a dead man's 'bones' (*yasun*) and the integrity of the skeleton see now the informative essay by P.O. Rykin (Rykin 2010a, esp. pp. 268ff.).

Page 758 (§ 202), first para.: For *sisgei* ~ *isgei* 'felt' cf. above, Page 466 (§ 124), fifth and sixth paras.

Page 758 (§ 202), line 15: *after*). *add* Cf. Veit 2010, 578.

Page 760 (§ 202): Regarding the designation Yeke Mongqol Ulus, Skrynnikova 2005c, 128, proposes 'Great Mongolia' as a more appropriate rendering, a suggestion which, I think, is well worth considering.

Page 761 (§ 202), line 8: *after* MTPL *insert* ; and, in particular, de Rachewiltz 2006.

Page 761 (§ 202), line 11: *after* Bira 1996; *insert* Ž. Gėrėlbadrax in MNTTS, 161-165 (also for a new periodization of Mongol history); S.W. Tu in OUMĖIX, IX/1, 159-165;

Page 762 (§ 202), line 19: *after* 206. *add* A later, legendary account of how Muqali was conferred this title by Činggis Qan is found in the AT[1], 102b. Cf. LDAT, 206.

Page 764 (§ 202), line 3: *after* 666b; *insert* (14) Čülgetei: this personage may well be the Čilgütei of the Suldus mentioned in §§ 120, 124. Cf. Li, 219, s.v. 'Csülgetej'. In Cl, 238a, his name is incorrectly transcribed as 'Čülgetü'.

Page 764 (§ 202), line 12: *after* 79; *insert* (38) Müge: on this personage see Franke H 2002, 241.

Pages 766-767 (§ 202), last para.: On Činggis Qan's distribution of commands and offices to his companions-in-arms and loyal followers see now also Skrynnikova 2008.

Pages 769-770 (§ 203): In the 13th and14th centuries the Mongols used a variety of terms and phrases to express the concept of 'crime' as the infringement of the rules and regulations they issued, i.e. 'contravening the word (= order)'. Culpability for transgression automatically entailed severe punishment, hence the notion of crime was inseparable from that of punishment. This was no doubt a reflection of the Mongols' constant preoccupation with the enforcement of the *ǰasaq* in the countries and on the different peoples they had recently conquered or were in the process of subjugating. See Ratchnevsky 1961 and 1987. The omission or failure to comply with the law (in the form of official injunctions, imperial rescripts, etc.) was usually expressed with the verb *alda-* and its derivatives. *Alda-* is a borrowing from Turkic, being in origin a passive in *-da-* from tu. *al-* 'to take' and meaning 'to deceive, cheat, lead into error' (see DTS, 34a; ED, 133a, s.v. *alta-*; TMEN, no. 533; MMḤS, 102, n. 70). Mmo. *alda-* 'to lose, fail, err' in legal terminology came to mean 'to commit a fault/transgression liable to punishment, viz. a crime', hence, by extension, 'to be guilty and punishable'. From *alda-*, usually employed in the imperative of the 3rd person *aldatuγai* 'he shall be held punishable' (Cleaves), 'he shall be guilty' (Poppe), derive the terms *aldal* 'offence, crime; penalty, punishment (see above)' (> *aldaltu*, *aldaltai*, *aldaltan* [pl.] 'guilty, punishable'), *aldasi*

id., and the *hapax legomenon alday* id. *Aldal* occurs in the SH and other preclassical texts (see HW, 5; MMUMS, 294); *aldasi* only occurs in Chinese documents transcribed as *an-ta-hsi* 按打 (荅, 答) 奚 (see Cleaves 1961, 70-73, n. 5); and *alday*, which I regard as a turkicism, only in line 2 of the short and defective closing formula in Mongolian of the Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1240—the so-called Edict of Töregene (see Cleaves 1961, 69-74; de Rachewiltz 1981, 53-63).[31] The last two terms have been the subject of much discussion, chiefly in connection with the 1240 bilingual inscription, the three lines of which read *ạne minu üge busi bolγaγsan kümün/yeke erke alday sitü boltuγai ạne/bičig qulaγana ǰil* 'The person who shall have contravened this my word (= order), shall be guilty (and liable to punishment for his crime)[32] [by] the great power (of Everlasting Heaven)! This Writ [I have written it in] the Year of the Rat (= 1240).' The Mongol text cannot be translated literally because of its extreme conciseness and on account of its special terminology; hence, other renderings are possible. For the interpretation of *yeke erke* see de Rachewiltz 1981, 55-56.[33] Further on *alda-* cf. Ž. Čimėddorž in *AMo* 8 (306): 2008, 201-208.

[31] The term *alday* as such is not attested in Mongolian except in the 1240 inscription. Cf. mtu. *alday* 'fraud, trick, cheat, deceit'. See ED, 130b, s.v. *altag*; VWTD, I/1, 414b and 414a, s.v. *alday*. For the infringement of the *ǰasaq* see de Rachewiltz 1993, 97ff.

[32] *Sitü* = *metü*. See Cleaves 1951, 80-81, n. 55. For its role of formative of nouns of possibility and convenience (= '-able') and of *nomina adiectiva* see HW, 142 and MKh, I, 271 (5.11). I regard *alday sitü* = *aldaltu* 'guilty (of a transgression →), punishable'. Cf. A. Mostaert in Cleaves 1961, 70, n. 5; DES, 8, s.v. ALDAГ.

[33] Although I am still of the opinion that *yeke erke* refers to Heaven, I cannot exclude the possibility that in the present instance the reference is to the *qan*'s authority or to the authority of the chief Mongol regional commander or *yeke daruγači*. Cf. the example cited in Kow., 2314b. I should add that the injunction contained in the Mongol text is nothing but a reiteration/confirmation of the same formulaic expression at the end of the Chinese text of the edict which, however, does not contain any reference to a superior authority. For this formula cf. Cleaves 1961, 67, n. 25. For the differing interpretations of

Page 773 (§ 203), line 7: *after* 235. *insert* For the term *debter*, its meanings and etymology, see Róna-Tas 1965, 139; DES, 78, s.v.; de Rachewiltz 2004a, 53, n. 12; K.H. Menges in *CAJ* 5: 1959/60, 141.

Page 773 (§ 203), line 9 from bottom: *delete* and *and after* 114 *add* ; and MNTMSB, 217-226. At this juncture, one should emphasize the important remark made by D. Morgan on Činggis Qan's early reforms, viz. that 'the Mongols, far from being unconcerned with administration, were positively obsessed by its detail: and this was before the Mongols began their imperial expansion'. See Morgan 2004a, 133.

Page 774 (§ 203), line 9: *after* 'book'). *add* For Činggis Qan's role in introducing the use of the Uighur Turkic script which was to become the Uighur-Mongol script (*uyiγurǰin*) in the fledgling Mongol administration see Čoïmaa 2007a. Although the fact is not mentioned in the SH, it was two years before, in 1204, after the Naimans' defeat, that Činggis Qan had appointed their scribe and seal-keeper Tatar Toŋa as his own seal-keeper and tutor in Uighur script for his sons. See above, Pages xxxiv-xl and, especially, BMN, 25-32 and 79-103, where the whole issue of the adoption of the Uighur script and its modification by the Mongols is treated in detail.

the Mongol text of the edict, besides the above-mentioned Cleaves 1961 see, in particular, Matsukawa 2007; cf. Miya 2011, 732, 704; MGKN, 14. Matsukawa 2007 reads *aldangqi* 'penalty' (< *alda-* 'to punish' + dev. noun suff. *-ngqi* [> *-ngki*]) what we read as *aldaγ si(tü)* on the ground that the term *an-ta-hsi* which we have so far transcribed in Mongolian as *aldasi* (or *alda[γ]si*) must be read *aldangqi* since ch. *hsi* 奚 in the 13th-14th c. represented the Mongolian sound *qi* or *ki*, not *si* (= *ši*), as confirmed by the transcriptions of the personal name Buralqi ~ Buralki in Mongolian documents in Uighur-Mongolian script dating from 1247 and 1335. Thus, for Matsukawa *aldaγ sitü* is actually *aldangqi-tu* 'having penalty', hence 'punishable'. This new interpretation is very tempting but for two obstacles. Firstly, ch. *an-ta-hsi* cannot transcribe mmo. *aldangqi* since the second syllable of this word is *dang*, not *da*; consequently a Chinese transcription would render mmo. *dang* with *tan* or *tang*: *an-dan-hsi* or *an-dang-hsi*. Secondly, the dev. noun suff. *-ngqi* (= *-nggi*) usually forms already *nomina adiectiva* (see 'Nominalsuff.', 97, § 4.5); therefore, the suff. *-tu* would be redundant. As for ch. *hsi* 奚, in the 13th-14th c. it could transcribe mmo. *qi* or *ki* (< *qi*), or *śi* (< *χi*) according to the whim and Chinese dialect of the transcriber. See de Rachewiltz 1981, 57-59, n. 58; L. Ligeti in *AOH* 38:1984, 345-346. Cf. LRP, 329: xī 奚, Y. [= Yuan] xi'. The transcriptions Buralqi, Buralki reflect Ancient Mandarin, whereas that of the term *aldasi* reflects Middle Mandarin. Thus the Uighur-Mongolian transcriptions of the former are no longer *ad rem* in our discussion.

Page 774 (§ 203), line 2 from bottom: *for* 'dust.' *read* 'dust'; Ligeti 2012, 189.

Pages 786-787 (§ 207): For the Tö'ölös (Tö'eles) and Telengüt tribes see also the relevant entry in Schönig 2006, 212-215 (2.2).

Page 790 (§ 208), line 11 from bottom: *after* meaning. *add* Cf. Čerengsodnam 2006, 7-8 (7).

Page 791 (§ 208), line 13: *after* principle. *add* In § 208 the form *töre* (~ *törö*) occurs twice, not three times as in L^2, 179, where the first *töre setkiǰü* should read *törö setkiǰü*. However, in the corresponding section in AT^1, 65b, we find the form *törö* throughout. Cf. ATL, 139-140. *Törö* is the only form occurring in the AT, as indeed in all preclassical texts. *Töre* ~ *törö* occurs also in the HIIY. See *Matériel I*, 102. For *töre* cf. TMEN, no. 134; EDMM, s.v. Please note that pmo. *törö* is regularly written *törö*, never as *tǫrö*. Cf. below, Page 133 (§ 269), n. 41.

Page 792 (§ 208), line 5: *after* 130 *insert* ; Golden 2001, 48.

Page 795 (§ 210), line 10 from bottom: *after* 354. *insert* For the expression *gendü činua* cf. Čerengsodnam 2006, 8 (8).

Page 804 (§ 214), line 3: *after* 17 *add* ; Čerengsodnam 2006, 8-9 (9). Tu. *yemlän-* 'to feed, satisfy' is duly entered in DTS, 256a, with an example taken from the *Qutadyu bilig* (Herat ms., dated 1439); however, see Rybatzki's reservations in Rybatzki 2008, 143, and the references cited therein.

Page 805 (§ 214), sixth para.: For the treatment of wounds cf. also above, Pages 626-627 (§ 173).

Page 811 (§ 219), second para.: For the semantics of tu. *yurt*, also in relation to mmo. *nuntuq* ~ *nutuq* (mo. *nutuγ*; cf. RSH, 236), see Rybatzki 2008, 143. Regarding the allocation of pastureland for free use as grazing ground in reward for past

service see HLUM, 43ff. For the title of *darqan* see also PTMD, 422b-425a.

Page 819 (§ 224), lines 6-7: *for* power *read* strength and power have

Page 824 (§ 226), line 5: *after* names *insert* (and their variants!)

Page 824 (§ 226), line 8: *after* 277. *add* As Pelliot, in Hambis, loc. cit., rightly points out, 'Il est impossible de dire, sans un examen minutieux de tous les textes, quels sont ceux qui se rapportent à Älǰigidäi [i.e. Alčidai-I.R.], fils de Qači'un, et ceux qui concernent des homonymes ou quasi-homonymes'. Even then, I doubt whether some of the individuals bearing these names can be positively identified.

Page 831 (§ 229), second and third paras: The last passage of this section, containing a rhetorical question about Elǰigidei's arrest by the nightguards for infringing Činggis Qan's ordinance, is usually taken as part of Činggis' pronouncement on the subject, although it follows at the end of it and comes immediately after the words *ke'en ǰarliq bolba*. Generally, translators have assumed that it was the continuation of Činggis' order with an exemplary illustration of a case of infringement involving a known personage and its consequences. However, this last sentence is not qualified by any *verba dicendi*, neither at the beginning nor at the end, and stands by itself *both* in the SH and in the parallel account in AT[1], 75a, *which means that it was in this form in the original text of the SH*. Therefore, this sentence is apparently the personal comment (on the ruling just enunciated by Činggis) of the author of the SH, while in § 278 the same comment, not in rhetorical question form but as a new additional command, is put in Ögödei's mouth when the latter re-issued Činggis' decree on the duties of the nightguards. See below, Page 1021 (§ 278), second and third paras.

Page 832 (§ 230), second line from bottom: *after* 743a. *insert* Cf. Čerengsodnam 2006, 9 (10).

Page 833 (§ 230), last line: *after* 33 *add* ; A. Punsag in MNTTS, 65-75.

Page 839 (§ 233), last para.: As far as the main base camp (*yeke a'uruq*) is concerned, it has nothing to do with the Avraga site described in Shiraishi 2009, 133, as it is not a reference to a 'specific' *a'uruq*, but a general one to the base camp belonging to the *qan*'s *ordo* when this is on the move (as during a military campaign) or stationary (as during a battue). Cf. §§ 253, 257. For the site of Avraga see above, Page 502 (§ 136).

Pages 842-843 (§ 235): On Arslan ('Lion') Qan and his name/title, Rybatzki 2008, 143, writes: '*Arslan* as part of the title was not only very common among Qarluqs, but the word is found frequently also in titles of Uigur rulers from Turfan (Ry 06.168-170, RYBATZKI 2007.9-10 [= PTMD and Rybatzki 2007a–I.R.].' Cf. also EDMM, s.v.

Page 847 (§ 238), line 4: *after* 21. *add* For the cult of the sun and the moon among the Mongols see above, Page 407 (§ 103), line 11.

Pages 849-854 (§ 239): The numerous tribes of northwestern Mongolia and southern Siberia mentioned in this section under the generic designation of 'People of the Forest' or 'Forest Folk' (*hoi-yin irgen*) have recently been dealt with in considerable detail in Schönig 2006 (with special reference to the south Siberian Turkic groups). Schönig deals also with tribes from these northern regions that have been mentioned earlier, such as the Oyirat (§ 141). The personal names and titles of their leaders, their wives and their offspring, are discussed in Rybatzki 2004, where the author also devotes space to individual tribes (the Qïrqïz [Kirgis], Oyirat, Qori and Tumat), as well as to the different lists of 'forest-folks' conquered by the Mongols. Further information about these various ethnic groups (of Mongolian, Turkic, Samoyed and Yeniseian origin) can be obtained from the primary and secondary sources cited by both authors. Such information as is now available is indispensable for a better understanding of the tribal population in these remote areas in the 12th and13th c.

Page 853 (§ 239), line 10: *after* 382 *insert* (see CSIA, 353-410)

Page 853 (§ 239), line 12: *after* 108) *insert* ; Kempf 2010/11, 200-201.

Pages 857-858 (§ 240): For the (Qori) Tumat, already mentioned in § 8 (see above, Page 247), cf. Schönig 2006, 232-234 (3); Rybatzki 2004, 114-116.

Pages 868-869 (§ 243): Regarding Činggis Qan's appointment of commanders (*noyat*) in charge of the administration of the fiefs or domains allotted to members of the royal clan and their special role see Punsag 2012. Cf. also RSH, 568 (second para.), 984, and Allsen 2006 on the redistribution of the conquered areas.

Pages 870-873 (§ 244): On *teb* and *qapγan* cf. Rybatzki 2008, 143-144.

Page 876 (§ 244), fifth para.: Mmo. *a'u* = pmo. *aγu*, mo. *aγuu*, with -γ- > -'-. In the preclassical language the word appears much more frequently in the form *aγui*, mmo. *a'ui* (see above, Page 375 [§ 80], second para.), but never as *aγuu*. This form simply indicates that the final vowel *u* is long, an orthographic device formalized in the classical language. In Preclassical Mongolian the intervocalic velars *q* and γ could both be written with the medial *ḫēth* marked with two points to avoid orthographic ambiguity. See 'Trois documents', 425-426. However, this practice was at times also liable to cause textual misreadings as in the following case involving the very word *aγu*. In line 10 of the Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1335 there is the sentence *J̌ang Ying-šui kemebesü Sön-ning vuu-a aγu sayin nere oldaγsan uǰaγur-tu kümün aǰuγu* which Cleaves, reading *aγu* as *aqu* (*nomen futuri* of *a-* 'to be'), rendered 'As for J̌ang Ying šui (Chang Ying-jui), he was a man who had an origin which was in Sön ning wuu (Ch'üan-ning-fu) and by which a good name had been found.' See Cleaves 1950, 71-72; cf. Ligeti in MPr, 38, where 'aqu' = *aqu* with two points. Thus both scholars, followed by D. Tumurtogoo in MMUMS, 15.10 ('aqu'), read *aγu* ("ǴW) as *aqu*. However, Prof. Dobu in UMÜDB, 248 [10], reads *aγu* as *aγu* (mo. *aγuu*) and clearly understands the sentence as meaning 'As for J̌ang Ying-šui, he

was a man who had an (illustrious) origin (= family) that had acquired (*or* gained) a wide and good name (= an excellent reputation) in Sön-ning vuu'. This alternative interpretation makes perfect sense. For a similar use of *aγu(i)*, *aγuu* cf. the expression *a'ui delger* (corr. *delegei*) *ǰoriq* 'la large et vaste intention' in HIIY, IIb, 12b (see *Matériel I*, 11, 28; *Matériel II*, 95-96; MMḤS, 111, Note 117), mo. *aγuu sayin* 'very good/ well', *aγuu yeke* 'huge, enormous'. Nevertheless, I think that Cleaves' interpretation is the correct one, even if the English rendering can certainly be improved, as I hope to show in a future study of Sino-Mongolian inscriptions.

Page 878 (§ 244), line 5: *after* long. *insert* Cf. MNTSu, 157-159.

Page 881 (§ 245), between lines 17 and 18 insert a new para.: 'On that,' lit. '(That) being said,'

Page 881 (§ 245), between lines 21 and 22 insert a new para.: For the verb *namančila-* 'to make amends, repent' (< skr.) see above, Page xcix, n. 218.

Page 881 (§ 245), lines 12-11 from bottom: '*They are* Qongqotan doing what, those ?' (In my translation I used the present participle instead of the past participle for emphasis.) However, one can also read 'Having done what, those Qongqotan ?' For the emphatic construct with the demonstrative pronoun following the noun, see, for example, the end of § 270 (R, ll. 11212-11213). Cf. Cl, 211. See also Ar^{2}, 237, for a rendering into modern Mongolian, and Do^{1}, 277 and Ar^{1}, 449, for two renderings into modern Chinese of this interrogative sentence.

Page 883 (§ 245), line 8: *after* n. 122 *insert* ; and Mönx-Amgalan 2007, 116 (6).

Page 883 (§ 245), second para.: On the killing of Teb Tenggeri (by implicit order of Činggis Qan) from the point of view of the contemporary 'système vindicatoire' (on which see Veit 2010, 575ff.), see ibid., 583. And, for the execution by the breaking of the spine, cf. Endicott-West 1993.

Page 885 (§ 245), line 18: *after* beginning. *insert* For *danglasun* 'clod, hard lump of earth' (→ 'brick') see RH, 250, no. 5;

Ligeti 2012, 190. As for the words *dalai müren* 'sea and rivers', they are translated literally as in Mo, 291, 292, but it is possible that they are a calque of the Turkic binom *taluy ögüz* id. = 'sea, ocean' (DTS, 529b; ED, 502b). If *dalai müren* is indeed a 'mot-couple' (see RSH, 267), the meaning of which is the same as that of the first element of the compound, the verse would read: 'Since the sea was *only* the size of a rivulet'.

Page 887 (§ 246), line 16: *after* (*or* undoes).' *insert* For *hudaru-*, lit. 'to untie, unstitch', cf. Mo, 171; L. Bold in AMBMS, 528-536, and Bold 2012. The meaning is, of course, 'to recant'.

Page 889 (§ 247), first para.: For the military system of the Chin dynasty see also KKCM, esp. pp. 215-245.

Page 889 (§ 247), line 19: *for* and FJC, 156-165 *read* FJC, 156-165, and UÜGI, 113-123.

Pages 891-892 (§ 247): Concerning the multilingual Buddhist inscriptions in the famous arch-gate of Chü-yung kuan see the long and instructive note in Rybatzki 2008, 144. Rybatzki is at present engaged in a detailed investigation of this very important linguistic and archaeological monument of the Yüan dynasty.

Page 894 (§ 247), fifth para.: On the Chin capital Chung-tu (J̌ungdu) see also Corradini 2010, 182-195 and Figs. 9-17 (pp. 205-212).

Page 896 (§ 248), line 8 from bottom: *after* ruler ?' *insert* , lit. 'Has the time arrived for the great throne (*yeke oro*) to be *ex*changed ?'

Page 909 (§ 248), third para.: For the *deresün*, i.e. *Lasiogrostis splendens*, see above, Page 358 (§ 74), first para.

Page 909 (§ 251), end of first para.: *after* 79. *add* For a recent discussion on Chao Kuan in the SH and in Rašīd al-Dīn's work see Ts'ai MP 2009.

Page 911 (§ 251), last line: *after* 237 *insert* ; Schönig 2006, 216.

Pages 922-931 (§ 254): On this para. see MNTMSB, 227-255.

Page 923 (§ 254), lines 10-11: *delete the section from* This *to* 1251. See above, Pages xxix-xxxiv, n. 4.

Page 924 (§ 254), line 7: *after* 68. *add* For many issues relating to the Mongol punitive campaign in Central and Western Asia in 1219-1225, and the great expedition against the West of 1236-1242 which was a consequence of the former, see the relevant sections of MAW, MII, MCWH, GKMR and CHKH.

Page 925 (§ 254), line 14: *after* 155 *insert* ; Sinor 2007, and D. Ėnxcėcėg in MNTTS, 187-192.

Page 926 (§ 254), line 8 from bottom: *after* 1 *insert* ; Rybatzki 2011, 193.

Page 931 (§ 254), line 7: *delete* , pl. of Sartaγ?

Page 933 (§ 255), line 7: *after qan. insert* Cf. Čerengsodnam 2006, 9-10 (11) and Cėrėnsodnom 2007.

Page 934 (§ 255), line 8: *after* 374. *add* The implication is: 'You know very well how they were dealt with, and what happened to them.' See Street 2009, 137.

Page 937 (§ 255), after the first para. add new para: For a more 'optimistic' interpretation of Činggis' words 'is it *possible* … is good ?' see Street 2009, 146.

Page 938 (§ 256), line 11: *after* 373 *add* ; Franke H 2003, 149-150.

Page 938 (§ 256), last line: *after* 246. *add* Cf. Kara 2006, 33, n. 5.

Page 946 (§ 258), lines 15-16: *delete section from* Alternatively *to* 'vast.'

Pages 959-960 (§ 262): With regard to the eleven countries and peoples mentioned in this section, for the Maǰarat (? a plural of Maǰaran) cf. Kempf 2010/11, 191, n. 5. For the Asut or Alans of the Caucasus see Talpe 2003, 169-185, and Schönig 2006, 237 (11); and besides Rybatzki 2004, 116-126, cf. also in Rybatzki 2008, 144-146, the long note devoted to Kashmir (SH Kešimir = Kašmīr). Rybatzki is of the opinion that in the present instance this name may not refer to the country of Kashmir but possibly to Maḥmūd al-Kāšγarī's 'Käšmīr: a city in the region of the Turks' (CTD, III, 240). See also Rybatzki 2004, 117, 122. However, Kāšγarī's 'Käšmīr' has not been identified and Pelliot believes it is the same as Kāšγarī's 'Qišmīr', i.e. Kashmir (NMP, I, 242). Cf. also *Successors*, 55,

and the SH, § 270, where the same list is repeated. It is, therefore, unlikely that any such unidentified locality should be mentioned together with the well-known peoples and countries listed in both §§ 262 and 270. But, although the corresponding section of the SH is preserved in mutilated form in AT^1, 117b, in place of 'Kešimir' we find the name 'Basmir' or 'Besmir'. The AT^1 reading (P'SMYR), tacitly corrected by Ligeti to 'Kešmir' (ATL, 194), is read 'Baškir' by Šastina. See LDAT, 228. This opens a new line of enquiry and one, I think, worth pursuing in a separate study. Nevertheless, I personally feel that the name 'Kešimir' in § 262 is simply due to a later contamination with § 270.

Page 962 (§ 263), line 2: *after* 46; *insert* PTMD, 418b-419b;

Page 962 (§ 263), second para.: With regard to Maḥmūd Yalavač's biography, see now also Ch'en TC 2005. His role and that of his son Mas'ūd in the administration and rebuilding of west Turkestan under Ögödei are well known. See ISK, 123ff, and MII, 41-75. His contemporaries Činqai (or better, Čingqai, *ca.* 1169-1252) and Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai (1189-1243) who carried out the same task in Kitat (Kitad), i.e. in Mongol-occupied north China, are perhaps better known than Yalavač (on them see ibid., 95-111, and 136-175), but neither of them is mentioned in the SH. In the case of Čingqai, his fall from grace after Güyüg's death and execution by order of Möngke in 1252 would account for the later deletion of his name from the SH, *if* he was ever mentioned in it. As for Ch'u-ts'ai, L.N. Gumilev believed that the SH was a product of the 'Old Mongolian Party', i.e. that section of court officials and military leaders who upheld 'the old Mongolian valour and hoary traditions' (see de Rachewiltz 2008, 160-161) and who were opposed by civilian advisers and administrative reformers like Ch'u-ts'ai. Hence the lack of any reference to him in the SH. Personally, I think that his exclusion from the SH, again assuming that he was ever mentioned in it, would be largely, if not entirely, due to the deteriorating relationship between Ögödei (and especially his wife Töregene) and Ch'u-ts'ai, and also to the

overt hostility between the latter and Ögödei's up-and-coming Muslim advisers—favoured and supported by Töregene—over administrative and fiscal policies, with Ch'u-ts'ai's consequent loss of authority at court in the mid- and late 1230s. This led to Ch'u-ts'ai's premature death due to his personal disgrace and the failure of his policies against the ruthless exploitation of the subject population pursued by the newly appointed local commissioners (*daruqačin*). If, as I believe, Ögödei was the real compiler of the original version of the SH in 1228-1229, Ch'u-ts'ai's rank of *bičēči* (scribe-secretary) and astrologer at that period hardly warranted a mention in the epic chronicle. By the time Ögödei completed the work, i.e. the second part of the SH covering his reign, Ch'u-ts'ai had lost all his authority and had been replaced in office by the Central Asian Muslim 'Abd al-Raḥmān. See ISK, 158-161. While Činqai, a former companion of Činggis Qan and, indeed, a participant in the 'Balǰuna Covenant', may well have been mentioned in the SH (see RSH, xxxvi; in his funerary stele inscription there is a specific reference to his name being in the *Tobčiyan*), I very much doubt whether Ch'u-ts'ai was ever mentioned for the reasons just outlined.

Page 967 (§ 265), line 11 from bottom: *after* 125. *add* For this term cf. also NMP, II, 651; Rykin 2011a and the literature cited on p. 197, n. 2.

Page 977 (§ 267), line 7 from bottom: *after* 664a *add* ; Rybatzki 2011, 196.

Page 978 (§ 268), line 4: *after* shaming *insert* , groaning and moaning, toiling and moiling, etc.'

Page 980 (§ 268), line 11 from bottom: *after* 432 *insert* ; Giessauf 2007, 326.

Page 981 (§ 268), second para.: With regard to the site at K'ai-ch'eng (Kaicheng) in Ningxia, where Činggis Qan's final temporary residence or 'palace' had been set up in 1227 to escape the summer heat, its exact location on Liu-p'an shan

(Liupan Mountain) is 35° 49 N 106° 26 E. See Pl. 3 and 4.[34] Much information on the site, its history, Činggis Qan's last campaign and death, the archaeological investigation of the site, etc., can be obtained from two publications, viz. HPYKCCK (2003) and CHLPSWC, the latter being the transactions of the 'International Symposium on Genghis Khan and Liupan Mountain' published at Ku-yüan (Guyuan) in 2007. This last work is, however, rather disappointing with regard to the results of the excavations at Liupan Mountain. For a recent appraisal, Dr James Greenbaum who visited the area in August 2011, reports as follows (p.c. of 15 March 2012): 'In August 2011 I made a trip to Ning-hsia 寧夏 Province which included a stay of several days in Ku-yüan 固原 city, and a trip out to present-day K'ai-ch'eng 開城, the former site of the An-hsi Wang-fu 安西王府 and of Genghis Khan's final camp. While the population there today is not large, the interval of seven centuries since the early-fourteenth century earthquake, and the coming of what is, by Chinese standards, medium-density agricultural use, means that very little trace is left of the Mongol centre or way of life. This report covers three sections, viz. general comments on the present-day K'ai-ch'eng area, and then notes on some of the known former Mongol sites at K'ai-ch'eng, and on the Ku-yüan Museum.

1. **General notes on the K'ai-ch'eng area.**
K'ai-ch'eng lies some ten or so kilometers south of Ku-yüan city, the largest urban centre in the south of the province, counting around half a million inhabitants. K'ai-ch'eng is close to where the Ch'ing-shui River 清水河 comes down from the mountains and flows into the main valley. In August the road south from Ku-yüan into the Liu-p'an Mountain 六盤山 is lined with hollyhocks, late blooming here on account of the elevation. K'ai-ch'eng has various small enterprises along the street, the

[34] For a satellite image of the area and its immediate surroundings (Google Earth Image) see https://skydrive.live.com/?cid=e9f7ce8bc3d35780&sc=photos&Bsrc=Photomail&Bpub

ubiquitous mechanical repair shops, some occasionally open establishments advertising antiques, and both verges of the road are set out with chicken coops. The main road through town bifurcates the old Mongol cemetery from the other sites. Most of the area is now covered in crops or small vegetable gardens, and one major dam and a number of small individual-use ponds dot the area. The most obvious material remains are the slowly-crumbling earthen walls. These walls provide hints of former outlines, but little more.

2. **Sites in and around K'ai-ch'eng.**
The site of An-hsi Wang-fu, i.e. the former Mongolian bureaucratic and military centre, is only a ten minute walk from the main road, along a few twists that plot their path between vegetable gardens and the like. A small plaque, set up in 2001, now announces the site. Looking up from the plaque all one sees is an extensive potato field. Chatting to the local farmers brought up the news that ploughing of this site usually uncovers a shard or two of glazed ceramic, but little else. Mongol-era coins also sometimes come to light, but they are few in number. The site of the former Mongolian garden, known as the Lotus Pond 蓮花池, lies close to the Ch'ing-shui River. The upper reaches of the Ch'ing-shui River have been diverted for agricultural use so that by the time the trickle reaches the valley proper the river bed is mostly dry. The fields often have a wheat crop, but close to the river and in the former garden area are now planted corn and small vegetable plots, a strung-out cluster of adobe and brick dwellings follow the slow rise of the land away from the river. Dogs and a handful of modest hay bundles round out the environment. The present-day rustic charm offers no hint of the former botanical finery—there are some nice glades to be sure, but there is no reason to doubt that they have all been moulded in the past century. The most recent change was the digging up of the old cemetery for a new dam that has been put in. On the other side of the highway there is now a small open pavilion on a ridge that looks down the hillside to the dam. Two local farmers who

were there said they watched the archaeologists come through while the area was being excavated. They themselves claim to have Mongolian-era bowls at home, but as with the previous sites any material remains are not obvious here.

3. **The Ku-yüan Museum.**
The Ku-yüan Museum, nearing the end of its third decade, is set out according to the general Chinese chronological history (for Chinese viewers), and the introduction suffers from the standard political Sinocentric bias that one finds still in many museums: it is the agricultural Chinese and assorted nomadic, pastoralist ethnic minorities who come together, giving the impression that the Chinese have always made up half the equation. The pre-Han dynasty bronzes make it clear that the area was in touch with the then Chinese civilisation, but the absence of so many expected bronze forms points to the area being external. It is only with the Han-dynasty ceramics that the Chinese viewer might feel a connection to the place. While Ku-yüan was long a stop on trade routes between China and Central Asia (a point repeatedly emphasized in the museum), the flourishing of the area under Mongol rule is not reflected in the collection. In point of fact, the entire Mongol period is represented by a single red-glaze bowl unearthed at K'ai-ch'eng. Taking into account the recent digging up of the former Mongol cemetery area this paucity of period objects on display is unfortunate, certainly when viewed alongside the small but more numerous collection of stone and bronze Northern Wei Buddhist statuary and figurines from nearly a millennium earlier. It is true that a number of pieces have found their way into the Provincial Museum in Ning-hsia, yet as it is only two decades since there was substantial archaeological activity in the K'ai-ch'eng area the absence of material artefacts is curious.'

Pages 981-982 (§ 268): For a good general description of the Khentei Khan (Xėntiĭ Xan) area, also in connection with Činggis Qan's close relationship with that region, see XXLN (with many illustrations). The search for Činggis' grave and the

site of the imperial burial ground—the Great Forbidden Precinct (mo. Yeke Qoriγ, kh. Ix Xorig)—has continued unabated. While the 1990s are dominated by the single, four-year long Japanese 'Three Rivers (Gurvan Gol) Project' sponsored by the *Yomiuri Shimbun* (1990-1993), the following decade is characterized by a series of large and small expeditions carried out at different sites with the collaboration of members of various institutes of the Mongolian Academy of Sciences, notably D. Bazargür (Institute of Geography) and D. Tsevendorj (Institute of Archaeology). We should mention the 'Chinggis Khan Expedition' by the Americans Maury Kravitz and John Woods at Öglögčiĭn Xėrėm or Almsgiver's Wall in 2001-2002—another major, failed attempt; the repeated visits to the area of Xėntiĭ Xan/Burqan Qaldun by John Man (UK), vividly described in his GKLDR (see especially, Chs. 16 and 17); the expeditions to Öndör Cagaan Uul in the northern Xėntiĭ Aĭmag by the Italian explorer Ippolito Marmai of Pordenone from 2006 on, likewise related in a recent book,[35] and the 'Valley of the Khans' project undertaken by the American-Chinese Albert Yu-min Lin of the University of California–San Diego for the *National Geographic* (2008-).[36] Mongolian archaeologists have not been idle: besides participating in some of the above expeditions, the most active

[35] See GCTK. Cf. also by the same author the earlier account *Gengis Khan. La tomba segreta dell'imperatore*, Pasian di Prato, 2006.

[36] For all these unsuccessful attempts and current projects, besides RSH, 381-382 and de Rachewiltz 1997, 244, see Ėrdėnėbaatar 2006 (and the additional references contained therein, esp. on p. 347) and, on the Internet, 'Mongolia on Line', Google on 'Genghis Khan's Tomb', http://onpoint.wbur.org/2011/08/04/searching-for-genghis-khan; S.N. Bhano's article 'On the trail of Genghis Khan' in *The Guardian Weekly* of 22 April 2011, pp. 28-29; and the following websites for further information on the background of the search, the expeditions, the unpopularity of the search in Mongolia etc.:
http://www.eurasianet.org/departments/insightb/articles/eav110909.shtml
http://www.eurasianet.org/departments/insightb/articles/eav111009.shtml
http://www.eurasianet.org/departments/insightb/articles/eav111109.shtml
http://www.eurasianet.org/departments/insightb/articles/eav111209.shtml
http://www.eurasianet.org/departments/insightb/articles/eav111309.shtml

'searcher' in the second half of the decade was Z. Batsaikhan of the National University of Mongolia who believes that the 'tumulus' on top of Xėntiĭ Xan is artificially made and contains the *qans*' graves.[37] The quest for Činggis' grave (and its treasures!) has always been unpopular among the Mongols at large who rightly resent the desecration of the final resting place of their national hero. Consequently, the attitude of the Mongolian government and academic institutions have often been ambiguous and, indeed, contradictory—at times supporting such research (for financial and/or scientific gains), and at times abruptly withdrawing their support under the pressure of public opinion. In view of the continuous charges of local interference and bribery, the area of Xėntiĭ Xan is now closed to tourism, and after the frenzy of the last two decades one can expect in the near future a major reduction in the foreign attempts at finding the conqueror's tomb. In recent years many doubts have been cast on the actual location of the burial ground and other sites have been proposed, such as the earlier-mentioned Öglögčiĭn Xėrėm (to be definitely ruled out), Avarga/Avraga (idem) and Marmai's site southeast of the Öndör Cagaan Uul (idem). The 'tumulus' on top of Xėntiĭ Xan must also be excluded. Not only did a Japanese team survey the area in 1990, albeit very superficially, without result, but we know that in the early period eminent personages were interred

[37] Z. Batsaikhan and J. Bor direct the Chingis Khan Tomb Search and Study team of the Tenger Ugsaa Association established in 2003. I take this opportunity to thank I. Marmai, J. Kucera and R. Ackroyd for having generously supplied much information and visual documentation on the various expeditions and projects, both single and joint, of the last ten years concerning the search for Činggis Qan's tomb. I owe much also to my friend John Man for the rich correspondence we exchanged since 2002. My own brief encounter with Burqan Qaldun in the summer of 1997 is related in detail in de Rachewiltz 1998: fifteen years later that report is also in need of revision. I hope to do so in the context of an article in which I shall discuss some of the puzzling aspects of the accounts of Činggis' burial in the later (17th c.) Mongolian chronicles, in particular the locality called Yeke Öteg, for which I propose a new solution. See below, n. 38.

on the 'sunny side' of heights—a tradition also recorded by Saγang Sečen with regard to Činggis' burial at 'Kentei Qan': *Kentei Qan-i ölgedür* (ET[1], 42a30). Cf. AT[1], 127b29: *Kentei Qan-u ebür-tü*; both *ölge* and *ebür* ~ *öbör* designate the southern or sunny side of a mountain, and both sources mention 'Kentei Qan' as *the* mountain. See NMP, I, 345-346, and also—most importantly—pp. 358-359 quoting the *Pei-cheng lu* 北征錄 s.a. 1410, where it is stated that the Mongol princes (*wang* 王) are buried 'at the foot' of a mountain. Thus, three elements seem to be well established: 1. Burqan Qaldun/Xėntiĭ Qan as the mountain; 2. the sunny or southern side of the same as the general location for the royal graveyard; 3. the actual situation of the Yeke Qoriγ at the foot or base/lower part of the mountain. In addition, we have the established presence of a temple in that very section of the mountain, which is not the case, as far as I know, with the other sites.[38]

[38] In the same passage AT[1] and ET[1] mention *specifically* the site where Činggis was buried on the south side of 'Kentei Qan' as Yeke Öteg, a name that puzzled Pelliot who saw in it a possible corruption of 'Yeke-ündür' (= *Yeke Öndör), i.e. 'Great Height', 'Great Hill', corresponding to Burqan Qaldun (NMP, I, 346). However, I wonder whether the word '*öteg*' may not be an early misreading in the source utilized by both Lubsangdanǰin and Saγang Sečen of an original '*nuntuγ*' = mo. *nutuγ* 'nomadic camp, settlement, homeland' (for *nuntuγ* ~ *nutuγ* see IMCS, 166). In the Uighur-Mongolian script, and especially in an old manuscript, *nuntuγ* (NWNTWQ) can easily be confused with *öteg* ('WYT'K). The qualifying term *yeke* 'great' is usually employed as an epithet of royalty and royal ancestry. The locality known as *Yeke Nuntuγ would then be the 'Great Settlement (*or* Homeland)' designating the exact spot where, it was believed, the mythical ancestors of Činggis Qan had first settled at Burqan Qaldun after crossing the Tenggis. See the SH, § 1, where the verb *nuntuqla-* 'to settle' is used with reference to them. Presumably, given the nature of the ancestors, a wolf and a doe, their 'settlement' at Xėntiĭ Xan would have been in the mountain forest which, as we know, is in the *lower* half of the mountain. Cf. the tradition reported by Rašīd al-Dīn about the thickly wooded burial site—so thick being the vegetation that even the old keepers of the 'forbidden precinct' did not find their way to it (NMP, I, 335). This is, of course, an exaggeration but it confirms the presence of thick vegetation on the site, no doubt for further protection from intruders. If Činggis

Page 982 (§ 268), line 7 from bottom: *after* ČQNČOBO. *insert* Cf. also the more recent description and appraisal in *CC* 19:2011.2, 14-31.

Page 984 (§ 268), first para.: For the distribution of the conquered peoples, etc., see also above, Pages 868-869 (§ 243). With regard to the destruction of the Hsi Hsia kingdom and the slaughter and enslavement of its population by the Mongol army see P.D. Buell's paper 'Central Eurasia: Genocide as a Way of Life?' (forthcoming), where the author points out that the reports of the annihilation of the Tanguts are exaggerated, and that the native population, while heavily damaged, still survived as shown by the later sources.

Page 984 (§ 269), second para.: The election of Ögödei marks a turning point in Mongol history for, with the symbolic

Qan is buried at Burqan Qaldun/Xèntiĭ Xan, as we have good reason to believe, the burial site or Great Forbidden Precinct is most likely along the lower southern flank of the mountain, in the wooded area between the foot of the slopes and the middle level where the vegetation ends, i.e. at the height where a temple or shrine was built, of which now little is left except for some shards and (mostly broken) roof tiles scattered around close to the ground surface. The recent examination of one such fragment has confirmed that it may well go back to the 13th c. (see GKLDR, 398). It now seems certain, however, that the structure which stood on that spot was actually erected in the 17th c., but it is quite possible that it was built on the ruins of the temple erected on Burqan Qaldun at the end of the 13th c. in honour of Qubilai by his grandson Kammala. See ibid., 423-424 and GCTK, 87, n. 81. Cf. de Rachewiltz 1998, 241, 245, 248 (some of the author's conclusions must now be revised). Some of the building material from the original temple may have been used for the new shrine. This is still only supposition, but the presence of a temple on such a place would be a valuable clue, although the exact location of the various royal graves (Činggis', Tolui's, Möngke's, etc.) is still not known. The burial area may even extend further south to the present Baga Ovoo area. See de Rachewiltz 1998, 245. A thorough examination of the south side of the mountain would not be easy owing to the thick vegetation covering it. I think the fact that this mountain has been an object of veneration and worship, hence pilgrimage, for so many centuries, as attested by the hundreds of ovoos that crown it, as well as the existence of a temple at the base of it, combined with a dense vegetation effectively protecting the entire 'sunny side', have insured the safety of the numerous graves that may be hidden underneath. For the sacral character of Burqan Qaldun cf. Skrynnikova 2003.

assumption of the 'imperial' title of *qa'an* (< tu. *qayan* > pmo., mo. id.), it signals the beginning of the real transformation of a tribal federation—the Yeke Mongqol Ulus—into a conquering state with a new administration and an incredibly efficient system of communication (*ǰam*) combined with a revitalized and much strengthened military organization able to pursue long-range campaigns to the south against the Chin kingdom and the Sung, to the west against Iran and Rus, and to the east against Korea, leading under Ögödei and his immediate successors to the establishment and consolidation of the Mongol empire. In this respect Ögödei, while following in the footsteps of Činggis Qan who set the military process in motion, must be regarded as the true founder of the empire with the campaigns that he launched after his election and, in particular, after 1235-36 when, with the establishment of the Mongol capital at Qara Qorum, he convoked the Great Assembly which sanctioned the greatest war of conquest the world had ever seen. On Ögödei as the heir of Činggis' policy and the Mongol expansionist drive fostered by his military leaders and advisers, see the chapters devoted to his reign in Rašīd al-Dīn's and J̌uvainī's chronicles, and EADS, 104ff. A good, although at times inflated picture of his rule, reforms and innovations, is given by Č. Dalaĭ in his ÖX which, unfortunately, lacks any critical apparatus, but which is nevertheless the only book on Ögödei written by a known scholar and historian. P.D. Buell is preparing a study on Ögödei in which his role and personality are duly re-evaluated and given the prominence they deserve.[39]

[39] A proper revaluation of Ögödei's reign should take into account the results of the excavations carried out by the Mongolian and German archaeologists at Qara Qorum (see below, Pages 1004-1007 [§ 273]), and the investigation of all the epigraphical material found *in situ*. In particular, one should complete and include the decipherment of the fragmentary Chinese inscription collected near the so-called 'Ögödei's Palace', begun but left unfinished by the late Prof. Dalaĭ. The famous portrait of Ögödei in the collection of the National Palace Museum, Taipei (see RSH, Pl. 4), representing an unattractive personage with a coarse face, is an imaginary portrait inspired by the traditional image of Ögödei of a self-indulgent drunkard. This side of his personality has done much to

Pages 986-987 (§ 269): Ögödei's assumption of the Turkic title *qayan*, on which see de Rachewiltz 1989, deserves further comment. In spite of the Persian sources (Rašīd al-Dīn following J̌uvainī; see HWC, 187) which clearly state that Ögödei was named Qa'an by the princes assembled at the *quriltai* that elected him to succeed Činggis Qan, several scholars, among them P. Daffinà and P.D. Buell, either independently or following Boyle 1956, 152-153, 154, assumed that *qa'an* was Ögödei's posthumous title, *qan* being the title he bore in his lifetime, like Činggis did. According to Boyle, Ögödei's name became taboo after his death and was replaced by the title *qa'an*. Ögödei is called *Qā'ān al-'ādil* or 'The Qa'an, the Just' on coins minted during his reign, i.e. when he was still alive; however, the designation on the coin is a standard designation of the Mongol rulers and as such is found also on coins minted under Činggis, Güyüg and Möngke.[40] As Boyle correctly says, Ögödei was the first Mongolian ruler to bear this title; and thus, after his death in 1241, Qa'an became a sort of epithet by which he was regularly designated, i.e. 'Qa'an' = 'Ögödei Qa'an', a fact pointed out long ago by Pelliot (see NMP, I, 302). Nevertheless, J̌uvainī's and Rašīd al-Dīn's statements to the effect that Ögödei assumed the title of *qayan* at his enthronement in 1229 cannot be ignored. The adoption of a Turkic title is not surprising at a time when Turkic cultural influence was very strong in Mongol society, *vide* the adoption of the Uighur Turkic script to write Mongolian and of a Turkic word for the title Činggis Qan; this also applies to many technical terms and 'mots de civilisation'. See, e.g., Poppe 1955; Clauson 1958/59; Clauson 1959/60; Róna-Tas 1963; Gülensoy 1973 (to be used with caution); Kara 1981, as well as BMN, passim; Rassadin 1995.[41]

obfuscate the momentous reforms carried out under his rule to manage the Mongol empire in the making.

[40] See MDDOA, 156ff. I take this opportunity to make the following correction to de Rachewiltz 1989, 281, line 15: *for* 128 *read* 119.

[41] A silver coin (*miṣqāl*) minted at Qara Qorum in (6)35 H. (AD 1237-38) and found *in situ* by the Mongolian-German Karakorum Expedition in 2004 does not carry Ögödei's name but, on the reverse side, has instead an S-shaped *tamγa*, apparently his symbol of sovereignty (see below), and, underneath, written horizontally, a short word in Uighur script. See Pl. 5 and Heidemann et al. 2006, 94, Cf. also GKME, 143, 145, Fig. 18.14. This puzzling word has variously been read ORA (mmo. *ora[n]* ~ *oro[n]*; pmo., mo. *oro[n]*) 'throne', i.e. 'Imperial Power' (Whaley 2011), and TǪRE (mmo. *töre* ~ *döre*; pmo., mo. *törö*; tu. *törü, törä*) 'law, rule', i.e. (YEKE) TÖRE (Great [= Imperial]) Rule (or Authority) (J. Kolbas, P.D. Buell, p.c.). Neither *ora* nor *tǫre* are satisfactory readings since the former is not attested in the variant reading **vora* (= **oora* = *ora*) proposed by Whaley and with the meaning, metaphorical or otherwise, attributed to it by him, and the latter is not attested anywhere with initial *to* (= *tǫ* = *tö*) in the written language. At present, my own reading is YOR on the *miṣqāl* and YORÏ on the gold *dīnār* minted also in Ögödei's reign (Pl. 6; cf. SNAT, 21, nos. 66 and 67; JONS 186:2006, 20-23). Both *yor* and *yorï* are the imperative of the second person of tu. *yor-*, *yorï-* 'to go, walk, move', hence 'circulate!' = 'for circulation (as currency)'. Cf. the Chinese terms *t'ung* 通 and *hsing* 行, both meaning 'circulating', used on metal and paper currency. It is worth noting that on a Yüan coin with legends in four different scripts, the character *t'ung* is written in Persian script, Persian having by then replaced Turkic as the lingua franca of the Mongol empire. See GCUMR, 452; cf. Huang S 1986. The imperative form expressing an authoritative command legitimizes, as it were, the use of the coin in the style of other Mongol tokens and validations. Cf., for example, the inscriptions on *paizas* and that on the seal of Güyüg. If I am correct in my decipherment of the word in Uighur script, this is one more example of the use of Turkic in the early Mongol administration. The use of Mongolian in Uighur script is, indeed, extremely limited in this early period, i.e. before the reign of Möngke (1251-59) and is, I believe, totally unattested on coins. For a provisional investigation of the role of the Turks in China under the Mongols see de Rachewiltz 1983a; cf. Kadyrbaev 2005. For the Uighurs in the Mongol empire see SMUME. With regard to the S-shaped *tamγa* on coins issued during Ögödei's reign see the comments reported in www.charm.ru/coins/china/dazhao-silver.shtml where another silver coin bearing the same symbol (on the reverse) is also shown. The obverse contains the Chinese characters *Ta-Ch'ao t'ung-pao* 大朝通寶, i.e. 'Currency (lit. 'circulating treasure') of the Great Dynasty', Ta-Ch'ao = Ta Meng-ku kuo, the Chinese designation for mo. Yeke Mongγol Ulus ('The Great Mongol Nation'), the

Page 988 (§ 269), second para.: With regard to the 'domain of the centre' (*qol-un ulus*) see now the important contribution by Qiu Yihao 邱軼皓, MTCC, 37ff., 69ff.

Page 991 (§ 270), line 8 from bottom: *after* 570. *insert* For a reappraisal of his rule see Kim 2005.

Page 996 (§ 272), line 16: *after* 177. *add* For an interesting analysis of this section within the context of the early Mongols' belief in the interaction between the human world and the world of the spirits see Birtalan 2012, 27-29.

Page 999 (§ 272), second para.: For the 'magic water' (*ǰügergen usu*) drunk by Tolui being another example of the use of poison in the SH see Endicott-West 1993. On Tolui's self-sacrifice for Ögödei cf. K. Uray-Kőhalmi in AB MMII, 371.

Page 999 (§ 272), lines 15-14 from bottom: *for* was 'excessively *read* became 'excessively

Page 1002 (§ 273), third para.: Concerning the word *alaša* 'piebald horse', Rybatzki 2008, 146, is of the opinion that it is not a Turkic word 'but rather Tu. < Mo. … > Sib. *alaša morini*, Ma. *alašan* "langsames, träges Pferd'. Opinions are divided on the origin of the word, but the arguments adduced by Rybatyzki 2011, 191-192, in favour of *alaša* being a Mongolian loanword in Turkic seem compelling to me.

Page 1003 (§ 273), line 12 from bottom: *after* 104 *insert* ; Qu D 2003, also for the etymology of *tamači* (< kit. *tama* 'outflanking an animal while hunting').

Pages 1004-1007 (§ 273): The literature on Qara Qorum has increased dramatically in the last decade largely owing to the archaeological work carried out on the site of the old capital by

name of the Mongolian state used before Qubilai's election and his renaming of the dynasty in 1271. See GCUMR, 427, 452; ISK, 261, 807a (Index); de Rachewiltz 2006. Ögödei's name does not seem to appear on his coins, only the puzzling S symbol. I wonder whether this may represent a snake, Ögödei's birth-year 'animal' in the twelve-year animal cycle if he was born at the beginning of 1186. (We know that he was born in 1186 and that the Year of the Snake 1185 began on 2.2.1185 and lasted until 22.1.1186.) However, I think this is a rather remote possibility.

the joint Mongolian-German Karakorum Expedition. The earlier literature on the subject cited on p. 1006 and the contributions by Ch'en Te-chih 陳得芝 in MYSYCTK, 39-43, and D. Bayar et al. in OUMĖIX, IX/1, 120-129, as well as GKSE, 150ff., are now superseded by Hüttel 2007, 2007a and 2009; Pohl 2009; AHK; GKME, 137-145 and 146-149; D. Bayar in MNTTS, 99-108; Kradin 2010, 259ff; A. Heussner in *SR* 10:2012, 66-75; and, especially, by MGKE 1, KUK, 4-15, 45-57, 61-62, and Pohl 2012.[42] Of great importance for the history of Qara Qorum from the very beginning of the settlement in the (?) 9th c. through the Mongol-Yüan period to the 20th c., is the Erdeni J̌uu (Zuu) monastic complex, which is often referred to in the above-mentioned publications and on which see also Matsukawa 2011, ĖZT (for the later period: 16th-20th c.) and *BIAMS* 1 (46):2012, 33, besides IĖD cited on p. 1007. As for epigraphical material such as inscriptions and coins, Qara Qorum has yielded some fragments of the stone stele in Chinese found near 'Ögödei's Palace' (regrettably still unpublished; see above, n. 39); another fragment of the famous Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1346 containing thirteen incomplete lines of the Mongol text, first published and translated by K. Sagaster in DKSE, 151 (cf. Cleaves 1952 and Matsukawa 2010); the already mentioned seal in 'Phags-pa script (on it see also GKME, 145, Pl. 18.13); and various coins, among them also the silver *miṣqāl* discussed earlier on in n. 41. This coin is especially interesting because it is the first documentary evidence for the name Qara Qorum which is written on the obverse (inside the circle) in Arabic script (Pl. 5). See Heidemann et al. 2006, especially p. 94 and Fig. 1 for the text and its transcription. Cf., however, Whaley 2011, 113-114. The Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg has a collection of objects found by Russian archaeologists at Qara Qorum on which see Elikhina 2006. Finally, for the transfer of the centre

[42] Some of these publications contain extensive bibliographies of works related not only to the excavations at Qara Qorum, but also to the material culture of the early Mongols and other related topics.

of Mongol power from the *yeke ordo* further east to the Orkhon basin cf. MTCC, 40ff.

Page 1009 (§ 274), second para.: For Ögödei's expedition against the West which, like the earlier campaign of Činggis Qan against Khwārazm, is dealt with very superficially in the SH, cf. above, Page 924 (§ 254), line 7.

Page 1009 (§ 274), second and third paras.: For the geographical names mentioned in this section see also the references cited in Rybatzki 2008, 146.

Page 1010 (§ 274), line 8: *after* 75 *insert* ; Qu D 2003, 246.

Page 1011 (§ 274), line 8: *after* 131 *insert* ; Rosén 1996.

Page 1012 (§ 275), line 6: *after* 1984 *add* ; Rybatzki 2011, 193.

Page 1015 (§ 276), line 9: *after* '276'). *add* On the *alginči* and the Tammači Army cf. Qu D 2003.

Page 1021 (§ 278), second and third paras.: As stated above, Page 831 (§ 229), the new regulation introduced by Ögödei to complement Činggis' ordinances concerning the duties and responsibilities of the nightguards contained in § 229 deals in particular with 'trustworthiness', i.e. the acknowledgement of the correct conduct of the nightguards who exercise their duties even when a transgressor (such as Elǰigidei) is a high-ranking official. This new regulation is extrapolated from a personal comment, by the author of the SH, at the very end of § 229 with regard to the ordinances just issued by Činggis Qan, to the effect that Činggis' order that the nightguards should arrest anyone 'walking up beyond them', i.e. between the nightguards and the *qan*'s tent, must be strictly observed. The narrator's comment in § 229 illustrates and strengthens the point by referring to the case of Elǰigidei and his arrest for having contravened the order. Given the direct correlation between the narrator's remarks in § 229 and the new regulation introduced by Ögödei in § 278, I see that as a further argument in favour of Ögödei being himself the narrator. This becomes even more evident in Cleaves' literal translation of the relevant passage in § 278 where, instead of my free rendering of *ke'en* (SH, l. 11613) as 'And because …' (RSH, 209), Cleaves (Cl, 220) has

'Saying [unto myself], …'. While the omission of quotative verbs occurs sporadically in the SH (as e.g. in §§ 125 and 210) this is not the case here because of the direct correlation between the two paragraphs.

Pages 1025-1026 (§ 279): For the fiscal reforms carried out under Ögödei, discussed in detail by H.F. Schurmann, N.C. Munkuev, J.M. Smith, J. Kolbas and others,[43] see now also Kradin 2006, 4ff. For China Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's role was paramount but, as pointed out earlier, his name does not appear in the SH. See above, Page 962 (§ 263).

Page 1026 (§ 279), line 3 from bottom: *after* cit. *add* See also the pertinent comments in HLUM, 44.

Page 1033 (§ 281), line 18: *after* com. *insert* For the implications of Ögödei's statement concerning his third good deed, viz. the digging of wells to provide people with water and grass, as well as his third fault—the fencing in of hunting grounds—see also E. Endicott's remarks in HLUM, 44-45.

Page 1034 (§ 281), line 7: For *bor* 'wine' and its etymology see also Rybatzki 2008, 147.

Page 1038 (§ 281), fourth para.: In view of my remarks above, Pages xxxiv-xl, I now think that we can no longer speak of Ögödei's 'confession' as a 'posthumous' assessment. For an assessment of Ögödei's personality and his role as the true founder of the Mongol empire see above, Page 984 (§ 269).

Page 1039 (§ 282), lines 11-12: *for* V. Rybatzki's … Corr. *read* Rybatzki 2003.

Page 1041 (§ 282), line 16 from bottom: *after* 70.' *insert* Cf. MNTOZS, 141-153.

Pages 1041-1042 (§ 282): Concerning the locality 'Šilginčeg at Dolo'an Boldaq' see now also Hashimoto 2012, where a new interpretation of the name Šilginčeg is proposed: *šilgin* ← *šilgi-* = mo. *silge-* 'to shake' (cf. SH *šilgüt-* id.) + den. noun suff. *-čay/-čeg* (cf. *dobučay* 'hillock' < *dobu* 'hill'). Such etymology is not very convincing.

[43] See the numerous references on the subject in ISK, 799a (Index).

Page 1043 (§ 282), second para.: With regard to Rybatzki's remarks in Rybatzki 2008, 147, concerning the distinction between 'to write' and 'to compose' in relation to the SH closing statement *bičijü da'usba*, I wish to make it clear that by 'to compose' I mean 'to construct in words and produce in literary form', i.e. 'to write' as a book (irrespective of whether this was accomplished with the help of informants and scribes), not merely 'to copy'. Cf. Róna-Tas 1965, 126-127. The use of *bičі-* 'to write' in the final passage of the SH is indeed identical with the usage of this verb at the end of the famous letters of 1289 and 1305 of Aryun and Ölǰeitü to Philip the Fair, on which see *Lettres*, 18 and 56-57. And, as in the case of those letters, the verb in question in the SH is used by the author of the writing.

Page 1044 (§ 282), second para.: Regarding the revised date for the completion of the SH see above, Pages xxix-xxxiv.

APPENDIX THREE

Page 1055: In the *Finding List, under* SH *and* Da[5] *insert*
§ 55 p. 29
§ 82 p. 40
§ 86 p. 41
§ 268 p. 227
after § 100 *add* (3)

APPENDIX FIVE

Page 1060: *insert* p. 22 l. 8 f.b. *read* [9v] At the moment
Page 1060: *insert* p. 22 l. 3 f.b. *read* when [10r] we
Page 1060: p. 35 l. 22 *for* within. *read* within?
Page 1060: *insert* p. 49 l. 5 after *anda*, insert [26a]
Page 1060: *insert* p. 53 l. 10 *read* [38v]
Page 1060: *insert* p. 58 l. 3 f.b. *read* [50v] Break
Page 1061: *insert* p. 99 l. 10 *read* [13v] he draweth
Page 1061: *insert* p. 102 l. 11 *after* of *insert* [21v]
Page 1061: *insert* p. 107 l. 7 *after* first *insert* [35a]

Page 1061: *insert* p. 107 l. 14 *after* have *insert* [35b]
Page 1061: *insert* p. 113 l. 5 f.b. *read* [53r] Because
Page 1061: *insert* p. 117 l. 1 *after* spake *insert* : "
Page 1061: *insert* p. 130 l. 19 *after* " *insert* Nayā,
Page 1061: *insert* p. 130 l. 23 *after* [us], *insert* [47v]
Page 1061: *insert* p. 130 l. 30 *after* mother *insert* [48r]
Page 1061: *insert* p. 130 n. 69 *for* 197 *read* 199
Page 1062: *insert* p. 232a l. 17 *insert comma after* 239
Page 1062: *insert* p. 238a l. 14 f.b. *for* Čülgetü *read* Čülgetei
Page 1062: *insert* p. 180, l. 4 f.b. *for* [those] *read* those
Page 1062: *insert* p. 180 l. 3 f.b. *for* Those *read* They

Page 1063 ad fin: *add* N.B. Most of the terms and problem words discussed by Cleaves in his Index Verborum (pp. 270-77) are dealt with in the commentary of RSH and have since been investigated also by scholars in Mongolia and China. However, the Index Verborum can still be consulted with profit because it contains numerous references to the literature on the subject.

APPENDIX SIX

Page 1064, l. 7: *delete entire line and see above, Page 244 (§ 6)*
Page 1068: *insert* p. 187b *the entry* atqun 1305 … 11406 *to read now as follows:*
atqun[1] [atqu-n] 1305
atqun[2] [a-tqun] 6718, 8636, 11108, 11406
Page 1070: *insert* p. 221a *s.v.* ede *delete* 4929
insert p. 229a *insert the entry* -gü̃ 6819
Page 1073: *insert* p. 282a *the entry* orqan 2912, 10732 *to read now as follows:*
orqan[1] [= orqon] 2912
orqan[2] [= orqa] 10732
insert p. 287b *after* qalqaljit-elet *insert* [= qalaqaljit-elet]

BIBLIOGRAPHY AND ABBREVIATIONS

For KSK *read* KCSK, *for* MIÜTB *read* MIYTB, *for* MKHCSIC *read* JAT, *for* QIIÜ *read* QIIY, *for* QIIÜTB *read* QIIYTB, *for* Hulun Buir *read* Hailar, *for* Bazargur *read* Bazargür *and for* Rybatzki [2003] *read* Rybatzki 2007 *throughout*

Page 1082: insert *GNK* = 言語の科学
Page 1083: insert *JAF = The Journal of American Folklore*
Page 1083: insert *JOS = Journal of Oriental Studies* (Hong Kong)
Page 1085: s.v. *NAGK* add . *Studies on the Inner Asian Languages*
Page 1090, line 11: *after* 1983 *add* . See ANT[1], ANT[2], ANT[3]
Page 1091, line 3: *after* AT[4], *insert* AT[5], AT[6], AT[7], AT[8],
Page 1092, line 17 from bottom: *after* 1981 *add* ; repr. 1998
Page 1101, line 5: *after* 1959 *add* . A new edition of Cév., revised and enlarged by C. Šagdarsürèn, was published in Hohhot in 2002 under the double title *Mongyol kelen-ü tobči tayilburi toli. Mongol xèlniĭ tovč taĭlbar tol'*. See Čeb.
Page 1114, line 7 from bottom: *after* 44 *add* ; 2nd. ed. in one volume, New York, London, 1968; repr. in one volume, Ulan Bator, 2009
Page 1117, line 8: *after* 1980 *add* ; 2nd ed. in two volumes with continuous pagination, Hohhot, 2007
Page 1118, line 1: *after* ET[3], *insert* ET[4],
Page 1124, line 3 from bottom-1125, line 5: *delete text from* Ha *to* specified)
Page 1129, lines 15-16: *for* A new … Ha *read* A revised edition of E. Haenisch's translation of 1941 and other pieces. *See above, Page cv, n. 310*
Page 1129, line 7 from bottom: *after* 55 *add* . See HM[1]
Page 1132, line 13 from bottom: *after* 1155 *add* ; repr. 1987
Page 1134, line 12: *after* 1979 *add* ; repr. 2006
Page 1135, line 5: before *Die Jagd* insert [W. Heissig, ed.],
Page 1140, line 16: *after* 1935 *add* ; repr. 1976
Page 1142, line 7: *after* 1962 *add* ; rev. repr., 2004

Page 1144, lines 12-11 from bottom: *before* Mansang *insert* T. *and after* 1985 *add* ; repr. 2007
Page 1149, line 9: *for* n.p. *read* Peking
Page 1150, line 7: *after* ed.), *add* See MKT[1]
Page 1172, line 2 from bottom: *for* [2003] *read* 2007
Page 1172, last line: *for* [in press] *read* , in RWAW, 211-229
Page 1176, line 3 from bottom: *after* 1984 *add* ; 2nd ed., Boston, 1998; repr. 2005
Page 1182, line 12 from bottom: *after* 1937 *add* ; 2nd ed. prepared by Š. Čoyimaa, Ulan Bator and Hohhot, 1996/97
Page 1182, last line: *after* 1989 *add* ; repr. 2005
Page 1185, line 14: *after* 1186 *add* , 2007
Page 1189, line 5 from bottom: *after* 1934 *add* ; repr. Moscow, 2002
Page 1191, lines 6, 4 and 1 from bottom: for *YSC* read YSC
Page 1191, line 4 from bottom: *after* 308 *add* , KCI, 7-615 and YWSC, 1-306
Page 1192, line 9 from bottom: *after* 1896; *insert* repr. in YWSC, 309-505;
Page 1192, line 7 from bottom: *after* 1902; *add* repr. in YWSC, 507-603
Page 1193, line 12 from bottom: *after* 815 *add* and YWSC, 605-650
Page 1194, line 5: *after* 2001 *add* ; repr. 2007

INDEX OF PROPER AND PLACE NAMES

Page 1215b: *insert* Ken River (rv.) *see* Kan River

INDEX OF SUBJECTS

Page 1290a, s.v. 'Phags-pa script, **line 1**: *after* lxxiii; *insert Mongyol-un niyuča tobčiyan* not written in, lxxxix, n. 109;

PART TWO

TYPOGRAPHICAL AND MINOR ERRORS AND OMISSIONS

(This list incorporates the Additions and Corrections of the 2006 reprint of RSH, II, pp. 1348-49)

p. iv, l. 5: *for* philosophical *read* philological
p. ix, l. 11 (2006 p.b. repr.): *for* cxxviii *read* 32
p. xvi, l. 13: *for* transcrip-tion *read* transcription
p. xxv, l. 10: *for* forty *read* sixty
p. lxxii, l. 5: *for* 1948 *read* 1949
p. lxxxiv, n. 34, l. 3: *insert comma after* 卷
p. ci, n. 246, l. 1: for *Transcripciya* read *Transkripciya*
p. 33, l. 5 fr. bottom: *for* everyday *read* every day
p. 63, l. 10: *for* Kan *read* Ken
p. 78, l. 12: *delete* a
p. 97, l. 6: *after* slander *add full stop*
p. 139, l. 2: for *you* read you
p. 223, l. 8 fr. bottom: *for* two *read* three
p. 228, l. 13: *for* 13th *read* 13th/14th
p. 234, l. 9 fr. bottom: *after* Ch'en Te-chih *insert* 陳得芝
p. 292, l. 4: *for* < *read* ,
p. 307, l. 19: *for* femimine *read* feminine
p. 307, ll. 5-4 fr. bottom: for *for you* read *of* (= *for) you*
p. 342, l. 8: *delete* to
p. 376, last line: *for* Čoyimaa *read* Čoĭmaa
p. 402, l. 1: for *böků* read *bökụn*
p. 405, l. 5 fr. bottom: *for* (u.n) *read* (u.n.)
p. 423, l. 9 fr. bottom: *for* extention *read* extension
p. 465, l. 8: for *onglalda-* read *ongǰalda-*
p. 469, l. 4: *for* one *read* they
p. 479, l. 20: *for* Montolian *read* Mongolian
p. 498, l. 14 fr. bottom: *for* USD *read* US
p. 498, l. 13 fr. bottom: *after* line 8 *insert* [= 16]
p. 499, l. 14: *for* is *read* it

p. 511, last line: *after* Taiču *insert full stop and delete* (
p. 512, second line: *after* Möngler *delete*)
p. 520, l. 16: *for* Qati *read* Keti
p. 520, ll. 17-18: *delete* , indicating … *qa*
p. 541, l. 13: *for* F. *read* R.
p. 555, l. 1: *for* Uïγur *read* Uyγur
p. 555, l. 2: *for* IMCP *read* IMCS
p. 555, last line: *after* 52.] *insert full stop*
p. 574, l. 11 fr. bottom: *for* as a *read* as
p. 574, l. 7 fr. bottom: *for* as a *read* as
p. 677, l. 3 fr. bottom: for *ke'egdeyi* read *ke'ekdeyi*
p. 703, l. 14: *after* Suma *add* (*sic*)
p. 710, l. 1: *for* n. 3 *read* n. 2
p. 715, l. 9: *for* 1225 *read* 1224/1225
p. 715, l. 10: *for* 530 *read* 535
p. 873, l. 12: for *ke'egdeǰü* read *ke'ekdeǰü*
p. 934, l. 19: *for* pro-blèmes *read* problèmes
p. 980, l. 2 fr. bottom: *for* "one year" *read* "two years"
p. 999, l. 13 fr. bottom: *for* overtook *read* over took
p. 1026, l. 3: *for* 1966 *read* 1960
p. 1040, l. 14 fr. bottom: for *hsing* read *hang*
p. 1082, l. 3 fr. bottom: *for* 語言 *read* 言語
p. 1085, l. 19: after ゴ *insert* ル
p. 1085, l. 23: for *Orientalische* read *Orientalistische*
p. 1085, l. 8 fr. bottom: for *Öber* read *Öbör*
p. 1087, l. 17: for *Missi* read *Missii*
p. 1088, l. 5: *after* 稻 *insert* 田
p. 1090, l. 14: *for* 1990 *read* 1991
p. 1094, l. 8 fr. bottom: for *Arastırma* read *Araştırma*
p. 1099, l. 21: *for* Buyandeger *read* Buyandelger
p. 1102, l. 8 fr. bottom: *for* 江 *read* 汪 *and for* 系 *read* 係
p. 1102, l. 5 fr. bottom: *change font size of* 編 *from 12 to 10*
p. 1102, l. 3 fr. bottom: *ditto* 岡田英弘
p. 1102, l. 2 fr. bottom: *for* Yamanoto *read* Yamamoto
p. 1104, l. 8: *for* 翰 *read* 韓

p. 1107, l. 7: *for* 陸 *read* 陵
p. 1107, l. 18: *change font size of* 服部四郎 *from 12 to 10*
p. 1107, l. 7 fr. bottom: *for* 楚 *read* 礎
p. 1111, l. 10: *delete* ; T'ai-chung, 1966
p. 1111, l. 11: *for* Hemeling *read* Hemelin
p. 1115, l. 7: *for* 1996 *read* 1997
p. 1117, ll. 6-7: for *seyiregülün* read *seyiregülül*
p. 1117, l. 13 fr. bottom: *for* 民族, *read* 民族.
p. 1118, l. 11: after *1962.* insert I.
p. 1121, l. 10: *for* 1972 *read* 1973
p. 1124, ll. 11-14: *change italic to roman type*
p. 1124, l. 3 fr. bottom: after *erläutert* insert , Leipzig, 1941. *and after* Ha *insert* (1948)
p. 1126, l. 2 fr. bottom: *for* コ *read* ゴ
p. 1127, l. 3: *after* 係 *insert* 文
p. 1128, ll. 9-11: *change italic to roman type and vice versa*
p. 1129, ll. 4-6: *ditto*
p. 1129, ll. 10-13: *ditto*
p. 1130, ll. 8-10: *ditto*
p. 1130, l. 8 fr. bottom: *after* 言 *insert* 語
p. 1131, ll. 12-13: *change italic to roman type and vice versa*
p. 1131, l. 13 fr. bottom: *for* 村 *read* 材
p. 1136, ll. 6 and 4 fr. bottom: *for* 其 *read* 共
p. 1138, l. 4: for *Kizgirsko-* read *Kirgizsko-*
p. 1138, l. 8 fr. bottom: for *nazvanem* read *nazvaniem*
p. 1139, l. 2 fr. bottom: *delete* KSK *entry; see under* KCSK
p. 1140, l. 7: *for* ろ *read* る
p. 1141, l. 11: *for* 史 *read* 時
p. 1144, l. 12: for *XIII-XIII* read *XII-XIII*
p. 1148, l. 10 fr. bottom: *for* 蹟, *read* 蹟.
p. 1149, l. 8: *for* MIÜTB *read* MIYTB *and insert entry after* Miyawaki 1984
p. 1149, l. 8: for *-üi* read *yü*
p. 1149, l. 21: *delete* MKHCSIC *entry; see under* JAT
p. 1151, l. 14: *for* 2000 *read* 2002

p. 1152, l. 17: for *JAFS* read *JAF*
p. 1153, l. 9 fr. bottom: *for* 1922 *read* 1922-23
p. 1153, l. 8 fr. bottom: *for* 1931 *read* 1931-32
p. 1154, l. 17: *for* 亙 *read* 亘
p. 1155, l. 3 fr. bottom: *for* そ *read* と
p. 1156, l. 4: *for* 之 *read* え
p. 1156, l. 13: *change font size of* 村田治郎 *from 12 to 10*
p. 1158, l. 15: *after* 蒙古 *insert* 史
p. 1159, l. 1: for *Opuscola* read *Opuscula*
p. 1159, l. 20: *for* テ *read* ラ
p. 1161, l. 6: *after* 與 *insert* 特
p. 1165, l. 9 fr. bottom: for *snaniya* read *znaniya*
p. 1167, l. 9: for *GK* read *GNK*
p. 1168, l. 19: *for* 物 *read* 務
p. 1168, l. 6 fr. bottom: *for* QIIÜ *read* QIIY
p. 1168, l. 6 fr. bottom: for *üi* read *yü*
p. 1168, l. 5 fr. bottom: *for* QIIÜTB *read* QIIYTB
p. 1168, l. 5 fr. bottom: *for* Buusiyang *read* Boosiyang
p. 1168, l. 5 fr. bottom: for *üi* read *yü*
p. 1168, l. 5 fr. bottom: for *MKT* read *MKǰT*
p. 1169, l. 5: for *pi-cheu* read *pi cheu*
p. 1169, l. 5 fr. bottom: *for* Tyurskie *read* Tyurkskie
p. 1170, l. 9: *for* under *read* unter
p. 1170, l. 2 fr. bottom: *insert comma after* comm.
p. 1177, l. 1: *for* 譯 *read* 釋
p. 1177, l. 9 fr. bottom: for *Oina* read *Oinas*
p. 1178, l. 19: *for* Cimitdoržiev *read* Čimitdoržiev
p. 1178, l. 14 fr. bottom: *for* žres *read* žrec
p. 1179, l. 18: for *Sino-Mongolische Documente* read *Sino-mongolische Dokumente*
p. 1181, l. 17: *for* Successors *read Successors*
p. 1182, l. 1: *for* P. Cohen *read* A.P. Cohen
p. 1182, l. 3: for *yakutsago* read *yakutskago*
p. 1185, l. 15 fr. bottom: for *pis'mennoe* read *pis'mennye*
p. 1186, l. 14 fr. bottom: *after* 的 *insert* 紀

p. 1186, l. 4 fr. bottom: *for* 青 *read* 清
p. 1191, ll. 6, 4 and 1 fr. bottom: for *YSC* read YSC
p. 1193, l. 2: *for* 1999 *read* 1999/2000
p. 1193, l. 3: *for* と *read* そ
p. 1193, ll. 5 and 8: *for* ロブサン *read* ロブサン
p. 1194, l. 12: *for* 蕃 *read* 藩
p. 1316b, l. 11: *delete (~ a'uu) and* , 946
p. 1317b, ll. 12 and 11 fr. bottom: transfer the entries *bolǰa'an* and *boljāl qaǰar* after *boldaq*
p. 1319b, l. 13: for *čigorsün* read *čigörsün*
p. 1323a, l. 20: *for* 277-8 *read see gür qa(n)*
p. 1323a, l. 21: after *gür-* insert 277-8,
p. 1325a, l. 13: *for* 532-3 *read* 552-3
p. 1331a, l. 11: *delete* 16,

BIBLIOGRAPHY AND ABBREVIATIONS

(This bibliography contains all new titles *not* included in RSH. The bibliography in RSH, II, pp. 1081-1194, is therefore still valid and is employed throughout the present volume)

1. Periodicals and Series

AI = *Ab imperio*
AR = *Algebra rodstva* (St. Petersburg)
ASLLMS = *Academia Sinica Language and Linguistics Monograph Series*
BQÜYSESS = *Baraγun Qoyitu-yin Ündüsüten-ü Yeke Surγaγuli erdem sinǰilegen setgül. Journal of Northwest University for Nationalities*
CC = 傳承 *Ulamjilal. Inheritance* (Hohhot)
CHISTC = 中華醫史雜誌
Chronica = *Chronica. Annual of the Institute of History University of Szeged*
CKSYC = 中國史研究. *Journal of Chinese Historical Studies*
CNEAS Monograph Series = *Center for Northeast Asian Studies Monograph Series* (Tohoku University)
CYMTTHHP = 中央民族大學學報 (哲學社會科學版). *Journal of the Central University for Nationalities (Philosophy and Social Sciences Edition)*
FAAK = *Forschungen zur Archäologie Außereuropäischer Kulturen*
FAC = *Forum for Anthropology and Culture*
GGKIF = 語学教育フォーラム (大東文化大学語学教育研究所)
HOS = *Handbook of Oriental Studies. Handbuch der Orientalistik*
HYCK = 西域歷史語言研究集刊. *Historical and Philological Studies of China's Western Regions*
IA = *Inner Asia*
IBALA = *Interdisciplinary Biology, Agriculture, Linguistics and Antiquities* (Helsinki)

IJAS = *International Journal of Asian Studies*
JAS = *The Journal of Asian Studies*
JMMH = *Journal of Medieval Military History*
JONS = *Journal of the Oriental Numismatic Society*
LAS = *Languages of Asia Series*
MMo = *Monumenta Mongolica* (Ulan Bator)
MP = *Mongolica Pragensia* (= *Folia linguarum Orientis selecta [FLOS]* after 2007)
MTP = *Mongolo-Tibetica Pragensia*
MTYC = 民族研究 *(Ethno-National Studies)*
OBC = *Orientalia Biblica et Christiana*
ODK = 大阪大学大学院文学研究科紀要
OYHYC = 歐亞學研究
PIAAS = *Publications of the Institute for Asian and African Studies* (Helsinki)
PPV = *Pis'mennye pamyatniki vostoka. Written Monuments of the Orient* (St. Petersburg)
SEC = *Studia Etymologica Cracoviensia*
SL = *Sinica Leidensia*
SR = *The Silk Road*
SRS = *Silk Road Studies*
SSb = *Sibirskiĭ sbornik*
STC = *Studia Turcologica Cracoviensia*
SV = *Srednie veka* (Moscow)
ŠUA = *Šinžlėx uxaan am'dral*
TABKK = 東アジア文化交渉研究, 別冊
TAK = 東北アジア研究
TMS = *The Mongol Survey*
TS = *Tunguso Sibirica*
TSCIA = *Toronto Studies in Central and Inner Asia*
VE = *Vestnik Evrazii* (Moscow)
Vostok = *Vostok (Oriens)*
VSUA = *Veröffentlichungen der Societas Uralo-Altaica*
WDMKK = 早稲田大学モンゴル研究所紀要 (*Bulletin of Waseda Institute for Mongolian Studies*)

ZAAK = *Zeitschrift für Archäologie Außereuropäischer Kulturen*

2. Books, Monographs and Articles

AA = D.B. Honey, D.C. Wright, eds, *Altaic Affinities. Proceedings of the 40th Meeting of the Permanent Altaistic Conference (PIAC), Provo, Utah (1997)*, *UAS* 168, Bloomington, 2001
Aalto 1996 = P. Aalto, 'Herz und Blut', *ZAS* 26:1996, 172-217
AB MMII = A. Sárközi, A. Rákos, eds, *Altaica Budapestinensia MMII. Proceedings of the 45th Permanent International Altaistic Conference (PIAC) Budapest, Hungary, June 23-28, 2002*, Budapest, 2003
ACDDT = L. Xürėlbaatar, ed., *Akademič Cėndiĭn Damdinsürėn dursgalyn tüüvėr*, Ulan Bator, 2008
AHK = E. Becker, *Die altmongolische Hauptstadt Karakorum. Forschungsgeschichte nach historischen Aussagen und archäologischen Quellen*, Berlin, 2007
Ahokas 2006 = H. Ahokas, 'Organology and Morphology of the Norway Spruce (*Picea abies*), Fenno-Ugric *kuusi* as the Origin of the Fenno-Ugric Numeral Six, *kuusi*', *IBALA* 3:2006, 1-56
Allsen 2006 = Th.T. Allsen, 'Preliminary Remarks on Redistribution in the Mongolian Empire', in OUMĖIX, IX/1, 35-48
—— 2009 = Th.T. Allsen, 'A Note on Mongol Imperial Ideology', in TEM, 1-8
Altanzayaa 2010 = L. Altanzayaa, '"Mongolyn nuuc tovčoon" dax' "xutagt" xėmėėx ügiĭn tuxaĭd', in MNTTS, 166-171
AMBMS = G. Cėcėgdar', ed., *Antoon Mostaėrt ba mongol sudlal*, Ulan Bator, 2011
AMDK = G. Róheim, *Animism, Magic, and the Divine King*. London, 1930; several reprints
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3. GRAMMAR AND LEXIS

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ADDENDA

(The following information comprises publications, personal communications, etc., received or brought to the author's attention after 31 December 2012. Also included are subsequent elaborations and a few afterthoughts)

Page lxxvi, last para.: With regard to Ulaan 2010b cited above, page 10, line 11, the abstract of the article in question, viz. 'On Some Manuscript copies of the *Secret History of the Mongols* in the Chinese National Library, Beijing' read at the 53rd PIAC Meeting in St. Petersburg, July 25-30, 2010, was published in *Unknown Treasures of the Altaic World in the Libraries, Archives and Museums. Abstracts* issued by the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences, Saint-Petersburg, 2010 (pp. 62-64). The volume edited by T. Pang, S.-C. Raschmann and G. Winkelhane, *Unknown Treasures of the Altaic World in Libraries, Archives and Museums. Proceedings of the 53rd Permanent International Altaistic Conference, St. Petersburg, July 2010* will appear in 2013 as Band 13 of *Studien zur Sprache, Geschichte und Kultur der Türkvölker* edited by P. Fodor et al., Klaus Schwarz Verlag, Berlin. However, Ulaan's paper has been withdrawn by the author, and only the abstract is therefore available.

Page lxxviii, last para.: With regard to difficult terms and puzzling words and expressions in the SH, besides the already mentioned valuable contribution of the compilers of TH (and its Mongolian version ǰYT), as well as de Rachewiltz 1995, many problems have been discussed and new interpretations proposed in the various commentaries to the major translations of the SH (by Gaadamba, Ozawa and others). Individual terms have been dealt with in specialized articles such as Čerengsodnam 2006 and Ulaan 2010a, whereas further elucidations, accompanied by a wealth of data, are provided in the EDMM by V. Rybatzki.

Although it has been impossible in the present volume to review and critically evaluate all the recent contributions, an attempt has been made to draw the reader's attention to the major ones, and I have, of course, taken into account the improved versions of numerous sentences by J.C. Street. It is to be hoped that in the not too distant future Mongolian and Chinese scholars will join forces and produce a new and updated edition of TH/ǰYT incorporating the latest results of the investigations carried out in several countries into the lexical peculiarities of the SH.

Page lxxxix, n. 109: The once controversial issue concerning the nature of the Mongol text of the SH phonetically transcribed into Chinese characters in the late 14th c. has been given a new lease of life in a recent paper by Prof. D. Tumurtogoo. In a short article entitled 'On the Original Text of the "Secret History of the Mongols" Written in 'Phags-pa Script',[44] Tumurtogoo claims that 1. The original text of the SH was composed in two stages: the first ten chapters (§§ 1-246) at the end of the 1220s and the last two chapters (§§ 247-281) at the end of the 1240s; 2. the text was written down in Uighur-Mongolian script; 3. the text in Uighur-Mongolian script was transcribed into the newly created 'national', that is 'official' 'Phags-pa script (introduced under Qubilai Qaγan in 1269), immediately after its introduction; 4. in the early Ming period the entire text of the SH in 'Phags-pa script was transliterated into Chinese and, with a literal translation plus a summarized version into Chinese, it was published under the title *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih*. According to Tumurtogoo the linguistic features of Ancient Mongolian preserved in the Uighur-Mongolian script are not reflected in the Mongolian language of the SH transliterated into Chinese which, as we know, is Middle Mongolian, i.e. the language of the surviving documents in 'Phags-pa script. Thus, the language of the SH is

[44] V.I. Rassadin, B.K. Salaev et al., eds, *Problemy sovremennogo mongolovedeniya*: sbornik *naučnykh stateĭ, k 70-letiyu Mongol'skogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta*, Ulan Bator-Elista, 2012, 91-93. This is essentially a restatement of Tumurtogoo 2009.

'almost the same as the language of the Mongolian medieval sources in the 'Phags-pa script'.[45] Against Tumurtogoo's argument stands, *inter alia*,[46] the simple fact that the documents contained in the second part of the HIIY of 1389 were translated from Chinese into Mongolian (the five documents of the first group addressed to Mongol chiefs) or originally written in Mongolian (the seven documents of the second group, i.e. the letters and reports of the Mongol chiefs). In both cases the Mongolian text of the documents was, without doubt, written in *uyiγurǰin*, not in 'Phags-pa script since the latter was no longer in official use after 1368.[47] What the transcribers and translators of the College of Literature (*Han-lin yüan*) of the Ming did between 1382 and 1389 was not to transliterate the Mongolian texts in *uyiγurǰin* into Chinese, but to transcribe them phonetically into Chinese as they were *read*, i.e. in Middle Mongolian—the spoken form of Written (Preclassical) Mongolian. This is exactly what they did soon after with the text in *uyiγurǰin* of the SH, albeit with some slight technical modifications and improvements.[48] As for the date of composition of the two parts of the SH, viz. §§ 1-268 and 269-281 see my remarks above, (Part One), Pages xxix-xxxiv.

Page 222-223 (§ 1): For the history and 'nomadic' connotations of the title *qaγan* in the T'ang period see now 'From Barbarians to the Middle Kingdom: The Rise of the Title "Emperor, Heavenly Qaghan" and Its Significance' by Han-je Park in *Journal of Central Eurasian Studies* 3: 2012, 28-34.

[45] Op.cit., 3.

[46] See HCG, 54, and the other works cited in RSH, lxxxix.

[47] See MMḤS, 15.

[48] See L^2, 8, 12, 14ff; Li, 191-196; Hung 1951, 460ff; Mo, x; Choimaa 2009, 49. For the language of the 13th-14th c. sources in Middle Mongolian, viz. chiefly the documents in 'Phags-pa script, the HIIY of 1389 and the SH, cf. Poppe 1944; MMḤS, 9; GWM, 1-2; the numerous remarks on the phonology and morphology of Middle Mongolian in Lew. and 'Quelques problèmes'; and Tumurtogoo's own MXTXÜ. See also POM, 98.

Page 224-227 (§ 1): Concerning 'Tenggerism', J. Man, the author of GKLDR, informed me (p.c. of 26.1.13) that he is preparing 'a new book, a short history of the [Mongol–I.R.] empire, unified and focused by Tenggerism, running from young Genghis to old Kublai, seeing the idea mature and reach its limits.'

Page 554 (§ 151), line 17: For a comprehensive list of publications of M. Biran see her profile at http://www.eacenter.huji.ac.il/?id=1119. To the list we must now add the article cited below, Pages 868-869 (§ 243).

Page 624 (§ 172), line 16 from bottom: With regard to the etymology of the name Ögödei ~ Öködei ~ Ögedei see Pelliot's interesting suggestion hidden in HCG, 9-10, to which reference is made in RSH, 319 (§ 59) and which is often ignored: < tu. *ögä* 'intelligent, mature, wise' (DTS, 379a) + *-dai(/-dei)*. The latter is a Mongolian suffix used to form nouns designating a particular feature or characteristic, including ethnic origin. Cf. Cleaves 1949b, 418. It alternates with *-tai/-tei*, e.g. Merkidei ~ Merkitei (see HCG, 227; 'Quelques problèmes', 243-244). Tu. *ögä* > mmo. *öge* ~ **öke* > *ögö* ~ **ökö*, thus Ögödei would mean 'the Wise (*or* Sage), the Mature One'. As also suggested by Pelliot, op. cit., 9, the second element of both Temüǰin's and Ögödei's namesake, the Temüǰin Üge of SH, § 59, was in all probability Öke (or, rather, Öge).

Page 868-869 (§ 243): With regard to the redistribution of the conquered areas by the Mongols see also M. Biran, 'Kitan Migrations in Eurasia (10th-14th Centuries)', *Journal of Central Eurasian Studies* 3: 2012, 101 and 107, n. 65.

Page 889 (§ 247), second para.: For the Kitans of north China under the Chin and in the 13th c. (*Kitat irgen*) see M. Biran, 'Kitan Migrations in Eurasia (10th-14th Centuries)', op. cit., 3: 2012, 92ff.

Page 923 (§ 254), lines 10-11: As for the AT and Činggis Qan's 'testament' concerning the royal succession in the missing section of §§ 254-255, I should mention Ligeti's opinion expressed in the 'Epilogue' of Li, 200. The eminent Hungarian scholar

likewise dismisses the theory that the section was left out of the AT because of the unedifying portrayal of Činggis' sons quarrelling and swearing at each other. He rightly points out that on earlier occasions Lubsangdanǰin did not make much of the sons' bad behaviour. Ligeti also suggests the possibility or likelihood of a later interpolation in the text and the fact that Lubsangdanǰin may have used for his AT an old manuscript which did not include the interpolated section. In view of the important implications of this section, in my forthcoming paper I shall review the opinions of contemporary scholars in Mongolia and elsewhere on the subject. As Ligeti points out (loc. cit.), although it is difficult to see clearly what the truth of the matter is, we cannot avoid investigating the problem. For my part, as stated earlier, I entirely agree that the section in question is a later interpolation, but I regard it as an 'afterthought' of the author of the SH, i.e., in my opinion, Ögödei himself. Lubsangdanǰin, as correctly surmised by Ligeti, must have had access to a manuscript copy of the original recension which lacked the contentious section.

Pages 981-982 (§ 268): At the end of n. 38 on p. 130 reference is made to the south side of Burqan Qaldun/Xėntiĭ Xan as being the site of the imperial burial ground. It is interesting to note that in the Chinese sectional summary of § 1 of the SH ($Y^2$1, 1b), the site where the ancestral blue-grey wolf and its mate the fallow doe settled at Burqan Qaldun after crossing the Tenggis (RSH, 1) is situated 'in front of', i.e. on the south or sunny side of the mountain, a fact neither specified in the Mongol text of Y nor mentioned in the AT.

Pages 1004-1007 (§ 273): Ögödei's transfer of the centre of Mongol power from the *yeke ordo* of Ködö'e (Köde'e) Aral on the Kerulen in the east to the Orkhon area in the west, with the establishment in 1235 of a walled capital with permanent buildings, represents a momentous event in Mongol history as it coincides with the onset of Mongolian imperialism in the true sense of the word. On this event and its implication see also Qiu

Yihao, 'The Foundation of Qaraqorum: A Historical Review of the Movement of the Core Area of Mongol Empire' in *HYCK* 5: 2012, 269-323.

Pages 1021 (§ 278), second and third paras.: For a comprehensive survey of the functions of the *verbum dicendi ke'e-* (mo. *keme-*) in Middle Mongolian see the forthcoming study by J.C. Street *Quotation in Middle Mongolian: the Verb ke(m)e- 'to say'*, to be published as No. 27 of *MSOP* (ISBN 978-0-910980-67-8) (p.c. of Prof. Street).

Page 1105, line 14 from bottom: *for* 24:1963 *read* 24:1962-63